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a review of accumulated research
in the california youth authority

May, 1974

CALIFORNIA YOUTH AUTHORITY
A REVIEW OF ACCUMULATED RESEARCH

in the California Youth Authority

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The Editor would like to express his appreciation for the typing of this report to:
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and Dalys Lum
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INTRODUCTION

Since 1958, the California Youth Authority has undertaken a wide diversity of research projects which span the range of activities in which the department is involved. These include program evaluation and development, measurement and classification, followup studies, and experimentally designed demonstration projects. Studies have been directed at delinquency prevention and diversion, probation, community treatment, short-term programs, forestry camps, narcotic treatment, education, differential treatment, training, and parole. Literally hundreds of reports have been generated detailing the findings and providing their interpretation.

This publication aims to bring together the findings of these studies and to summarize the research knowledge acquired in the California Youth Authority over the past 16 years, in an attempt to answer the questions: What have we learned? What do we know as a result of our research studies?

We found this recapitulation to be a difficult matter. The projects undertaken did not group together in any definitive way. The problem of extracting the major and crucial project findings was not easily solved. The sheer volume of research to be surveyed was of such a magnitude that there undoubtedly are significant omissions of pertinent studies and findings.

Accordingly, this report, "A Review of Accumulated Research in the California Youth Authority", should be regarded as tentative and preliminary. Its publication will signal the beginning of its revision. We are hopeful that the next edition of this report will correct any mistakes or omissions in this one and will add to it any new information from our current research efforts.
INTRODUCTION (cont'd)

The Table of Contents has presented an outline of how projects and studies will be grouped. Those which have their locales mostly in institutional settings have been brought together under the heading of "Institutional Programs". Similarly, we have grouped community-based treatment of Youth Authority parolees under "Parole and Community Treatment". Delinquency prevention, probation, and diversion programs are contained in the section on "Community-Based Programs". The remaining sections deal with research in special areas—education, drug abuse, training and prediction. Each section is headed by a "Summary of Findings"—which aims to abstract and bring together the findings of the projects and studies contained in the section.
INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS

Summary of Findings

Research on institutional programming in the California Youth Authority falls into four categories—intensive short-term programs, individual and group counseling programs, differential treatment in institutional settings, and forestry camp programming.

Short-Term Programs

There have been two major Youth Authority programs involving short-term intensive treatment in a residential setting in lieu of long-term assignment in an institution. These were the Fremont Program and the Marshall Program, undertaken with male wards at the Southern Reception Center Clinic.

Both of these programs demonstrated that short-term intensive programs with male youthful offenders tend to be as effective as institutional programs involving longer periods of stay. The program seemed to be most effective with older wards who had engaged in their commitment offenses with co-offenders.

Individual and Group Counseling Programs

Three rather rigorous evaluations have been conducted of individual and group counseling programs for wards confined in institutions. Two of these studied psychiatric treatment programs at the Preston and Nelles Schools. The third studied group counseling at the Paso Robles School and at the Youth Training School.

The findings of the Psychiatric Treatment evaluation were mixed and contradictory. At the Nelles School, the experimentals had a lower violation rate than did their controls, whereas at the Preston School, the experimentals had a higher violation rate. There were no differences between experimentals and controls which were both significant and consistent by the criteria of institutional adjustment or seriousness of violation offense.

The evaluation of Group Counseling programs was carried out through two experimental studies at two institutions. At Paso Robles, three
forms of group counseling were studied—community meetings held five times a week, small group sessions held once weekly, and a combination of the two. The three groups showed no significant differences in parole violations when compared with a control group, nor did any of the three differ from each other. At the Youth Training School, two 50-ward living units scheduled small group counseling meetings weekly. They were compared with two other 50-ward living units for which there was no such program. No significant differences were observed between the violation rates of the counseling groups and the control groups.

Differential Treatment in Institutions

Three studies, with the same principal investigator, Carl F. Jesness, have focused on differential programming in institutional settings.

The Fricot Ranch Project tested the hypothesis that rehabilitation of delinquent youngsters could be better accomplished in small living units with higher staff-to-ward ratios which provide more interactions between staff and wards.

The study showed that boys in the small living unit (20 boys) received almost five times more staff time than those who lived in the large conventional unit (50 boys), and that the smaller living unit provided more opportunities for the development of meaningful interpersonal relationships.

The violation rates for boys experiencing the small living unit program were significantly better than those experiencing the larger living unit program at 12 months (37% and 52%, respectively). Beyond 24 months, the difference in reconviction rates tended to decrease. At 36 months, the violation rates were 73% and 80% for the E and C groups; at 60 months, they were 82% and 90%. Within the five-year period, the experimental subjects spent significantly less time in lockup and had significantly more good discharges.

Boys categorized as neurotic seemed to improve most in the experimental program, with a violation rate of 21.7 percent, as compared with 52.9 percent for neurotic subjects assigned to the 50-boy unit. The non-neurotic subjects appeared to gain as much from the control unit program.
The Preston Typology Study classified offenders by 1-level subtype and randomly assigned the subjects to one of six living units according to their classification (experimental), or to one of five living units that did not take account of personality type (controls). Each living unit to which offenders were assigned by 1-level subtype dealt only with a specific subtype. The staffs of these units received special training on the characteristics and treatment of the particular subtype that was the responsibility of each treatment team.

Each of the six experimental units tended to develop a unique living unit milieu which was judged to be compatible with the specific subtype assigned to it.

Introduction of the 1-level system tended to decrease unit management problems (fewer serious rule infractions and peer problems), particularly with the neurotic-anxious group and the immature conformist group.

Although almost all the evidence of behavioral and psychological changes favored the experimental group, parole data indicated the performance of the two groups to be the same. Overall, 54 percent of the controls and 54 percent of the experimental subjects had violated parole on or before the fifteenth month after their release.

The Youth Center Research Project compared the effectiveness of two different treatment procedures—behavior modification and transactional analysis. The study was carried out at the Northern Youth Center, with the Karl Holton School operating the behavior modification approach and the O. H. Close School the transactional analysis model. Wards were randomly assigned to the two schools.

The findings were that both programs had a positive impact on the majority of wards. There were interesting differences in the impact of the two programs on various types of delinquents, although the original expectation that behavior modification techniques would be most effective with lower maturity types and that transactional analysis would be more effective with the higher maturity types was not supported.
There were no differences between the two schools in the parole removal rate. However, the removal rates were significantly lower than the rates for pre-experimental wards released from these two institutions and lower than a large group of wards of comparable age released from two other institutions.

Forestry Camp Programs

Forestry camps have distinct advantages over regular institutions. The average cost of maintaining a ward is less than at institutions. Not only is the daily cost less, but the average length of stay in camps is less than at institutions. In addition, the wards perform useful and necessary work in fire fighting and forestry conservation. Two major studies have been made of forestry camp programs.

One study of forestry camps examined differences in goal orientations of two CYA camps. One camp was characterized as having a permissive/therapeutic approach; the other emphasized direct, no-nonsense control of wards.

Wards showed more positive and favorable attitudes toward the staff and the program at the camp emphasizing the permissive/therapeutic approach and more negative and unfavorable attitudes toward the staff and program at the camp which emphasized control/guidance and work-training.

Despite differences in camp philosophy and practice upon ward attitudes, there is no indication that these factors had any lasting post-release effect upon wards in terms of their parole violation rates.

A second study of forestry camps was based on the finding that the recidivism rates of wards paroled from camps were lower than those paroled from Youth Authority institutions. Moreover, the camp releasees consistently had parole violation rates that were lower than expected according to their base expectancy scores. Such a finding could be the result of the camp program or might be attributed to the fact that "better" wards were being selected for the camp program in ways that the base expectancy equation did not account for. The resolution of these two possibilities called for an experiment whereby camp-eligible wards were randomly assigned to either a camp or an institution. The main finding of this study was that the differences previously noted disappeared—there was little difference in the violation rates of the two groups.
A review of the research evaluations of the Fremont Program and the Marshall Program is worthwhile in several aspects. Both represent two major Youth Authority programs involving short-term, intensive treatment based on therapeutic community concepts. Both programs were intended as residential treatments in lieu of long term assignments to institutions. Both introduced organizational features in group-oriented treatment which have definite implications for the future development of short-term programs for youthful offenders.

The Fremont Program first took shape as an interim undertaking for male wards at the Southern Reception Center-Clinic who, for various reasons, were necessarily held over for some time after diagnostic processing. These wards were assigned to the same living unit and were expected to work half day assisting the tradesmen with maintenance tasks at the clinic. As early as 1954, a number of social workers and clinical psychologists volunteered to provide individual and group therapy for these youngsters. A work-therapy program evolved in which staff tried to foster a rehabilitative climate wherein wards could feel free to examine personal and interpersonal problems affecting their delinquent behavior. By 1961 it was felt the program had been sufficiently developed and stabilized to constitute a viable treatment model.

Admission into the program was guided by several basic criteria of eligibility. These were as follows: 1) Minimum age of 16; 2) minimum grade of 7.0 on academic achievement test; 3) willingness to accept work responsibility; 4) capacity to participate constructively in group living; and 5) manifest ability to develop positive relationships with adult figures. Excluded were youths with extensive histories of running away, dependency on drugs, sexual deviation, and serious assaultive behavior.

The Fremont Program entailed a determinate stay of five months for all wards admitted. It was designed to be a "non-failure" program; this meant that all wards would remain in the program for the predefined period, even if some exhibited unusual acting-out behavior, with the exception of the most extreme cases. Only three of the 78 wards admitted to Fremont had to be transferred to institutions during the entire program period. Wards were informed that they would remain exactly for five months and that this time could be used by them as they wished. Moreover, both wards and staff recognized that the period of confinement could not be varied for reasons of controlling wards or bringing about behavioral conformity.
The Fremont treatment system included several elements. First, individual and/or group therapy was conducted by clinical psychologists or psychiatric social workers. The sessions were held generally twice a week for each ward. The group therapy style was mainly non-directive, discussion-centered, focusing on problems of daily adjustment within the program. Second, a work component consisted of wards being assigned on a half-day schedule helping tradesmen at the clinic. The work environment was meant to enable boys to test interpersonal skills and to demonstrate any attitudinal changes acquired in the program. Third, the school component provided academic schooling from three to nine hours per week, depending on a ward's expressed desire. The classes centered around remedial help and academic upgrading, although some class-time was also devoted to discussions of field trip experiences.

A fourth Fremont component consisted of weekly living unit meetings to discuss problems of group living and any other matters of concern. These community meetings were conducted by the wards themselves as a student council forum, with the leading role taken by a committee of ward-officers who were elected by the boys. A fifth program element involved a series of passes granted during the last few weeks of program residence in order to promote a positive transition to life in the community. The passes were generally given on a routine basis, regardless of how well a ward had responded to the program. The final pass, lasting 24 hours, was aimed at enabling wards to meet with their parole agents for the purpose of developing specific parole plans.

Following the phase-out of the Fremont Program, a related type of short-term, intensive treatment program was initiated in April 1964. Similar to Fremont, the Marshall Program set a predefined period of stay for wards, in this case only three months instead of five. It was not, however, regarded as a "non-failure" program in that about one percent of the admissions were transferred out because of poor adjustment. Marshall candidates had to be 15 to 18 years old, first commitments to the Youth Authority, and committed from one of six counties within geographic proximity of the program.

Organizationally, the Marshall Program functioned as an autonomous unit within the Southern Reception Center-Clinic; it was headed by a unit administrator supported by a full-time social worker, a school psychologist, and a staff of group supervisors.

The program elements of the Marshall model were similar to those of the Fremont Program. Small group meetings, held three to four times per week, were led by group supervisors. Daily community meetings were conducted by staff and involved considerable therapeutic intervention. Both sessions dealt with the ward's "here and now" adjustment within the program and involved the individual into a guided group experience with his peers. Through free expression of feelings and probing of their interactions with peers and staff, wards were encouraged to: 1) adopt an orientation of self-examination and growth, and 2) call into question...
the utility of delinquent behavior as opposed to a conventional life style. It was hoped that wards would share in the responsibility for their own treatment and thereby increasingly identify with non-delinquent values.

The school component emphasized "life adjustment" classes, each meeting three to four times per week, covering such areas as human relations, employment problems, school adjustment, and use of leisure time. The work component was modeled after the Fremont arrangement of wards assisting maintenance staff on a half-day basis. The Marshall passes were granted on a schedule similar to the aforementioned, but more emphasis was placed on wards discussing problems with their parents. Moreover, at the conclusion of certain passes, parents were expected to escort their sons back to the program in order to attend parent group meetings conducted by the unit social worker. The meetings were devoted to a series of prepared talks by the social worker about delinquent behavior and family life, as well as problem-solving discussions about helping wards to cope with family and community pressures.

For the Fremont Program, the post-release results show that there was no statistically significant difference between program graduates and their control group after 15 months of exposure. Similarly, there was no significant difference between the Marshall Program releasees and their controls. Thus, it appeared that wards assigned to the short-term intensive treatment programs performed about as well as similar wards assigned to the longer programs at institutions. Consistent differences emerged, however, when the study populations were classified according to initial versus later periods of release to parole. For both programs, the wards who were released to parole during the early period of program operation showed either appreciably lower or similar violation rates relative to their control/comparison groups; but, wards released during the later period of program operation showed appreciably higher rates of failure than their control comparison groups. These findings are summarized below in Table I.

For the Fremont Program, only one of the background characteristics was significantly related to the outcomes observed for the Fremont parolees versus the control group parolees. Namely, the Fremont wards 18 years or older as compared to those younger at time of release to parole had significantly fewer parole failures than did the corresponding wards in the control group.

With respect to the Marshall Program, the data indicate that older wards whose commitment offenses involved co-offenders tended to have a significantly lower failure rate. In other words, older wards with multiple co-offenders compared to younger wards without co-offenders had significantly fewer parole failures relative to their counterparts in the comparison group. Moreover, within the group of Marshall graduates, the older and multiple co-offender wards showed a significantly smaller proportion of increases on the Alienation scale of the Jesness Inventory.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Follow-up Period</th>
<th>Fremont Program</th>
<th>Marshall Program</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Period</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(75)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Follow-up</td>
<td>20.6&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>35.7&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Follow-up</td>
<td>41.5&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>26.9&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Wards paroled between January 1962 - December 1962.

<sup>b</sup>Wards paroled between December 1964 - April 1966.

<sup>c</sup>Wards paroled between January 1963 - April 1964.

<sup>d</sup>Wards paroled between July 1966 - June 1968.

Also, the Alienation scale was the only Inventory scale for which change scores were significantly associated with parole outcome; that is, decreased alienation was during program stay associated with parole success and increased alienation with parole failure.

A further analysis was done of the Marshall wards who were paroled from the program versus those who were transferred out. It was found that the transfers included: a) significantly higher proportion of lone offenders rather than co-offenders; and b) significantly more who had multiple (five or more) contacts with law enforcement agencies prior to Y.A. commitment. In terms of questionnaire responses, the transfers also manifested less positive attitudes toward staff and program, as well as a less optimistic view regarding future chances of success on parole.
Implications of Findings

Perhaps the most obvious implication of both the Fremont and Marshall Programs is that short-term, intensive therapeutic community approaches with male youthful offenders (aged 16-20) tend to be as effective as institutional programs involving longer periods of stay. It should be pointed out, though, that the two short-term programs entailed richer staffing patterns than those generally existing in institutional treatment programs. From a cost-standpoint, the Fremont Program was less expensive than the Marshall Program in that therapists participated voluntarily as time permitted at the reception center-clinic.

Another implication apparent in both evaluations is that therapeutic community programs were functioning more effectively during the earlier than the later periods of operation. The reasons for this are not clear. It may be that initially there was more staff concern and enthusiasm for the program; or, that the program underwent adverse changes during its later phase; or, that the selection of eligibles for the program was such that less amenable wards were admitted during the later period.

Relatively little is known as to what types of wards are likely to benefit from either of the two programs. For both programs the older and presumably more mature wards tend to be more amenable in terms of parole outcome. In the Marshall Program, the older as well as the co-offenders are more likely to graduate from the program and subsequently avoid parole violations. Future programs based on similar models could pursue these leads and conduct more detailed investigations in this area. With the addition of specialized counseling and supportive services, the seemingly less amenable wards might then perform as well as other graduates from the program. A further area for program expansion and investigation should be considered. Namely, a modified version of the therapeutic community model could be established in the community so as to provide continuity of treatment and reinforcement of the rehabilitative gains acquired during the previous period while in a confined setting. Under such conditions, it can be hypothesized that wards assigned to this program would perform significantly better on parole than those released from a regular institutional program.

Influence of Findings on Program Operation

Although the Fremont and Marshall Programs did not represent radical departures from therapeutic community models and short-term treatment efforts that had been used elsewhere with youthful offenders, both programs had considerable influence on program development with the Youth Authority. A number of similar short-term treatment programs, mainly within institutional settings were subsequently implemented in the Department. Also, several county probation departments initiated short-term treatment programs in juvenile camps modeled after the Marshall Program.
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INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP COUNSELING PROGRAMS
Joachim P. Seckel

General Program Description

A number of evaluations have been conducted of individual and group counseling programs for wards confined in institutions. The more rigorous evaluations of this type of program during the last 13 years are included in the three studies reviewed below. One of these is a psychiatric treatment study at the Preston School of Industry; another is a psychiatric treatment study at the Nelles School for Boys; and a third is a dual assessment of group counseling at the Paso Robles School for Boys (which closed in June, 1972) and at the Youth Training School.

Psychiatric Treatment Programs. The institutional settings for the two psychiatric treatment programs were as follows. The Preston School of Industry is located in a rural area of northern California. At the beginning of the study, it had a population of about 720 male wards, with a median age of 17.4 years. The total staff numbered about 350, twelve of whom were the professional staff of the psychiatric treatment program.

The Nelles School for Boys is situated in Whittier, a city in the Los Angeles complex. Its ward population at the beginning of the study was about 290, with a median age of 14.8 years. Its staff numbered 170, eight of whom constituted the psychiatric treatment program's professional staff.

The treatment programs at each school were staffed by psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and one psychiatrist. Both schools provided individual interview therapy, in most cases for one hour twice a week. At both schools, wards in the psychiatric treatment program participated in the general institutional academic, vocational, and recreational programs and lived with the other wards in the regular dormitories. The Preston program had been in operation for about a year and a half when intake for the study began. In contrast, the Nelles program had been initiated at the same time as the start of its experimental study. The intake lasted from September, 1959 to June, 1960 at Preston and from December, 1959 to June, 1960 at Nelles.

Group Counseling Programs. In an effort to evaluate group counseling programs, two experimental studies were initiated in 1960 at two institutions. The first evaluative study was carried out at the Paso Robles School for Boys, where the median age of subjects was 16.7. The study was intended to shed light on the intramural and post-institutional effects of three forms of group counseling featured in different 50-boy living units; namely, community meetings held four times a week, small group sessions held once weekly, and a combination of the two kinds of treatments. In addition, the wards in another living unit not involved in group counseling constituted a control group for the experiment. Wards were randomly assigned to the four project living units from September, 1960 through June, 1961. The wards in all of the four living units participated in similar program
activities within the institution at large. These consisted of academic instruction, vocational training, work assignments, and recreational activities. Individual counseling and casework were provided by classification counselors as well as by group supervisors in the four living units.

The second study was carried out at the Youth Training School (YTS) with male subjects of median age 19.1. Four 50-ward living units were included—two units for treatment and two for control. The treatment units scheduled small group counseling once weekly. The treated and control subjects participated in the regular institutional program of vocational training, work assignments, recreational activities, and individual counseling. Random assignment to the treatment and control living units started October, 1960 and was terminated July, 1961.

Findings

The chief results reported for the two psychiatric treatment programs were as follows. Among the Preston subjects, a significantly \((p < .05)\) higher proportion of the experimental wards than the control wards violated parole within 15 months of post-release time. Among the Nelles subjects, an appreciably \((p < .09)\) lower proportion of experimentals than controls violated within the 15-month followup period. Although not generally regarded statistically significant, the latter difference would be expected to occur merely as a result of chance less than once in ten times in repeated trials.

TABLE I

Percentage of Psychiatric Treatment Subjects Removed from Parole by Revocation or Bad Discharge at Nelles School for Boys and Preston School of Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychiatric Program</th>
<th>Experimental</th>
<th>Control</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preston</td>
<td>58.5*</td>
<td>47.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((N=106))</td>
<td>((N=109))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelles</td>
<td>59.7**</td>
<td>73.8**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>((N=62))</td>
<td>((N=61))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* \(\chi^2 = 4.23, \text{df}=1, p < .05\), based on analysis of variance technique to correct for risk group disproportionality.

\** \(\chi^2 = 2.92, \text{df}=1, p < .09\), based on aforementioned analysis of variance.

In terms of parole record at time of discharge from the Youth Authority, the Preston experimentals and controls did not differ notably from each other in proportions of Favorable, Unfavorable, and Other types of discharge. Too few Nelles subjects received discharges at the time of the study to apply this criterion in a meaningful manner to this study.
When classified according to commitment offense, no consistent difference was found between the Preston experimentals and controls in their post-release rates of parole violation. However, an interesting pattern was obtained for the Nelles subjects. The experimental wards with the most serious commitment offenses revealed a tendency toward lower violation rates than their controls.

Analyzed according to overall ratings of treatment amenability at Preston and Nelles, the experimentals did not differ significantly from the controls on rates of parole violation. Also, categorized by rated adequacy of adjustment based on pretest MMPI's, the Preston experimentals and controls showed no significant difference in parole violation rates.

With reference to intra-institutional changes, the Preston experimentals failed to differ significantly from their controls in the amount of improvement shown on rated adequacy of adjustment based on pre- and posttest MMPI profiles. Nevertheless, the experimentals showed a very slight but consistently greater improvement than did the controls on most of the individual MMPI scales.

The Preston experimentals did not differ significantly from their controls in number of assignments to disciplinary lockup, in number of changes in living unit, or in number of rule infractions for which special incident reports were filed. On the same criteria, the Nelles experimentals differed significantly from their controls only in having had a greater number of disciplinary lockups.

The two group counseling studies produced the following basic findings. At Paso Robles, each of the three counseling groups showed no significant difference in comparison with the control group upon percentages of parole violators, both at fifteen months and at thirty months of post-release exposure. In this regard, the three counseling groups also did not differ significantly from each other on percentages of parole violators.

**TABLE 2**

Percentage of Paso Robles Subjects Removed from Parole by Revocation or Bad Discharge, by Type of Treatment, Fifteen Months and Thirty Months after Release to Parole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postrelease Period</th>
<th>Combined Treatment (N=78)</th>
<th>Community Meeting (N=88)</th>
<th>Small Group (N=89)</th>
<th>Control (N=87)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Months</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Months</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>77.9</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At YTS, no significant differences were observed between the violation rates of the counseling groups and the control groups.
### Table 3

Percentage of YTS Subjects Removed from Parole by Revocation or Bad Discharge, by Type of Treatment, Fifteen Months and Thirty Months after Release to Parole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postrelease Period</th>
<th>Counseling A (N=50)</th>
<th>Counseling B (N=46)</th>
<th>Control E (N=48)</th>
<th>Control F (N=50)</th>
<th>Total Control E &amp; F (N=98)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Months</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Months</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to both the Paso Robles and YTS studies, no significant differences were found in parole violation rates between the counseling and control groups when analyzed in relation to several background characteristics. The latter included age, ethnic composition, admission status (first admission versus readmission to Youth Authority), and extent of delinquent record prior to Youth Authority commitment.

The group counseling programs at both institutions were accompanied by favorable attitudinal changes on scales of psychological test (Jesness Inventory), in the direction of less delinquent orientation. Significant improvements on before-after scores were found largely for the two living units which provided community meetings.

At Paso Robles, the three counseling groups as compared to the control group incurred proportionately fewer disciplinary reports and more commendatory reports. Disciplinary cases involving fights or threats occurred relatively less often for the combined treatment and small group counseling units than for the control group.

**Implications of Findings**

It was not clearly demonstrated that either psychiatric treatment or the group counseling programs as implemented with confined delinquents had a positive effect on parole outcome. The data suggest that the Holmes psychiatric treatment tended to improve parole outcome, while the Preston treatment seemed to some extent detrimental to outcome. The programs may, of course, have affected the postrelease adjustment of treated wards in subtle ways not measured by the instruments utilized in the two studies. Moreover, one or more of the programs may have had a positive effect on parole outcome with reference to certain types of wards not fully defined in the studies.
Assuming it was not a chance result, several sets of factors probably contributed to the differential outcome found between the Preston and Nelles psychiatric programs. One set pertains to the kinds of wards treated by the two programs. The Nelles wards were generally younger, a factor which in conjunction with program differences may have created distinct treatment experiences. In addition, the Nelles program was limited to wards judged to be treatment amenable, whereas the Preston program served both amenable and non-amenable. Thus, those wards defined as amenable at Nelles may have been youths who, in fact, were likely to benefit from the program's predominant treatment approach.

Another set of factors relates to differences in treatment between Preston and Nelles. Whereas the Preston program consisted mainly of individual interview therapy, the Nelles program included many informal contacts between therapists and wards involving recreation-centered activities. Moreover, the predominant treatment at Preston seems to have been traditional therapy, adapted, as it was felt necessary, to the delinquent population. In contrast, the Nelles treatment was based less on a classical approach, and more on a reality therapy.

A third set of factors which probably influenced the difference in outcome relates to distinct attitudes toward psychiatric treatment at Preston as compared to Nelles. It appeared that the experimental wards at both institutions were exposed to two somewhat conflicting approaches—that of therapists and of custodial care and welfare staffs. However, there apparently was more polarity between the treatment and custodial staffs at Preston than at Nelles. It seemed that the Nelles treatment staff had spent more effort in preparing custodial staff for the program by establishing good working relationships with them. In this regard, the use of reality therapy at Nelles emphasizing the ward's responsibility for his own behavior, may have been more acceptable to custody staff than classical psychotherapy, which placed more emphasis on permissiveness.

The fact that the amenable as defined at Nelles performed better on parole than their controls, while the combination of amenable and non-amenable treated at Preston did not surpass their controls is consistent with a previous finding obtained in a study on individual therapy with youthful offenders. In this study wards were initially classified into treatment "amenable" and "non-amenable", then assigned randomly to treatment and control conditions. It was found that during 33 months after parole release, the best parole performance was exhibited by the treated amenables, while the treated non-amenable showed the worst performance; falling in between were the control amenables and the control non-amenable (Adams, 1961).
Finally, it was reported that staff morale was notably higher at Nelies than at Preston. This was largely attributed to the comparative newness of the Nelies program and the accompanying enthusiasm, energy, and resourcefulness shown by staff toward the undertaking.

Several implications can be derived from the group counseling studies. It was clear that group counseling as practiced did not have a significant impact on parole outcome. Yet, there was some indication that the forms of counseling used did affect institutional adjustment. The group treatments appeared to bring about a more benign living unit climate, within which staff and ward communication increased, personal and group problems were more readily brought up for resolution, and delinquent subcultures could be countered by appropriate interventions. Also, there was some evidence that group counseling programs that included community meetings tended to be accompanied by favorable attitudinal changes. A general implication is that a change in the living unit climate is basic to fostering non-delinquent attitudes and pro-social norms among wards.

**Influence of Findings on Program Operation**

Considering the basic results reported in the above studies, what changes have been made in psychiatric treatment and group counseling programs in the Youth Authority? It should be pointed out that no full-scale psychiatric treatment programs were implemented over the last several years, although psychiatrists were contracted to provide therapies as needed for special cases. Within the last one and a half years, however, psychiatric programs have been initiated among three institutions. The treatments used are primarily behavior therapy, reality therapy, and transactional analysis, respectively, among the three programs. Classical psychotherapy, however, as applied formerly at Preston, is not included as a basic modality.

There are two other important ways in which the new psychiatric programs differ mainly from the former Preston program. First, the wards being treated are assigned to the same living unit rather than dispersed throughout the institution. Such homogeneous assignment not only helps to integrate therapy with living unit activities, but also coordinates the various staffs involved with treatment, care and welfare, and custody functions. Second, the three aforementioned programs supplement individual therapy with group therapy and community meetings. Thus, staff-staff, staff-ward, and ward-ward interaction is maximized within the context of a therapeutic community.

Since completion of the above group counseling studies, regular large group and small group counseling has, as a matter of policy, been made an integral part of the living unit programs at all Youth Authority reception centers, institutions, and camps. The group counseling program has been reinforced through the organization of treatment teams in all facilities and by the designation of small group counseling as one of the major functions of youth counselors. At present there is still a need to develop standards for effective group counseling and to maintain quality control over its implementation at the various facilities. Nevertheless, the stage has been set for the application of group counseling techniques as a means for creating a more therapeutic climate and transforming delinquent peer groups into structures for bringing about rehabilitative changes.
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COMPARATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF TWO INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT PROGRAMS FOR DELINQUENTS: THE FRICOT PROJECT

Carl F. Jesness

This study compared the success on parole of male delinquents treated in two different programs within the same California Youth Authority institution.

The subjects of the study were boys referred by juvenile courts to the Fricot Ranch School, a training school for the youngest boys (8 to 14 years old) accepted for treatment by the California Youth Authority. At the time the study took place, 220 boys were housed there in five living units, four of them with a capacity of 50 and one newly built isolation detention unit with a capacity of 20. The construction of this 20-boy living unit was seen as a unique opportunity to test the staff's belief that they were prevented from doing a more effective treatment job because of the number of wards in the living units. As stated in the original research proposal, the supervisors (youth counselors) in a 50-boy living unit were "necessarily too much concerned with maintaining order, overseeing living routines, and promoting conformity to the institutional program" to establish a close relationship between boys and staff (Peters and Adams, 1959). Reported here is the outcome of an evaluation program begun in 1957 and continuing through 1964 to test the ostensibly obvious hypothesis that rehabilitation of delinquent youngsters can be better accomplished in small living units where higher staff-to-boy ratios provide more opportunities for informal and formal interaction between staff and boys.

Method

Two different procedures were used in assigning boys to experimental or control groups. Wards arriving at the institution during the years 1957 through 1959 who met specified criteria of emotional disturbance as judged from the presence of such factors as enuresis, early involvement in delinquency, overtly rejecting parents and previous referral to mental hygiene services were matched in age and backgrounds as closely as possible, then assigned to either the large or small living unit by random procedures. After 1959, the matching procedure was dropped, and, from 1960 to 1963, the youngest wards sent to the institution were randomly assigned to either E or C group. Thus two independent cohorts were involved in the study—an matched random group and a random group. Subjects in the random group were given a battery of psychological tests and were rated behaviorally at the beginning and end of their institutional stay. Changes on these tests and ratings were presented in the main report of the study (Jesness, 1965).

This study was sponsored by a grant from the Rosenberg Foundation to the California Youth Authority. The author wishes to thank Mrs. Jackson Chance, Executive Director of the Foundation for her support. Many persons in the California Youth Authority contributed time and effort to the project and to them goes our appreciation. The author is also grateful to William Meredith for his statistical consultation. This report was summarized from an article that appeared in Child Care Quarterly, Winter 1971-72.
Treatment Programs. The independent variables in this type of study are complex interpersonal environments that defy simple definition. The research strategy involved the introduction of but two different treatment conditions—the smaller living unit and the higher staff-to-boy ratio. (The resident staff of each living unit provided "four-post" coverage—that is, four youth counselors, one senior youth counselor and, additionally, one part-time social worker.) Over the several years of the study there was approximately the same rate of staff turnover (20 youth counselors in C and 18 in E) and considerable exchange of staff between the two units.

The daily programs were similar in many respects with planned activity filling almost every hour of the day. The boys engaged in a variety of arts and crafts activities. Outdoor games and free play were mixed with less active events such as television and movies. Staff took advantage of the natural beauty of the area by scheduling frequent hikes and occasional campouts. The academic school program, in which all were enrolled, placed heavy emphasis on remedial work. The crucial component of treatment was believed to be the relationships established between boys and staff.

Results

Immediate Impact. Analysis of ward-staff interactions indicated that, as hypothesized, subjects in the experimental unit could expect a significantly greater amount of contact with staff. Charts were maintained for a period of 24 months on which staff recorded any interaction of five minutes or more. These showed that experimental subjects received almost five times more staff time than did the control subjects. Subjective analyses of the living units based on hundreds of hours of observation consistently characterized the experimental program as being more informal, with greater freedom of movement, greater emphasis on the use of reason and rewards, and greater willingness of staff to offer support and involve themselves in boys' problems. In the larger control cottage, the staff-boy interactions that occurred during the day more often related to gaining the conformity that staff found necessary for orderly unit operation. The control unit staff established tighter limits and resorted to punishment more frequently. Consistent with their preoccupation with management problems, the control unit staff tended to admire in boys those attributes that did not interfere with program operations, such as lack of complaining, lack of dependency, conformance to orders, and ability to take care of oneself among peers.

Data from 28 sociometric tests administered periodically throughout the study revealed significant differences between E and C units along several dimensions of peer interactions as well. On the variable Group Cohesion, defined by Proctor and Loomis (1951) as the ratio of mutual pairs to the possible number of pairs in the group, the mean for the E group of .16 was significantly (p < .01) higher than the .06 mean of the C group.

In short, both observational and sociometric data pointed to the likelihood that the smaller living unit provided more opportunities for the development of meaningful interpersonal relationships.
Psychological Tests and Behavioral Ratings. In general, the experimental subjects showed greater gains in behavior, being less depressed, alienated and perturbable on posttest. Differences between the groups were not great, however, with both groups showing considerable improvement in social adjustment. The important differences seemed to lie in the manner in which these behavioral changes were achieved. Subjects in the more relaxed, less threatening and suppressive atmosphere of the experimental lodge appeared to achieve greater social maturity without a decrease in spontaneity or self-awareness. On the other hand, the control subjects displayed a more cautious, reserved posture on release, showing an increased tendency to deny the presence of problems, and being less responsive.

That generalizations such as these based as they are on subjects of all types in the experiment lumped together tended to obscure important differences in outcome was demonstrated when a more detailed analysis was carried out showing changes which occurred for each type of delinquent.

The typology was based on a factor analysis of pretest scores on 103 psychological, behavioral and sociological-background items. Scores achieved by the subjects on the 15 trait factors which emerged were then calculated, and an inverse factor analysis performed which correlated subjects. Eight delinquent types resulted from this analysis which were shown to differ in important ways. The types as tentatively labeled were as follows: 1) socialized-conformist; 2) immature-passive; 3) neurotic-anxious; 4) immature-aggressive; 5) cultural delinquent; 6) manipulator; 7) neurotic-acting out; 8) neurotic-depressed.

Having categorized the subjects by type, it became possible to determine if there were general institution effects depending on type of delinquent and, going one step further, if there were specific differential outcomes according to type of subject and type of treatment. The results indicated that the institution appeared to have its greatest impact on immature and neurotic types with the conformists and manipulators showing least change. The experimental program generally resulted in more change than the control lodge program on subjects of almost all types, but were most clearly in the direction of improvement for the neurotic subjects.

Overall Revocation Rates. Performance on parole of experimental and control subjects is shown in Table 1. All subjects whose parole was suspended and who were returned to an institution within 12 months of their release were considered as having violated their parole status.
### TABLE 1

Revocation Rates of E and C Subjects for Matched Random, Random and Combined Group at 12-Months Possible Exposure to Parole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>NV</th>
<th>%V</th>
<th>Chi Square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matched Random (1957-1959)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Random (1960-1964)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>4.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>p .05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>5.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>p .05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = number of subjects  
NV = number of violators  
%V = percent violators

The 12-month violation rates of the experimental and control subjects in the larger random groups of 35.6% and 52.0% are significantly different (p < .05) with the experimental program showing proportionately fewer violations. The violation rates for the combined E and C groups of 36.8% and 52.2%, respectively, are also significantly different (p < .05).

Analysis of the cumulative number and percent of parole revocations for all subjects with 60 months of postrelease experience showed a difference of about 15 percent in the revocation rates of E and C groups at all postrelease points between one and two years. Beyond 24 months, the difference in revocation rates for the two groups tends to decrease. At 36 months, the violation rates were 73 percent and 83 percent for the E and C groups, respectively; at 60 months, they were 82 percent and 90 percent.

Inspection of offenses leading to revocation indicates that the wards were not recommitted for trivial reasons. In most cases multiple offenses or a series of one type of offense were involved. Within five years of their release from Fricot, the control subjects in the matched-random cohort had been removed from parole and returned to an institution on an average of 3.0 separate occasions and the experimental subjects 2.5. The vast majority of these recommittals were for serious offenses. Within the five-year period, 15 of the 34 random-matched control subjects (44 percent) had participated at least once in an aggressive act (battery, assault, or assault with a deadly weapon) that led to revocation. Of the 33 random-matched experimentalists on whom records were available, seven (21 percent)
were revoked at least once for a crime of this kind. The experimental subjects also spent significantly (p < .05) less time in lockup, and had significantly more good discharges (p < .05).

Differential Outcome by Delinquent Type. Development of a delinquency classification system made it possible to analyze parole outcomes of subjects in the random group according to their type. Follow-up data for the random group showed that after a 12-month postrelease period, the neurotic subjects in the experimental program had a violation rate of 21.7 percent as compared with 52.9 percent for those neurotic subjects assigned to the 50-boy living unit (p < .05). The difference of about 20 percent was maintained at later exposure periods. On the other hand, the nonneurotic subjects appear to have gained as much from the control unit program, the 12-month violation rates being 44.4 percent and 51.5 percent for experimental and control non-neurotic subjects, respectively.

Discussion

That subjects assigned to a small living unit with a higher ratio of staff-to-boys were more successful on parole provides evidence for those who assume that more adequate staffing patterns are necessary before treatment programs can be effective. Although it is doubtful that increasing the staff-to-boy ratios can directly lead to better outcomes, those programs with bare survival-level staff-to-boy ratios can probably not do effective treatment regardless of the treatment theory used or the technical expertise of staff. However, it may not have been the staff-to-ward ratio that was critical. The absolute number of wards in the living unit may have played a significant role in the outcome. It is well known that the crowding of children can produce a significant increase in behavior problems. This factor may have been at work here. In any event, such a program cannot be effective without adequate aftercare services and simultaneous modification of the parolee's relevant home environment.

The aftercare services received by the wards on their return to the community were minimal, with one parole agent serving an average of more than 75 wards.

Another important implication of this study lies with the data pointing to the likelihood that neurotic or emotionally disturbed delinquents gained more from the intensive program than did boys of other personality types. To learn more about the effects of treatment with different types of subjects will require a long series of experimental studies in which control groups of similar types of subjects are exposed to clearly specified treatment alternatives. However, there has been no need to wait on additional research to put into effect the major finding of this study. Small living units are significantly related to successful parole outcome!
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THE YOUTH CENTER RESEARCH PROJECT
PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Carl F. Jesness

General Description

Do juvenile rehabilitation institutions rehabilitate? The current consensus is that they do not, and, furthermore, that the worst of them are breeding grounds for career criminals. This paper presents an overview of a study pointing to a more optimistic possibility—the possibility that institutional programs can lead to positive changes in the behavior and attitudes of inmates, and increase their chances for success in the community.

The Youth Center Research Project was a four-year research-demonstration project that began in April 1968 and ended on March 31, 1972 (Jesness, DeRisi, McCormick & Wedge, 1972; Jesness & DeRisi, 1973). The project compared the effectiveness of two different treatment methods (behavior modification and transactional analysis) for the rehabilitation of institutionalized delinquents. The study was designed to provide data regarding the feasibility of applying these two approaches to the treatment of an institution's entire population, and to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the treatment strategies in modifying the behavior of different types of delinquents.

Method

The project was located at two California Youth Authority institutions, the O. H. Close School and the Karl Holton School, situated adjacently at the Northern California Youth Center in Stockton, California.

Because these two institutions were alike in their organizational structure, staffing patterns, and physical layout, they provided an ideal setting for this comparative research project. Each was designed to house approximately 400 youths in eight 50-bed living halls. When the project began, boys of nearly the same age were being assigned to the institutions.

Treatment Models

The two treatment models used in the Youth Center Research Project have been widely accepted and applied; but are based upon quite different theoretical views and conceptions of human behavior, including the basic premises about the origins of delinquency and the principles and means by which deviant behavior is changed. At the O. H. Close School the experimental treatment strategies were based on the psychodynamic principles and group therapy methods of transactional analysis. At the Karl Holton School the experimental treatment program was based upon the principles of behavior modification. The terms behavior modification, behavior therapy, or contingency management refer to several different techniques that trace their origin to experimentally established learning principles. The most basic of these is that when reinforcing events (favorable consequences) are contingent upon (follow)

The Youth Center Research Project was supported in part by PHS Grant No. MH 14411 NIMH (Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency).
a given behavior, the behavior will increase in strength; when they are not, the behavior will decrease in strength. In the Holton institution, a token economy and behavioral contracts served as the vehicles for arranging the contingencies so that desired behaviors were reinforced.

Transactional analysis (Berne, 1961, 1966) assumes that persons react to the world as much in terms of their interpretation of events (including internal events) as they do to the object reality of the external world. Most of the motivating force for change is assumed to lie within the person rather than without. Small-group counseling meetings served as a major vehicle of treatment, and the analysis of transactions occurring within the group was the primary technique.

Staff of both schools were intensively trained in their respective techniques, with over 30,000 man-hours being spent in training in transactional analysis at Close and 12,670 man-hours in behavior modification at Holton. These figures reflect only the hours that were formally scheduled as training. A unique feature of the Close training was the actual participation over the period of the study of almost all staff in three-day treatment marathons held by unusually expert therapists. These sessions were based on the same transactional analysis techniques the institution staff were expected to use in their groups with the inmates.

Research Design

To evaluate the effectiveness of the treatment programs, it was necessary to show that whatever changes in behavior did occur were attributable to the treatment programs. Equally important was the need to demonstrate that behavior changes stimulated by the institutions; programs led directly or indirectly to a decrease in the probability of a subject’s continuing his delinquent activities on return to the community. To accomplish these objectives, it was necessary to take account of differences among the subjects and in the treatment conditions that might have contributed to these effects.

Thus, the research plan was designed to attend to:

a) Individual differences among the subjects (subject variables),

b) Differences in the institutions; social climates,

c) Variations in what happened to individual subjects in treatment (process variables)

d) Behavior change in the institution (intermediate goals), and

e) Extent of delinquency on parole (long-range goals).

It was anticipated that wards with lesser interpersonal maturity levels would respond more favorably to behavior modification and that those with higher maturity levels would respond more favorably to transactional analysis.

Wards included as experimental subjects in the research project were all 15 to 17-year-old boys assigned to the two Northern Youth Center institutions during the year-and-one-half period from August 1969 through March 1971. Assignment of subjects to Close or Holton was made according
to random procedures (a crucial but heretical procedure approved of by
the CYA administration).

A total of 1,130 subjects assigned to Close and Holton met the project
criteria. At the end of the study period pretest data were available for
983 subjects, of whom 517 had been assigned to O. H. Close and 449 to
Karl Holton. An analysis of a variety of background data showed there
were no important differences in the subjects assigned to Close compared
with those assigned to Holton.

Program Descriptions

Holton (behavior modification). All eight living units and all class-
rooms in the Karl Holton School operated under a micro-economy and a parallel
parole-contingent point system. To be recommended to the Youth Authority
Board for release, each boy needed to accumulate a predetermined number of
behavior change units (BCU's). Boys were required to earn Karl Holton
dollars (script) in order to obtain more immediately desired comforts,
materials, services, and recreational opportunities. For each behavior
change unit earned toward release, the boy also got "$1" for his more imme-
diate needs. "Menus" posted in each hall indicated the cost of all goods
and services; charts which were conspicuously placed and updated weekly
showed the progress each boy was making toward his needed total.

Three different kinds of behaviors were identified in the Holton behavior
modification program—convenience behaviors, academic behavior,
and critical behavior deficiencies (those behaviors seen as most likely to affect the
probability of a subject's failing or succeeding on parole). It was required
that a predetermined proportion of the ward's points be earned in each area.

Close (transactional analysis). Upon arrival at the school each ward
met with an intake worker who interviewed the ward briefly, gave him a primer
in transactional analysis written specifically for this purpose (McCormick
and Campos, 1969) and assigned him to one of the seven residence halls.
After arrival there, his counselor held a life-script interview that ended
with questions useful in negotiating a treatment contract. As therapists,
staff tried to formulate no expectations of any ward except those that he set
for himself, then encouraged him to set appropriate goals; goals that included
converting from an offender to a non-offender.

Counselors were expected to meet with their caseload (average of eight
wards) twice weekly for group treatment. Each worker was required to negotiate
verbal treatment contracts so that ward and staff knew precisely what treatment
goals the ward had set for himself. Treatment contracts were of three kinds:
(1) academic; (2) small-group; and (3) overall social behavior. The most
important of these were the contracts made in the small-group treatment
sessions aimed at changes in broad life patterns (life-script).
In addition to the twice-weekly small-group therapy sessions, TA principles were applied to varying degrees in everyday management, in classrooms, and in the large group community meetings held three times each week.

Results:

The wards at Close, averaging a 37-week stay, participated in an average of 40 TA group sessions. Wards at Holton, averaging a 42-week stay, negotiated 19 written treatment contracts covering critical behavior deficiencies. Most mature (according to I-level classification) subjects "worked" harder and participated more actively in the transactional analysis treatment groups and also completed more contracts and earned more points in the Holton behavior modification program.

The experimental programs had important differential effects on the institutions' management problems and social climates. Over the period of the study, there was an impressive reduction of 60 percent in the number of residents sent to detention for misconduct. A slightly greater reduction was shown by the behavior modification program. The Correctional Institutional Environment Scale (Moos, 1970) showed that over the period of the study, residents at Close became much more positive in their evaluation of the school's staff and program than did the residents of Holton.

Psychological Tests and Behavioral Ratings

Data from psychological tests, questionnaire responses, and behavior ratings clearly demonstrated that residents of both institutions made important positive gains from pretest to posttest in behavior and outlook. Most left feeling positive about their experience and hopeful about the future. Although both schools appeared to have a positive influence on the majority of the inmates, there were many differences in the programs' impact. The most emphatic finding was that, compared with subjects at Holton, those in the transactional analysis treatment program at Close left that institution feeling more favorably about themselves and others. They showed greater gains on several dimensions, including: a) reduced feelings of anxiety and depression, b) a more positive self-concept, c) more optimism about the future, and e) more determination and confidence in their ability to maintain themselves in the community and to stay out of trouble. They were also more accepting of adults and persons in authority, and more convinced that they had resolved personal problems and could control their own destiny. Differential effects favoring Close subjects on the Jesness Inventory were especially noticeable with the CfM (Immature Conformist) and Ap (Manipulator) subjects, and only slightly less so for the Na (Acting-Out Neurotic) and Nx (Anxious Neurotic) subtypes. The I2 Ap (Asocialized Passive) and I2 Cfc (Cultural Conformist) subjects appeared to gain slightly more from the behavior modification program.
The behavior ratings were not consistent with the findings based on measured attitudes and traits. Subjects at both schools showed impressive behavioral improvements according to data from observer ratings on the Behavior Checklist (Jesness, 1971). Outcomes on the Jesness Behavior Checklist variables (using analysis of covariance), indicated that, at posttest, Holton subjects obtained a higher (positive) mean score than Close subjects on Independence, Ability to Communicate, and Calmness; Close subjects were rated higher on Insight. Among the several I-level classes, the clearest behavioral gains were shown by the more mature subjects at Holton (the I, Na and Nx subtypes), and at Close, by the I, Cfc's.

These data, taken as an aggregate, do not support the original expectation that behavior modification would be more effective with the I, Na's and I, Cfc's and TA more effective with the I, Na's. A more complex relationship between treatment and subject variables apparently exists than was anticipated.

Further analyses of the data are in progress, including the use of complex analysis of variance to determine if there were significant interactions between subject, environment, and treatment variables. Data so far evaluated have emphatically demonstrated the potency of the client-treater relationship. Clients' positive regard toward youth counselors appears important to successful treatment, no matter if it be behavior modification or transactional analysis.

Parole Data

Both programs appear to have had positive effects that carried over into the community. The parole followup data were consistent in showing that the experimental subjects who had left the two institutions and had had 12 months possible exposure to parole were doing better on parole than either: a) subjects from the same institutions who had been paroled prior to the introduction of the experimental programs; or b) groups from two other institutions who were paroled during the same period as the experimental subjects. After a 12-month parole exposure period, 32 percent of the Close subjects and 32 percent of the Holton subjects had been removed from parole. These figures were significantly lower than the violation rates of 44 percent and 42 percent for Close and Holton pre-experimental subjects of equivalent age. Of a large group of wards (n = 911) of comparable age released from two other California Youth Authority institutions, 46 percent had failed on parole at 12 months. Consistent with the test data, behavior modification appeared to be the most effective with I, Na's (31 percent revoked at 12 months versus 55 percent in the TA program). TA was most effective with Mp's (27 percent versus 38 percent at 12 months). Differences among the remaining subtypes were inconsequential.
Implications

The implications of this study are unusually favorable. Institutions can be run so that most of the residents change for the better. A comparison of pretest and posttest data shows that a high proportion of the wards became more socialized, less alienated, and more responsible during their period of institutionalization. They achieved scholastically at a high rate, and became more optimistic about their future. Most important, they were doing well on parole. We believe the data presented here show that effective institutional programs can become a reality.

Although both programs showed positive results, greater psychological gain on posttest measures was made by subjects in the transactional analysis program. These wards consistently showed more positive opinions about themselves, their counselors, their futures, and their ability to stay out of trouble. These data should be closely attended to by those using behavior techniques. In many instances positive relationships with key persons may be the only reinforcers available. Mutual positive regard can almost always be helpful, and may be essential to successful treatment regardless of technique. Those using behavior modification techniques alienated many of the inmates, probably needlessly, for successful contracts should be reinforcing for all parties involved. Transactional analysts, on the other hand, may sometimes set up goals which are esoteric, far removed from the realities of everyday behavior problems and thus difficult to evaluate. The counselors using such techniques need to be constantly reminded that talk is cheap and is not always congruent with behavior. These workers also need to be aware that much of their "stroking" is, indeed, contingent upon performance, and should use this to their advantage.

Perhaps the most promising direction for both programs to go is toward a blending of the obvious strengths of each system. Behavior modifiers specify small units of behavior as contract goals. Transactional analysts call for establishing global, lifetime goals. Persons who work to accomplish short-term objectives as steps toward broader goals agreed to and understood by the client may do better than those who concentrate on only immediate, unrelated behaviors. Neither system need be restricted to setting only one type of goal, even though most theorists and practitioners have tended to emphasize one over the other. Each system is based, at least ultimately, on learning theory, and each uses reinforcement (by self and others) as the motivational system. Both are contractual, and both, in the long run, promote self-management. The advantages of integrating two such ostensibly different approaches may be considerable, and efforts to do so are continuing in the Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project as well as in other CYA settings.

Transactional analysis and behavior modification are presently being widely used as the primary treatment methods in correctional settings throughout the country. The programs at Holton and Close have served as models for many of these programs, and have stimulated many to develop more effective treatment programs.
REFERENCES


THE PRESTON TYPOLOGY STUDY
AN EXPERIMENT WITH DIFFERENTIAL
TREATMENT IN AN INSTITUTION

Carl F. Jesness

The Preston Typology Study was a two and one-half year research-
demonstration project concerned with the classification and treatment
of delinquent adolescents. The purpose of the study was to explore the
usefulness of the Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) classification
system in the differential treatment of delinquents in an institutional
setting. The specific objectives were:

1. To develop an efficient and reliable procedure for the classification
   of delinquent youth into one of nine I-level subtypes.
2. To train institutional staff in the Interpersonal Maturity Level
   system.
3. To develop, for each of the major I-level subtypes, differential
   treatment programs applicable to institutional settings.
4. To evaluate the effects of differential assignment and treatment
   on the operation of the institution and on the behavior of the
   subjects.

The Setting

Preston School of Industry is a large California Youth Authority
institution housing (at the time of the study) approximately 900 wards
in 16 living units. The boys sent to Preston, at the time of this study,
ranged in age from 16 to 20 (median 17.6) and remained in the institution
for an average of 8.4 months. Most boys sent to Preston had more lengthy
and serious records than those sent to other facilities, and 45 percent had
previously been committed to a Youth Authority institution. Of the 16 housing
units at Preston, five were assigned wards meeting special criteria in that
they had been cleared for work outside the confines of the institution or had
been assigned to one of two psychiatric units on the basis of their amenable-
ness and motivation for individual psychotherapy or on the basis of a
special recommendation made by the Youth Authority.

This study was supported by a grant from the National Institute of
Mental Health, United States Public Health Service, made to the Institute
for the Study of Crime and Delinquency (now the American Justice Institute).
This article is a summary of a longer article that appeared in the Journal
Subjects

The study sample consisted of boys who arrived at Preston during a 12-month period (February, 1966 to March, 1967). All subjects who were not preselected for special programs, such as for work outside the institution or for the Psychiatric Treatment Program, were placed in a pool of eligibles who were then assigned by random methods to either the experimental or control group. Experimental subjects were subsequently placed in one of six living units according to their I-level subtype classification (with infrequently diagnosed I2 Aa and Ap subjects together, and Se and Ci subjects in the Na or Nx units). Subjects designated as controls were assigned to one of five living units according to previously established institutional procedures that did not take account of personality type. A total of 655 experimental subjects and 518 control subjects remained in the study sample after losses resulting from transfer or failure to meet the eligibility criteria (more than three months in the program during the project period). Four hundred and thirty-four were assigned to special programs.

Staff Training and Assignment

Management personnel received approximately 70 hours of training, and the group supervisors and youth counselors received 34 hours. In addition, monthly training seminars were held throughout the project's operational period. Most of the training centered on discussions of the characteristics and treatment of the particular subtype that was the responsibility of each treatment team. The responses of staff to a questionnaire administered before and after the training period indicated that during the course of training, the attitudes of staff had become more congruent with those points of view believed to be best suited for working with subjects assigned to their treatment unit.

To further implement differential treatment, an attempt was made to match treaters to wards in accordance with behavior predilections inherent in each staff member's personality, interests, and natural working style. While there was much resistance to reassignment, some transfers were accomplished during the course of the project, transfers that were in part guided by the staff's response to the questionnaire designed for this purpose. By the end of the study, the majority of treatment staff were working in experimental units where the desired treater-stance was compatible with staff's stated preferences. The Mp, Cfc, and Na experimental lodges began and finished the study with the highest percentage of compatible staff assigned. This point is worth noting since, by the end of the training period, these three units appeared to have moved furthest toward establishing unique differential treatment strategies that most closely approximated the desired models.
Classification

Classification of subjects into one of nine 1-level subtypes was based on the integration of data from three sources: an interview, an inventory, and a sentence completion test. The initial guidelines to the interpretation of these data came from the responses of a previously diagnosed sample of cases from the Community Treatment Project. The characteristic responses of wards of each subtype to the interview and sentence completion test, administered to a larger sample, were compiled in a manual. The computer technology developed for classification based on the Jesness Inventory is also described in the manual.*

Description of Experimental Treatment Programs

Descriptions of the experimental treatment programs were obtained through periodic meetings with each treatment team and with panels of selected wards from each of the six experimental units. Members of the research staff also spent several hours observing each program. There was considerable congruence between the observations of staff, wards, and researchers. Highlights of each program are as follows:

1. Juniper Lodge. Staff style: patient, protective, tolerant, not demanding, able to give yet willing to set clear limits. Establish supportive, nonthreatening, nonpunitive, clearly structured environment; build confidence through work and school accomplishment; extinguish (ignore) bizarre behavior, but attend to and reinforce positive behaviors; assign two special teachers for remedial reading; all wards to work one-half day in laundry, starting with the simplest job, working up to the more complex jobs.

1.1 Cfm (Immature Conformist) - Ironwood Lodge. Staff style: willing and able to offer support and positive encouragement for small accomplishment with low expectation of verbal insight. Insulate from more delinquently oriented peers; build up self-esteem and autonomy at every opportunity; establish nonconfrontative milieu and positive education experience; attempt to establish positive attitude toward school by assigning a selected three-man teaching staff with special skills in arts and crafts and athletics.

*Work on the classification system and on more systematic procedures for its application continued. See the section describing the Sequential Classification System, titled "Project Sequil".
1. Cfc (Conformist, Cultural) - Greenbrier Lodge. Staff style: preference for group rather than individual counseling; sufficiently secure and confident to confront residents, yet able to interact comfortably and honestly. Use power of group to confront wards with nonpayoff for delinquent behavior and attempt to establish trust of adults working in an authoritarian role. Large group meetings held at least three times each week.

2. Mp (Manipulator) - Hawthorne Lodge. Staff style: comfortable with tight limits; confident, skeptical, able to discriminate manipulation from serious efforts to communicate; a main goal was to extinguish manipulative behavior and reinforce honest, "straight", interpersonal behavior. During most of the operational period, a micro (token) economy was established to give staff greater control of wards' behavior.

3. Na (Neurotic, Acting-Out) - Fir Lodge. Staff style: able to tolerate hostility and verbalized anti-authoritarian statements; open, honest, and equalitarian; willing to allow and encourage wards to assume major responsibility for hall operation; nondefensive and able to acknowledge personal inadequacies. A main goal was to increase anger and acting-out threshold, establish a trusting relationship with adults; emphasis on individual counseling using concepts of transactional analysis to help wards understand and deal with family hang-ups.

4. Nx (Neurotic, Anxious) - Evergreen Lodge. Staff style: preference for permissive, loosely structured settings; desirous of becoming involved in serious discussions of wards' personal problems; supportive and equalitarian. Goals included increasing self-respect and confidence and gaining insight into the reasons behind wards' delinquent acts through group counseling.

In actuality, could one discern clear differences in the behavior of staff and wards in each of the six living units? The research staff's impression was that differences were apparent, but that most of the uniqueness in living unit milieu came from individual differences in the interpersonal behavior of wards.

Results

Data on the immediate impact of the experimental program on the institution indicated fairly consistently that the introduction of the 1-level system tended to decrease unit management problems. During the operational phase of the study, significantly fewer reports of serious rule infractions and peer problems were reported in the experimental units. The decrease in incidence of behavioral problems was particularly dramatic in the Nx and Cfm units where reductions of 63 percent and 43 percent occurred.
The impact of the experimental program on the study subjects was evaluated through psychometrics, behavior ratings, and parole followup data. Most of the observations indicated that the Mp, Cfc, Na, and l₂ experimental units had been more successful in developing unique treatment strategies than other units; and, consequently, differential outcomes could be most confidently predicted for these subtypes.

The results of the analysis of pretest to posttest change scores generally substantiated these expectations. On psychological measures, the Mp experimental subjects showed the most unambiguous changes in the desired direction. Compared with the Mp control subjects, inventory data showed the experimental group as having become less autistic and alienated and, at the same time, more aware of problems in interpersonal relationships. The Cfc and Na experimental groups showed the greatest improvement on behavioral criteria. Compared with their controls, the experimental Cfc and Na subjects at the time of release were rated as significantly less aggressive and alienated and as more responsible and conforming. The expectation of differential changes favoring the experimental l₂ program was not verified.

In spite of the fact that violation of parole is a crude measure that may be of questionable value as a criterion of treatment effectiveness, any analysis of treatment outcomes with delinquents seems incomplete unless recidivism data are examined. Thus, a detailed analysis of the comparative success or failure on parole of E and C subjects was made. (Failure was defined as a suspension leading to revocation of parole within a 15-month postrelease period.)

Although almost all the evidence of behavioral and psychological changes favored the experimental group, parole data indicated the performance of the two groups to be the same. Overall, 54 percent of the controls and 54 percent of the experimental subjects had violated parole on or before the 15th month after their release to parole.

This first step in refining the analysis was to compare violation rates as broken down by l₁-level subtypes. Results showed that the revocation rates of the nine experimental and control subtype groups were remarkably similar. A Chi-square analysis failed to indicate statistically significant differences between E and C groups for any of the subtypes. Data based on a 24-month exposure period also showed no significant differences.

Because certain background variables are known to be related to parole outcome, a further refinement in the analysis was carried out by classifying wards as good, average, or poor parole risks (base expectancy categories) according to scores derived from weighted background variables. (Of Preston wards, 43.6 percent fell in the poor-risk category, 30.9 percent in the medium category, and 25.5 percent in the good-risk category.)
As shown in Table 1, the percent of violators for experimental and control groups at 15 and 24 months was remarkably similar within each base expectancy category. This applied to the special control groups as well. No noticeable treatment effects were apparent for selected wards assigned to the psychiatric program, or to the special vocational programs then in effect for boys cleared for work outside the institution.

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Base Expectancy Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low (Poor Prognosis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Months Exposure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>68.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>65.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC (Outside Assignment)</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC (Psychiatric Treatment)</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Months Exposure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>77.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC (Outside Assignment)</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC (Psychiatric Treatment)</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those classified into each risk category behaved much as predicted. Of the total group, 66.0 percent of the poor risks, 50.5 percent of the medium risks, and 38.6 percent of the good risks had violated parole on or before 15 months of postrelease exposure to parole. The differences in violation rates between high and low risk groups were approximately the same at 24 months.

There were significant differences in the violation rates for subjects of the various subtypes, with the highest (poorest) 15-month violation rate (57 percent) being obtained by the Na group, and the lowest (24 percent) by the Se group.
Implications

It seems almost incredible that when this study began in 1965, the idea of classifying delinquent subjects and assigning them to unique institutional treatment programs according to their I-level subtype was regarded as a radically innovative procedure. The fact that the system was accepted as standard procedure at Preston, as well as at two other California Youth Authority institutions which have opened since the project began, is evidence of its feasibility in the institutional treatment and management of delinquents. The data indicate that assignment and program planning based on the system can lead to a significant reduction in management problems.

The data presented in this report do not fully convey the impact of the experimental program on the institution, for its effects were most apparent in the changed attitudes and behavior of Preston staff. The introduction of the I-level classification system contributed to increased professionalism and enthusiasm on the part of treatment personnel, some of whom had the reputation of being "old line" supervisors, not noted for their openness to change. Providing a rational classification and treatment approach made it possible for these staff members to become increasingly knowledgeable about the behavior and treatment of one or more classes of delinquents. In addition, the involvement of middle-management personnel in the diagnostic process stimulated the exchange of ideas and experimentation in new ways of treatment, which continued beyond the end of the project.

Further familiarity with the I-level system, together with experimentation with new approaches to treatment, could lead to the eventual development of more rational and truly individualized treatment programs. Furthermore, and probably most important, the adoption of the system could immediately make possible the exchange of more meaningful data from researchers using different populations in different parts of the country. It would probably be generally agreed that the usefulness of a classification system such as I-level is related to its power in enabling the greatest number of useful predictions to be made regarding a subject's response to a variety of critical situations. At our present state of knowledge, however, it is not always clear what these most useful predictions might be. One can easily imagine that in the future, the responses of subjects to various clearly defined intervention strategies will play a more prominent role in determining a system's utility and in defining classes of delinquents. This task should probably be one with high research priority in the next few years. Data now being obtained from the Youth Center Research Project (Summer 1973) supports the view that the several I-level subtypes respond differentially to defined treatment interventions. In addition, it now appears that certain predictions (such as recidivism) can be significantly improved by running separate regression solutions for each subtype or maturity level.
FORESTRY CAMP STUDIES
Joachim P. Seckel

General Description of Program

Established in 1943 under an amendment to the Youth Authority Act, the Youth Conservation Camps are operated jointly by the California Youth Authority and the Division of Forestry. At the time of the two studies under consideration, there were four camps with capacities ranging from 70 beds to 105 beds. Two of the camps included smaller branch camps, each of which had 20 beds. Currently, there are five camps, each having a budgeted capacity of 76 beds.

The camps were developed for selected delinquent youth regarded as able to benefit from, and safely fit into, an outdoor program in a minimum security setting. The camps were intended to provide a less restrictive atmosphere and avoid some of the negative aspects of institutional confinement. The treatment component centers on individual counseling when deemed appropriate, together with a program of forestry work aimed at developing good work habits and mature interpersonal relationships.

Each camp has a dual administration; a Youth Authority staff and a Forestry staff. The former determines crew assignments of wards and is responsible for wards’ welfare and security; the latter assigns and oversees the forestry conservation tasks to be performed. There is some overlap in that both staffs function as counselors to wards, and both are involved in supervising forestry tasks performed by wards.

The first study summarized below was designed: 1) to identify factors in the camp milieu and organization which were associated with the administrative policy and staff orientation of the two camps; and 2) to examine the ward responses and reactions to these factors. The study was conceived after a review of several prior investigations which revealed positive association between staff orientations and policies in relation to inmate reactions toward staff, program, and self/other attitudes. These earlier investigations not only pointed out the effects of conflicting administrative policy on staff effectiveness, but also explored the impact of different institutional orientations upon ward adjustment, both within the institution and on parole. The findings reported therein served as a framework for identifying relevant staff-related factors impinging on wards in the two camp milieus.

The study discussed below involved several types of data collection. To explore staff orientation and attitude, intensive interviews were conducted with the four top administrators of each of the two camps. In addition, a five-page questionnaire was completed anonymously by the nonadministrative staffs of both camps. Two questionnaires covering attitudes toward staff, camp program, peers, and self were given to all wards in each camp. Moreover, the same questionnaires were used on a
special sample of wards shortly after arrival at camp and just prior to their release to parole.

The second study dealt with below, was an attempt to evaluate the comparative recidivism rates of wards paroled from the camps versus those paroled from Youth Authority institutions. Prior statistics had shown that wards released from camps generally had lower rates of parole violation than wards released from other facilities; moreover, the camp releasees consistently had lower-than-expected rates according to their base expectancy scores derived from a multiple regression analysis. The question posed in the study could be stated as: "Can the lower recidivism rate of wards paroled from camps be attributed to selection factors (ward characteristics) alone, or does the camp program produce a measurable effect that is above and beyond that which can be attributed to selection? To answer this question, arrangements were made for the random assignment of camp-eligible wards either to a camp or to an institution.

Summary of Major Findings

With regard to the first study of camp impact, the interviews with camp administrators revealed clear differences in the goal orientations of the two camps. At Camp Carson the emphasis was upon direct training and controlled guidance, with frequent mention that wards need to "learn good work habits", "conform to direction", and "accept authority". At Camp Drake, on the other hand, there seemed to be more concern with permissive, therapeutic aspects, such as encouraging the ward to "see some value in the job done", "accept his own responsibility", and "think for himself". In general, the differences seemed related to an "other-directed" versus an "inner-directed" orientation.

In general, the administrative personnel and staff exhibited wide differences between the two camps with respect to camp treatment goals, patterns of staff-ward relations, rule and regulation enforcement, counseling and treatment practice, attitudes toward job, and basis for evaluation of ward progress. These differences were largely consistent with the respective camp goals of a controlled guidance and work training program versus a permissive-interpersonal and therapeutic community orientation.

Corresponding to the divergence in operating philosophy and practices between the two camps, were distinct reactions of their ward populations. Wards generally evinced more positive and favorable attitudes toward the staff and program at the camp which emphasized a permissive/therapeutic approach, and more negative and unfavorable attitudes toward the staff and program at the camp which emphasized controlled-guidance and work training. Although wards at Camp Carson tended to be slightly younger, with more minority group members and more Juvenile Court cases than those at Camp Drake, these differences did not appear to be consistently related to attitudes expressed toward the two camps and camp programs. A further analysis pointed up another interesting result; namely, no consistent pattern was observed in positive or negative responses of wards to questionnaire items and their subsequent parole violations.
It was apparent that the differences in camp and treatment practices were largely determined by camp administrators, although constraints were posed by such factors as staff traditions, and the concerns of community leaders with regard to security precautions. Camp Drake had been in operation slightly more than two years, while camp Carson had been in operation 15 years at the time of the study. As a result, Camp Carson tended to be composed of counselors who had been associated with that camp for some time, while the staff at Camp Drake were either recently employed or had been transferred to Camp Drake from other facilities. The superintendent at Camp Carson largely inherited his staff from previous superintendents, whereas the superintendent at Camp Drake had been able to select personnel who more closely reflected his own thinking concerning the camp goals and methods of operation.

The overall parole violation rate was observed as slightly lower for wards released from Camp Drake than those from Camp Carson, possibly reflecting a slightly lower proportion of high parole risk cases at the former camp. Thus, despite the apparent effects of the differences in camp philosophy and practice upon ward attitudes, there is no indication that these factors had any lasting post-release effect upon wards in terms of their parole violation rates.

The main finding obtained for the second study was that there was little difference in the violation rates of the wards assigned randomly to camps and institutions. The wards paroled from camps included 36.4 percent violators while those paroled from institutions included 35.3 percent violators after fifteen months of post-release time. When wards who had been transferred from their facility were included, the violation rates were 39.3 percent for camp assignees and 34.9 percent for institution assignees. Neither of these differences approached statistical significance at the five percent level.

Implications

A number of implications are suggested by the findings of the first study of rehabilitative camp influences. First, given a treatment-oriented approach rather than one of controlled guidance and direct work-training, it appears that wards respond with more positive attitudes toward staff and camp program. Second, from the standpoint of ward management, it would seem that a treatment-oriented program results in a more favorable social climate in which there are fewer behavioral problems among wards. Third, the findings strongly suggest that a treatment-centered program is more likely to lead to inmate norms and relationships which will minimize the formation of an anti-staff or delinquent subculture. Fourth, it is reasonable to assume that a treatment-centered approach, as contrasted to a controlled guidance orientation, engenders more positive ward attitudes toward staff, camp objectives and practices which, in turn, are conducive to staff counseling and therapeutic efforts. In other words, ward motivation to participate in rehabilitative procedures is more likely to occur when wards are favorably inclined toward the camp's staff and program.
Despite the differential effects of the two camp milieux upon ward attitudes, there was no clear indication of a differential impact upon parole violation rates. It may be, of course, the two distinct camp climates led to differences in outcome that would have been measurable by other indices of community adjustment. Also, the two camp milieux may have had differential effects upon individual wards depending on their social and personal characteristics, such as minority group membership, employability, and interpersonal maturity level.

The results of the second study failed to reveal statistical evidence that the lower parole violation rate of wards released from camps was uniquely associated with exposure to the camp program. The implication is that the lower recidivism rate which was generally observed for camp releases than institutional releases can be reasonably attributed to the "type" of ward selected for camp by Youth Authority Board Members and Hearing Representatives. The possibility cannot be ruled out, of course, that camps and/or institutions have positive effects on parole outcome, but that these effects could not be demonstrated by the present statistical study.

Even though the evidence does not show that camps have an effect on recidivism rates, there are distinct advantages in the use of forestry camps rather than institutions for many Youth Authority wards. Thus, the average cost of maintaining a ward in a camp is less than at institutions. In this regard, the average length of stay of wards in camps is less than at institutions. In addition, the wards perform useful and necessary work in fire fighting and forestry conservation. And, the wards are assigned to a healthful setting of outdoor work, which generally strengthens them physically and develops good work habits.

Influence of Findings on Program Operation

While it is hard to document the influence of the above research upon camp operations, a number of program changes have occurred since completion of the studies which are in accord with the findings reported therein. For one thing, the counseling program has been augmented. Thus, the daily informal counseling of wards has been supplemented with weekly small group counseling and with biweekly large group meetings involving all camp wards.

Secondly, the case conference for reviewing the progress of individual wards has been expanded to include and encourage participation of the ward at each conference. It is felt that this procedure will not only enhance ward-staff communication, but also provide more insight into ward needs and responsiveness to the camp program. Another change has been the assignment of a full-time parole agent at each camp so as to increase casework services and better prepare wards for release to parole.
Since many of the camp wards were found to be deficient in areas of basic education, a half-time teacher position has been established at each camp. Classes are now being conducted in basic remedial subjects as well as in high school courses.

In order to expand rehabilitative services and to increase contacts with the "real world", more extensive use is being made of community volunteers in each of the camps. Arrangements have been made for both individual volunteers and social agency representatives, such as Alcoholic Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous, to visit the camps on a frequent basis.

The camp work program has been further modified to more closely approximate employment conditions in the community. The wages paid to wards for their camp work have been increased; extra wages have been allowed for overtime hours; and incentive payments have been offered for wards who can be promoted to the more skilled levels of camp work.
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PAROLE AND COMMUNITY TREATMENT

Summary of Findings

Parole programming and treatment in the community in lieu of institutional confinement has been a continuous subject of research in the CYA. This section describes studies on treatment programs undertaken with Youth Authority wards.

Parole Research Project

The Parole Research Project (1959 to 1961) tested whether reduced caseloads, as such, resulted in improved parole performance. Ten experimental caseloads of 36 parolees and five geographically matched caseloads of 72 parolees were established in Alameda County. Other than the reduced caseloads, the agents heading up the experimental caseloads (36 parolees) had no additional resources over and above those furnished agents of the control caseloads (72 parolees).

The major outcome of the study was that wards in reduced caseloads performed no better on parole than those in regular caseloads. It was concluded that a reduction in caseload size, in and of itself, was not enough to reduce violational behavior.

Community Treatment Project

The first large-scale project aimed at testing out alternatives to incarceration, "The Community Treatment Project", has undergone three phases, the last of which will be completed this year. The project began in 1961. Three major questions were addressed in Phase I. The first was to determine the feasibility of releasing selected wards directly to a treatment program in the community. The second was to compare the effectiveness of community treatment with incarceration, in terms of parole performance. The third goal was to determine if defined types of delinquents responded differentially in specified kinds of settings.
A clear finding was that it was feasible to treat a high proportion of commitments from the Juvenile Court (24 percent of all boys and 37 percent of all girls) in the community. Secondly, it was determined that the Community Treatment program brought about better performance or parole than did the regular program for specified types of offenders—particularly in the case of "neurotic" youngsters. On the other hand, "power-oriented" delinquents seemed to do better in the regular program. Those discharged from the control group out-performed the experimental in terms of post-discharge convictions. The two types of programs are comparable in terms of costs.

Phase III addressed the question: "For what types of offenders should treatment begin in the community and for what types should treatment begin in a residential setting?" A study was made of the underlying motivation of each offender and each was classified according to the setting in which he should ideally begin treatment. Having been classified, wards were randomly assigned either to the residential or community treatment setting. The major finding has been that those who were inappropriately placed performed worse than appropriately placed offenders. This difference is most substantial in the case of those wards who were judged to be in need of treatment beginning in a residential center.

The Group Home Project

The Group Home Project developed out of the experiences of the Community Treatment Project. The major thrust was to develop five types of group homes, each of which would serve a specified type of youthful offender. Those five types were labeled: (1) Protective—for immature youth, (2) Containment—for the more aggressive, culturally conforming offender, (3) Boarding—for the interpersonally mature youth, (4) Temporary Care—for those with a temporary placement need, (5) Short-Term Restriction—for youth in need of restrictive handling.

Results were mixed. The two most successful homes were the Boarding home and the Temporary Care home. The Short-Term Restriction home was never established. The other homes were only moderately successful.
Most, but not all, of the youth assigned, seemed able to profit from the group home experience.

Los Angeles Community Delinquency Control Project

The Los Angeles Community Delinquency Control Project replicated, in part, the Community Treatment Project. In this study, juvenile court wards were paroled directly from CYA reception centers in lieu of the regular institutional and parole program to two intensive rehabilitative programs in high delinquency areas in Los Angeles. The study population was randomly assigned to experimental (the intensive community program) or to a comparison group which experienced the regular institutional and parole program.

No differences were found between the two groups on any of the parole performance measures. Analysis of the arrest data showed that a high proportion of the comparison group was revoked by the CYA Board following the first arrest.
General Description of the Program

The Parole Research Project of the California Youth Authority began its operational stage in Alameda County in the summer of 1959. At that time sufficient additional parole agents were hired to create ten experimental caseloads of 36 wards each, and five geographically matched caseloads of 72 wards each. The subjects involved in the study were all male Youth Authority wards released on parole to Alameda County between September 1, 1959, and August 31, 1961.

The major purpose of the project was to ascertain whether cutting parole caseloads in half resulted in significant improvement in parole performance. The project also had a number of secondary purposes; namely,

1) To examine closely and to describe an ongoing parole operation, including the activities of parole agents as well as parolees;

2) To develop classifications of parolees and parole agents that appeared to have some relationship to parole outcome;

3) To record and evaluate the various factors that impinged upon both parole agents and parolees;

4) To analyze and interpret these factors with respect to relationship to parole performance.

All cases were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: 1) experimental/interview; 2) experimental/non-interview; 3) control/interview; and 4) control/non-interview. Experimental wards were supervised by agents carrying 36 cases, while those assigned to control conditions were supervised by agents carrying 72 cases.

Cases assigned to interview status were examined intensively through frequent interviews by research staff; additionally, interviews were held periodically with their families, parole agents, and other persons in the community. Ward interviews consisted of four types:

1. An interview with the parole agent prior to the ward's release to parole, at which time the parole agent made "Support-Stress" ratings of the ward's environmental factors. (Note: The "Support-Stress" ratings were developed on a 4-point scale indicating the degree of support or stress the ward would receive from significant persons or areas of his environment.)

2. A research staffing of the case prior to ward's release, and after interviews with the family and the parole agent. At this
time, research staff made "Support-Stress" ratings of the ward's environmental factors.

3. A research interview with the ward after nine months of parole exposure, including a further rating of his support and stress factors, and a rating of the level of supervision received from the parole agent. (Note: The level of supervision utilized a 7-point scale based upon a statement of treatment needs, formulation of an "ideal" treatment plan, and ability to modify the plan when treatment needs dictate.)

4. An interview with the ward at the time of revocation or discharge if this occurred before nine months on parole. The same ratings were made that would otherwise have been made in the nine-month interview.

Summary of Major Findings

In terms of the interview/non-interview status, interviewed cases did not perform significantly better on parole than non-interview cases among both experimentals and controls. At 18 months after release, 45.6 of all interviewed cases had violated parole, compared with 46.8 percent for those not interviewed.

Since the experimental aspect of the project was terminated before all wards could have 18 months of parole exposure, releasees were divided into two groups for analysis: Cohort A (all with 18 full months of follow-up) included wards released during the first six months of the project; Cohort B (with an average of 16.5 months on parole) was comprised of those released during the latter six months.

Experimentals in Cohort A performed significantly better during their first six months on parole than controls, but after 18 months of parole exposure, there was no difference in outcome. In Cohort B, there was no significant difference in performance between experimentals and controls at any time.

Further, there was no difference in outcome when experimentals and controls for both cohorts were combined.

Other general findings, relative to parole outcome, indicated:

1. Experimental cases had significantly more unfavorable discharges than the controls at 18 months of follow-up;

2. For Cohort A, there was a positive relationship between the number of agent contacts per month and success on parole;

3. In both cohorts, experimentals committed the same number and severity of offenses as the controls, but in Cohort A the experimental agents restored a significantly larger proportion of offenders than control agents;
A Comparison of Experimental and Control Cases in Cohorts A and B, Showing Percent Violators at Different Time Periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parole Exposure Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Cohort A</th>
<th>Cohort B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experimental Violators</td>
<td>Control Violators</td>
<td>Experimental Violators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Months</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Months</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Months</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. In the level of supervision rating, wards judged to have had more adequate supervision did better than those judged to have less adequate supervision;

5. Ratings of environmental support or stress made before wards were released to parole predicted their later performance;

6. Wards in reduced caseloads were more likely to receive adequate supervision than wards in regular sized caseloads.

In summary, although being in a reduced caseload made it more likely that wards would receive more adequate supervision, and although receiving more adequate supervision was related to parole performance, wards in reduced caseloads did no better on parole than those in regular caseloads.

Implications of Findings

As other studies of this nature have shown, a reduction of caseload size, in and of itself, does not appear to have an appreciable impact on violational behavior. The finding that adequacy of supervision, regardless of caseload size, resulted in more favorable outcome suggests that more emphasis should be placed upon improving the level of service according to the needs of individual wards. A planned treatment approach with flexibility for modification as the need dictates appears to have more impact in reducing violational behavior than the traditional "surveillance only" approach, even with reduced caseloads.
Influence of Findings on Program Operation

Several recent parole programs have been modeled after the Parole Research Project, utilizing greatly reduced caseloads, but also incorporating specialized treatment modalities and other program components to increase the level of service to Youth Authority parolees. The first special parole program implemented as an outgrowth of the project was the Community Delinquency Control Project (described elsewhere in this report), which was an experimental program utilizing greatly reduced caseloads and incorporating a "community center" approach in dealing with selected Youth Authority parolees.

In 1966 the first of seven Community Parole Centers (also described in this report) was established, expanding the concept of the CDCP units to include all Youth Authority wards residing within a specified geographical area. The model was based upon the concept that: 1) reduced caseloads, and 2) an action-oriented community center and, 3) parole agent involvement with institutional staff in program planning would reduce violation rates.
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THE COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

Theodore B. Palmer

Background

The Community Treatment Project (CTP) has evolved in three phases: Phase I (1961-1964), Phase II (1964-1969) and Phase III (1969-1974). The main object of Phase I was to find out if certain kinds of juvenile offenders could be allowed to remain right in their home communities, if given rather intensive supervision and treatment within a small-sized parole caseload. The basic question was: Could selected Youth Authority parole agents work effectively with at least some of these youngsters without first locking them up for several months in a large-sized state institution? The main goals of Phase II were (a) to see if the CTP approach would be applicable to a large urban setting, and (b) to begin pinning down the factors responsible for the apparent success of CTP during its first phase. Phase III is directed at determining whether certain types of youth can more profitably begin their treatment in a residential setting.

The Phase I and II Program. During 1961-1969, all wards involved in CTP were classified according to their underlying reasons for delinquency. The theoretical basis of this system is the formulation of Sullivan, Grant and Grant. It involves a sequence of "integrations" often observed as part of normal personal and social development. Of the seven levels of "interpersonal maturity" (I-levels) originally postulated, only three are needed to describe the delinquent population: integration levels 2, 3, and 4. Each such level contains more than one subtype. The names of the nine subtypes found are as follows:

12 Aa - Asocial, Aggressive
   Ap - Asocial, Passive

13 CfM - Conformist, Immature
   CFC - Conformist, Cultural
   Mp - Manipulator

14 Na - Neurotic, Acting-out
   Nx - Neurotic, Anxious
   CI - Cultural Identifier
   Se - Situational-Emotional Reaction

For each delinquent subtype a particular treatment-control strategy was developed by CTP staff on the basis of theory and from direct clinical experience with delinquent wards. After being classified, each ward was "matched", i.e., assigned to a parole agent who was selected for CTP because of his predicted ability to implement the type of treatment-control plans which were likely to be developed for the given type of ward. The effect was the creation of relatively homogeneous parole caseloads for each parole agent. Caseloads were kept at an average of ten or twelve wards per agent, and extensive supervision, consultation and opportunities for training were made available to agents.
Eight hundred two boys and 212 girls participated in Phases I and II. All economic levels and racial backgrounds were included. Average age at intake was 15.6 with the range being 13 through 19. All first offenders from the Juvenile Court were allowed to participate, except for those who were committed for offenses such as armed robbery, assault with a deadly weapon, or forcible rape. (Also excluded were a smaller group to whom the community had objected quite strenuously.) Despite such restrictions, 65 percent of all boys and 83 percent of all girls could be included in the experiment. These youths were known as "eligibles".

Phase I and II Findings. To state the findings in a succinct yet meaningful way, it will be necessary to: (1) focus upon the Sacramento-Stockton area alone; (2) refer to boys only (girls will be briefly mentioned later); and (3) refer to three separate groupings of youth. Of the 1,014 eligibles, 72 percent of the boys and 58 percent of the girls were from the Sacramento-Stockton area. Other research findings suggest that the results reported below are generally comparable for San Francisco youths. The three groupings, "Passive Conformist" (Ccf's), "Power Oriented" (Ccfc's and Mp's), and "Neurotic" (Ma's and Nm's), accounted for 14 percent, 21 percent and 53 percent of the 1961-1969 sample of boys, respectively, and taken together, accounted for 98 percent of all eligible boys. The remaining 12 percent was made up of four rather rare groupings.

The following criterion measures were used:

(1) arrest rate for each month "at risk" (i.e., each month on parole in the community;
(2) 24-months recidivism rate;
(3) rate of favorable discharge from CYA within 60 months;
(4) rate of unfavorable discharge from CYA within 60 months;
(5) arrest rate and conviction rate within 48 months after favorable discharge from CYA.

The following results were found for the total group of boys:

(1) the arrest rate was .065 among controls and .040 among experimentalists, for each month on parole. (This 65 percent difference in favor of CTP cannot be explained in terms of "chance", "differential decision-making", or "differential reporting"). In practical terms, this amounted to at least 750 fewer arrests per CYA career for every 1,000 experimental as versus 1,000 control wards.
(2) On 24-months parole followup, experimentalists performed significantly better than controls in terms of recidivism rate: 44 percent as versus 63 percent.
(3) Fifty percent of the controls as versus 69 percent of the experimentalists received a favorable discharge from the CYA within 60 months of their release to the community.
(4) Twenty-three percent of the controls as versus 16 percent of the experimentalists received an unfavorable discharge within 60 months.
(5) On 48-months post-CYA followup, favorable discharges from the control group performed about 15 percent better than comparable experimentalists--
e.g., 1.4 versus 1.67 convictions, plus fairly similar figures with respect to arrests. This difference was largely accounted for by the "Power Oriented" controls. Taken by themselves, neurotic experimental boys outperformed their controls on post-CYA followups.

Most "Neurotics" who were in the CTP program produced substantially-- and significantly--less delinquent behavior than their "controls", (i.e., matched youths who participated in the traditional CYA program). The "Neurotics" outperformed their controls on all criterion measures. Opposite results were found with "Power Oriented" youths: Here, the traditional CYA program seemed to be better than the intensive, community-based program (CTP). "Passive Conformists" did a little better in CTP than in the traditional program. Regarding the relatively rare types: Ci's did better in the traditional program; Se's did equally well in both programs; Ap's did somewhat better in CTP; and, no meaningful results were obtained for Aa's due to insufficient sample size.

Girls performed equally well in the traditional program and in CTP. With few exceptions, this applied to each of the three major groups as well.

Costs. During the early years of CTP (1963 prices) the average CYA career for each ward was $1,446 less expensive within the traditional program--$5,734 versus $7,180. During a more recent period, (1971-1972 prices) the average career cost difference was $253: $14,327 for controls, $14,580 for experimentals. This amounts to $86 per year, or 18 cents per day. (The greatly increased costs within both programs were a reflection of "normal", i.e., nationwide, increases in salaries, cost-of-living, etc.) Since the above figures do not include capital outlay expense, the overall "per ward career costs" would be a few hundred dollars higher for the traditional program than for CTP. The difference between CTP and the traditional program would be further increased if non-CYA correctional costs for unfavorable discharges were taken into account. Here, it will be recalled that a greater percentage of controls than experimentals had received an unfavorable discharge. Half of these individuals were sent directly to a state or federal prison.

The following were among the factors which seemed to contribute to the effectiveness of CTP (1961-1969): (1) Matching of given types of parole agents with given types of youths; (2) level of ability and perceptiveness of parole agents who were selected for the program; (3) differential and treatment-relevant decision-making; (4) intensive and/or extensive intervention by parole agents in relation to several areas of the youths' lives (family, school, etc.), made possible by low caseload assignments. The relative importance of each such factor appeared to vary depending upon the type of youth involved. CTP's relative effectiveness was not simply a result of its having operated within a community setting. Evidence suggested that the avoidance of institutionalization, in itself, contributed little if anything to the experimental/control differences in parole success.
Phase III Program. Despite the early promise shown by CTP with many youths, there was much room for improvement. For instance, at least one-third of all eligible males (regardless of subtype) were again involved in delinquency within a few weeks or months after having entered the program. Much the same was observed with similar individuals who had been assigned to the traditional program, and released to parole after a lengthy period of institutionalization. Thus, the focus of Phase III was on the "difficult-to-reach" youths. The basic question was: "Would many of these youths become less delinquent if they began their CYA career within a certain kind of residential setting (see below) and not within the community itself?" The criteria for eligibility were largely the same as those used during 1961-1969; however, Adult Court first commitments were added (thereby raising the upper age limit to 21) as were a small number of youths whose offenses would have resulted in their exclusion during 1961-1969.

For each newly committed Sacramento youth the following question was evaluated by a CTP staffing group: "Within which type of setting would it probably be best to initiate the treatment-and-control of this individual?" The choice would be between (1) initial assignment to an intensive, CTP-staffed-and-operated residential program—later to be followed by release to the intensive CTP community program (staffed-and-operated as in 1961-1969); or (2) direct release to the intensive CTP community program (again as per the 1961-1969 pattern). A careful study was made of each youth's interests, limitations, and underlying motivations; and as a result, the staffing group would assign the individual to one of two possible statuses:

Status 1: (Treatment should begin within the CTP residential center ("Dorm 3");

Status 2: Treatment should begin within the community proper.

As soon as each ward's status was finalized, random assignment—either to the residential setting or to the community setting—then took place. This resulted in four separate, experimental study groups—two of which were "appropriately" assigned, and two of which were "inappropriately" assigned in terms of where their Youth Authority program would actually begin.

The CTP residential setting is, by all standards, a minimum security facility; it normally houses 23 to 25 youths at any one time (male, CTP youths exclusively). CTP parole agents work with youths while they are in residence and continue to work with them once they are released to the community. Dorm staff is carefully selected and paired-up with one or two parole agents. As in 1961-1969, the low caseload feature, together with the "matching" of agent and youth feature, are present.

Phase III Findings to Date. Inappropriately placed youths are performing worse than appropriately placed youths: 1 offense for every 9.3 months on parole as versus 1 per 14.9 months. This difference is both substantial and statistically significant—particularly in the case of the more "difficult-to-reach" youths (i.e., those whom the staffing team believed should begin their treatment within the residential setting). It is possible that an
initial placement within an inappropriate or less-than-optimal setting may make more of a difference to these individuals than to those who appear generally "stronger". The latter may be in a better position to cope with, and make the best of, an environment of this nature. All in all, these and other results suggest that careful diagnosis and appropriate placement may lead to a reduction of delinquent behavior—or, conversely, to a higher rate of success—for residential and community-based programs alike.

Implications. Within and outside of corrections, many concerned individuals are currently engaged in an ideological battle over whether to "keep almost all offenders on the streets", or "lock up nearly all offenders, except for first-timers". This "either/or" stance certainly reflects the feelings of numerous practitioners and theoreticians. The facts which have emerged from the Youth Authority National Institute of Mental Health's 12-year experiment thus far suggest that both of the above positions may be overly extreme, and that a more differentiated or flexible approach may be more appropriate. Thus, e.g., a sizable group of eligibles do appear to do better within the intensive, community-based program (CTP), in terms of rate of delinquent behavior. However, a small, yet not insubstantial minority of youths seem to do better within the traditional CYA program. Yet another group of youths (those who are unusually difficult-to-reach) seem to do best when their treatment-and-control is initiated within a CTP-type residential facility. In short, the present findings lent little support to positions which would urge an all-or-none, either-or strategy.

The CTP program does not contain a "special potion" which, by itself, can fortify the majority of youths against every stress, and can permanently eliminate all traces of delinquency. Nevertheless, the approaches which have been utilized to date do seem able to reduce the total volume of delinquent behavior on the part of many seriously delinquent individuals. This, in itself, is a step forward. Even so, the "reduction" in question appears to be greater during the period of the youths' CYA jurisdiction than subsequent to the termination of that jurisdiction.
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Background and Objectives

The Group Home Project was a demonstration program which focused upon the feasibility of establishing specified types of group homes for seriously delinquent male adolescents. It was also concerned with describing the nature, and assessing the impact, of these homes. The homes were operated within the structure of California's Community Treatment Project (CTP). CTP is an intensive, low-caseload, community-based program for juvenile court commitments, ages 13 through 19 at intake, which has operated continuously from 1961 to the present. The study sample consisted of adolescents who had been committed from local courts to the state correctional system, after an average of 5.8 police arrests. Seriously assaultive cases—those committed in connection with armed robbery, forcible rape, etc.—were excluded.

The incentive for this project emerged from early experiences within CTP. For example, as early as 1962 CTP parole agents were utilizing out-of-home placements at least five times more often than agents with regular caseloads outside of CTP. While far from ideal, independent out-of-home placements seemed to pose few unusual difficulties within CTP. However, problems were frequently encountered in relation to individual foster homes—e.g., problems with reference to obtaining and establishing suitable homes, maintaining them, and integrating them within the overall operation. The project used, as its theoretical frame of reference, the I-level classification system which had been pioneered at CTP1 and which constituted an essential part of the latter's existing

1Official title: Differential Treatment Environments for Delinquents. This study was supported by PHS Research Grant No. MH 14979, NIMH, (Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency).

A given individual's position within this system is determined primarily by means of a lengthy, in-depth interview. The I-level designations, and related youth-subtypes, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-Level</th>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower Maturity</td>
<td>Asocialized, Aggressive</td>
<td>Aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l_2)</td>
<td>Asocialized, Passive</td>
<td>Ap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Maturity</td>
<td>Conformist, Immature</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l_3)</td>
<td>Conformist, Cultural</td>
<td>Cfc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manipulator</td>
<td>Mp</td>
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</tbody>
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(Cont'd)
research design. The Group Home Project sought to establish five types of group homes--three for long-term care (Types I, II, and III) and two for temporary care (Types IV and V). The five homes differed from one another in specified ways.

Type I--Protective: was designed for conspicuously immature and dependent youths, whose family background has involved many elements of neglect or brutality. The home attempted to approximate normal, non-disturbed family living as closely as possible. A maximum of four youths--Ap's and Cfm's--could be served at any point in time.

Type II--Containment: was designed for youths who are often labeled 'defective characters', 'psychopaths', and/or 'culturally conforming delinquents'. The home provided clear structure and firm limits. It operated on a 'non-family' basis and emphasized concrete, attainable demands for socially acceptable, constructive behavior. A maximum of six youths--Mp's and Cfc's--could be served.

Type III--Boarding: was designed for the more interpersonally mature youths--those who might soon be able to maintain themselves in an independent placement. The home attempted to provide a 'YMCA hotel' atmosphere--while also allowing for personal relationships to develop on the youths' initiative. A maximum of six youths--chiefly Na's and Nx's, but conceivably Ci's and Se's in addition--could be served.

Type IV--Temporary Care: was designed for youths who have a temporary placement need, but for whom both custody and independent living are viewed as neither appropriate nor a placement of choice. Where possible, youths in this home were allowed to continue their regular CTP program (e.g., counseling, school, work, etc.). . . and, if appropriate, to even 'do very little' if this might help them 'calm down'. A maximum of six youths--from any I-level or subtype--could be served.

(Continued from Page 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Higher Maturity (I₄)</th>
<th>Neurotic, Acting-out</th>
<th>Ne</th>
<th>Neurotic, Anxious</th>
<th>Nx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Situational Emotional Reaction</td>
<td>Se</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural Identifier</td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a fuller description of the I-level system, see page "Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) Classification System."
Type V--Short Term Restriction: was designed for youths in need of fairly restrictive behavioral limits, yet not necessarily in need of detention within local juvenile halls, CYA facilities, local jails, etc. A type of 'house arrest' rather than an actual 'locked door' policy would prevail. Placement would be limited to about one week--during which time at least some of the youth's treatment program would hopefully be continued. A maximum of six youths--from any I-level or subtype--could be served. (This home was never established)

The objectives of the Project were:

1. to determine the feasibility of establishing and maintaining the Type I - V group homes;
2. to develop a taxonomy of relevant environments;
3. to evaluate the impact of group home experiences upon youths placed within them.

An additional, implicit objective was that of assessing the general worth or utility of each of the given homes, and of the group home concept per se. The assessment of impact--i.e., objective (3)--was necessarily 'global' rather than precise, since no control group was built into the program. Further, the group home experience represented only one of several 'inputs' and/or program components available within CTP.

Program Operations

The Group Home sample was made up exclusively of youths who were part of CTP, and whose parole agents were regular CTP personnel. During the Project's three years of existence, eight boys homes were studied (six for long-term placement; two for temporary care). Four long-term homes and one temporary care home lasted over a year; the others were short-lived. One girls home was studied; it lasted close to two years. No homes were "mixed", i.e., coeducational. Virtually all homes were large, private dwellings, located well within the city limits of either Sacramento or Stockton. They housed a maximum of six youths at any one time; the average number of youths housed was four.

For the four long-term homes which remained in operation at least a year, the average duration per placement was 6.0 months. Of these placements, 36% lasted 0 - 2.9 months, 37% lasted 3 - 7.9 months, 15% lasted 8 - 11.9 months, and 11% lasted 12 months or more.

All homes were operated by a non-professionally trained, husband-wife "team", known as "group home operators". All group home operators
wore in conjunction with one or more CTP parole agents. These agents always had primary legal responsibility for all youths on their caseload regardless of the latters' particular placement-status. Nevertheless, efforts were made to operate the homes on the basis of a "team approach" (e.g., joint agent-operator involvement; joint decision-making). Differential (but generally limited) success was achieved in this regard, depending upon the particular home and the specific area of involvement.

During the three years of group home operation, 18 male parole agents utilized the eight boys homes (collectively). At any point in time, the typical number of agents making use of any one home was three.

Although the number of group home candidates was generally low, all but one of the "group home-models" were relatively easy to establish. Negative community reaction was virtually absent throughout the Project's existence.

Across all homes, 63 boys were placed (39 = long-term placements; 24 = temporary care). Several youths were placed into a given home on more than one occasion. (This was especially true of those who had been placed into the Temporary Care home.) In all, there were 93 separate placements (51 = long-term; 42 = temporary care). In addition, 11 girls (12 placements) were involved with respect to the Girls Group home.

Main Results

From an overall operational standpoint, there appeared to be two quite successful boys group homes--the "Boarding" home, for higher maturity youths, and the "Temporary Care" home, for all types of youth. (The Girls Group home was also found to be successful and satisfying.) The "Protective" and "Individualized" homes were only moderately successful. Under different, specified conditions, these homes could probably be more successful and substantially more efficient. At least two of the eight boys homes were unsuccessful. The "Containment" home for Mp's ("manipulators") and Cfc's ("cultural conformists") was able to achieve initial stability with respect to the former youths--but not much else. The originally described model for this type of home required major modifications. A "mini group home" approach was suggested relative to Cfc's and Mp's.

As compared with middle maturity youths (particularly Cfc's and Mp's), higher maturity individuals (chiefly Nx's) seemed more likely to profit from long-term placement within specified group homes.

It was clear that neurotic, acting out, and neurotic anxious youth-subtypes could profitably be intermingled, within specified long-term and short-term homes. It was also possible to mix together carefully selected, middle and higher maturity youths.
Considering all boys homes, serious difficulties seldom materialized, particularly when one considers the many areas of potential difficulty. However, when they did emerge, at least some such difficulties evolved into major bones of contention in relation to certain operator-youth combinations. These, in turn, were sometimes capable of adversely affecting other areas of daily living, and altering the general home atmosphere as well.

Perhaps surprisingly, the optimal number of CYA youths within most long-term homes appeared to be three, or four. Beyond that, the number of operational drawbacks seemed to rapidly escalate. This number would vary a little as a function of specific youth-subtype, or combinations of youth-subtype. In any event, the original estimate of six youths would probably be more than most non-professionally (and, quite possibly, professionally) trained individuals could handle on a relatively intensive, long-term basis. Home operators who could handle even four or five youths at any one time, within the context of a complex and active group home program, would probably be characterized by a rather uncommon degree of overall 'strength', and skill. In this respect, the issues of recruitment and training become crucial.

The optimal number of parole agents who would make simultaneous use of a home seemed to be two (and, under some conditions, three).

It was felt there would be advantages to having professionally trained individuals operate group homes. These might or might not be husband-wife "teams". Most, though not all of the present youths, seemed able to profit from an extensive or intensive exposure to a husband-wife combination. Group homes would probably remain of relevance to many if not most such individuals, even in the absence of this particular feature.

Implications

Increasingly, group homes are being utilized as an out-of-home placement resource for troubled and troublesome youths. This is largely due to the part which they seem able to play in helping avoid unnecessary removal from the community setting and in facilitating an earlier release from institutions as well. All in all, group homes appear to fit right in with today's emphasis upon the strategy of "diversion", in general--and greater usage of community resources, in particular. They are also less expensive than various forms of institutionalization.

A great deal remains to be learned about the effective use of group homes, and group home staff. Despite (and, because of) today's limited knowledge and experience, a "panacea phase" has emerged within recent years in connection with group homes. This "phase" has been characterized by high hopes, a relatively undifferentiated usage, and, quite probably, an over-usage of group homes. The CYA's Group Home Project has helped to delineate some of the issues and limitations which may have to be faced when the current wave of enthusiasm begins to subside. Hopefully,
one of its products will be a more discriminating, efficient and integrated utilization of this potentially valuable, yet potentially very troublesome, tool: group homes.
REFERENCES


The Los Angeles Community Delinquency Control Project (CDCP) was a three year experiment in which selected California Youth Authority (CYA) wards were paroled to an intensive rehabilitative program in the community directly from CYA reception centers in lieu of the regular Youth Authority parole program. The purpose of the project was to find out if an intensive parole program administered in the community was as effective as incarceration in reducing recidivism of selected Juvenile Court first admissions to the Youth Authority.

Two CYA parole units were involved in the study. The Watts unit was in South Central Los Angeles, and the Jefferson unit served the communities of Hollywood and Echo Park, as well as Central Los Angeles and portions of South Central Los Angeles. All were high delinquent urban communities, and except for Hollywood, all were minority communities.

Each of the CDCP units supervised an average caseload of 145 wards. The average caseload per CDCP agent was 25. (The average caseload of a CYA regular parole agent was about 72.) Each of the CDCP units was located in a community center within the boundaries of its geographical area. In addition to agent offices and a stenographic section, the centers had facilities for group meetings, classrooms, a parolee lounge and a large indoor recreation room.

The major rehabilitative techniques utilized in CDCP were increased intensive individual counseling, group counseling, family counseling, increased use of foster and contract group home placements, short-term custody for limit setting and protection, social and recreational activities both at the center and in the community, remedial academic instruction provided by a credentialed teacher in the project, and agent-employer and agent-school liaison services. Psychiatric and group work consultation was available to project staff, and there were regularly scheduled case conferences and/or group staffings on each CDCP parolee.

Eligible wards in each area were assigned to one of the two kinds of CYA parole programs, i.e., CDCP or institutions and regular parole. Research eligibility was limited to male, Juvenile Court first commitments to CYA, between the ages of 13-18, who resided within the project area, whose most recent offense was of a non-violent nature and whose placement in the program was acceptable to local law enforcement officials. Later, because of decreasing CYA admissions, project eligibility had to be expanded to females, parole violators, and Criminal Court first admissions, with no age limits. (Although released to the project, these parolees were excluded from the research study.)
Findings:

The study population consisted of 301 parolees who met the research eligibility criteria, who were randomly assigned to experimental (CDCP) or comparison (regular parole) status between March 1, 1966, and December 31, 1967, and who had a minimum of 15 months of parole exposure. Parole performance criterion measures were: parole outcome at 15 months, reason for revocation, recommitment or unfavorable discharge, time to removal from parole and severity of removal offense.

No statistically significant differences were found between the experimental and regular parole programs in either project area on any of the parole performance criterion measures. The findings on parole outcome are presented in Table 1 below. The term "revocation" includes recommitments and unfavorable discharge to another jurisdiction. Although the Watts CDCP group did not do as well as its comparison group, and the Jefferson CDCP group did better than its comparison group, the differences on parole outcome at 15 months were not significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 1

Parole Outcome at 15 Months by Area and Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parole Outcome</th>
<th>Watts CDCP</th>
<th>Watts Comparison</th>
<th>Jefferson CDCP</th>
<th>Jefferson Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revoked</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Revoked</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 1.01, \text{n.s.} \quad x^2 = 1.32, \text{n.s.} \]

Arrest records of the experimental and comparison groups are given in Table 2. Agent arrests have been excluded. Between 20 and 27 percent of the parolees in each group had no arrests the first 15 months on parole. Significantly higher proportions of the CDCP group wards in each area had two or more police arrests during the first 15 months. (For the Watts area groups, the difference was significant beyond the .01 level, and for the Jefferson groups it was highly significant beyond the .001 level.)
TABLE 2
Police Arrests During First 15 Months by Area and Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Police Arrests</th>
<th>Watts CDCP</th>
<th>Watts Comparison</th>
<th>Jefferson CDCP</th>
<th>Jefferson Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Six</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
x^2 = 10.65^{**} \\
df = 2
\]

\[
x^2 = 15.24^{***} \\
df = 2
\]

*Excludes one ward who escaped from an institution and was still missing on 3-31-70.

**Significant beyond .01 level.

***Significant beyond .001 level.

Arrest data for revokes and non-revokes also were analyzed. There were no significant differences between the CDCP and comparison groups on severity of arrest offenses, but significantly higher proportions of the comparison groups were revoked by the CYA Board following the first arrest, which meant that many wards in the regular program were not given the same opportunity as CDCP wards to remain in the community and possibly be re-arrested. Differential decision making rather than ward behavior probably accounts for the findings on arrests.

Implications of Findings

One conclusion to be drawn from this study is that neither the CDCP nor the regular CYA parole program was particularly superior in rehabilitating 13-18 year old male culturally deprived delinquents from urban minority communities. However, the CDCP program was shown to be as effective as institutionalization, more economical, and brought rehabilitation to the community level where delinquency has its roots.
Influence of Findings on Program Operation

It is difficult to evaluate objectively just how much the findings from the Community Delinquency Control Project may have influenced programming within the California Youth Authority. However, the CDCP program elements have been extended to a cross-section of the Youth Authority population through the Community Parole Center Program. The parole centers have placed particular emphasis on center and community activities involving both parolees and community young people (non-delinquents), as well as on employment, vocational training, and agent-employer liaison services. Some regular parole units also have organized recreational programs and concentrated on employment and agent-liaison services for older, employable male parolees.
REFERENCES

Pond, Esther M. Community Delinquency Control Project, Los Angeles Study Progress Report, California Youth Authority, Division of Research, 1968.

Pond, Esther M. Community Delinquency Control Project, Preliminary Analysis of Parole Outcome, California Youth Authority, Division of Research, 1969.

COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMS
Summary of Findings

Increasingly, the direction of correctional work has been toward the treatment of offenders in the community in lieu of incarceration, the diversion of the youthful offender from the criminal justice system, and for the delivery of youth development services to highly delinquent neighborhoods and urban centers. In the California Youth Authority, evaluations have been undertaken on the Probation Subsidy Program, the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project, and on Youth Service Bureaus established under a pilot project.

Probation Subsidy Program

The Probation Subsidy Program provides state funds to counties for the development of intensive supervision programs. These funds are dispersed to probation departments according to their level of reduction of commitments to state institutions, based on past commitment performance levels. The program has four major goals: 1) decreased use of state correctional institutions; 2) more even administration of justice; 3) increased protection of citizens and 4) rehabilitation of offenders.

With reference to the first goal, it was found that since the initiation of probation subsidy, commitments to state institutions have decreased drastically and that the program has been extremely successful in achieving the goal of reducing the use of state correctional institutions. Furthermore, it was determined that the accomplishment of this goal had not been offset by the increased need for institutionalization at the local level.

Prior to probation subsidy (which began in 1960) it was observed that commitment rates, from one county to another varied widely—from a low of 0.2 to a high of 11.5 per one hundred thousand population. Accordingly, a second goal of the probation subsidy legislation was to reduce this variation in order to "permit a more even administration of justice". Analysis of the distribution of county commitment rates in 1962-63 shows...
that the counties had, since the establishment of the Probation Subsidy program, become much more homogeneous in their commitment practices to state correctional institutions. Variance of scores around the mean commitment rate as well as the range had been reduced.

In an attempt to evaluate the achievement of the third goal (increased protection of citizens) the trend of crime rates in California was compared with that of the nation as a whole. It was found that reported crime rates in California had continued to rise, but that they simply paralleled increases in the national rates. It was concluded that the Probation Subsidy program had neither increased nor decreased public protection.

In order to evaluate the fourth objective (the rehabilitation of offenders) there is currently underway a study in which the violational behavior of youths handled under subsidy programs is compared with the violational behavior of probationers handled under the regular program. The preliminary analysis suggests that subsidy probationers and regular probationers are very similar with respect to the rehabilitative effectiveness of juvenile probation.

Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Program

The Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Program is attempting to address the institutional maladjustments of high delinquency areas and seeks to reduce youth crime and delinquency through altering institutional processes. The main focus is on (a) youth resources and roles and (b) the comprehensive delivery of coordinated youth services.

Different models are being developed in various communities in California. The first model is based at the Youth Authority's Tolliver Community Center servicing a black, Northwest Oakland delinquent area. The second model is under development in La Colonia near Oxnard. A third location is in the process of being developed in northern Sacramento County.
Tentative findings include: (1) the observation that it is difficult for CYA staff members, accustomed to an individualistic case-orientation, to make a transition to working as institutional change agents; (2) that success in diverting youth from the justice system may be impeded by the 'maintenance' needs of formal agencies—needs which may be quite apart from the agency's stated goals; (3) lastly, changes in delinquent or other maladjusted behavior may not be an immediate outcome of programs aimed at changing institutional systems. It is too early to evaluate the overall effectiveness of these delinquency prevention projects. It has been shown that ongoing research feedback is very useful to self-correction in program planning and development.

Youth Service Bureaus

In 1968, California established nine youth service bureaus in various areas of the State. These pilot bureaus were small operations, staffed by a Youth Service Coordinator who was primarily responsible for day-to-day operation and services. Additional staff supportive services were contributed by community agencies and organizations.

The evaluation of these centers sought to determine the extent to which the following three objectives were achieved: (1) Diversion—to determine whether youth service bureaus could divert a significant number of youth from the juvenile justice system; (2) Coordination—to determine if the bureaus could utilize existing community resources in a more coordinated manner; and (3) Delinquency Reduction—to determine if delinquency was reduced in selected project areas.

With reference to these objectives, the evaluation concluded that the majority of the youth service bureaus did divert additional youth out of the justice system. Secondly, delinquency was reduced in most of the bureau service areas. The Coordination objective was not extensively achieved. Even so, these bureaus were beginning to coordinate resources more fully as their position in the communities became more stable.
PROBATION SUBSIDY PROGRAM

Phil White, Dennis Johns, and Sheldon Berkowitz

Program Background and Description

The California Probation Subsidy program was developed as a result of a 1964 State Board of Corrections study which found probation services to be inadequate. The study recommended that a cost-sharing plan be adopted by the state to improve the level of local probation supervision services. The program was passed by the Legislature and signed into law in 1965. It was subsequently implemented in the 1966-67 Fiscal Year and is now in its eighth year of operation.

The program provides state funds to counties for the development of intensive supervision programs. These funds are disbursed to probation departments according to their level of commitment reduction to state institutions based on past commitment performance levels.

On March 31, 1973, intensive supervision programs, developed with Probation Subsidy funds, were providing services to 18,367 probationers (both adult and juvenile) in 47 counties. A total of 1,636 probation staff were involved in these special programs. Of this number, 590 were deputy probation officers, 109 were supervising probation officers, 331 were clerical personnel, and the remaining staff were involved in various support services. Average caseload size in the special supervision programs is about 30 cases per probation officer in contrast to the 80-200 cases per officer found in the 1964 Board of Corrections study.

A number of innovative classification systems have been instituted in Subsidy supervision programs. In addition, these intensive supervision units have employed a wide variety of program components in providing enriched services to their cases. Services provided through Probation Subsidy funds include individual and group counseling and conjoint family counseling. Funds are also used to provide services on a contract basis for psychiatric, psychological, and medical services where needed. Additional features of the new special supervision programs include job placement services, vocational and training programs, drug education programs, remedial education programs, anti-narcotic testing, new placement programs such as specialized foster homes, group homes, and community day-care programs.

The Probation Subsidy program has expanded from 31 participating counties during 1966-67 to 47 participating counties in 1972-73. Commitment reductions by participating counties have increased each year from 1,398 in 1966-67 to 5,449 in 1972-73. Total program earnings for 1972-73 were $22,068,210, as compared to first year earnings of $5,675,815 in 1966-67.
The Evaluation of the Probation Subsidy Program

In the original legislation authorizing state aid for probation services, the following four program goals were enumerated for the program: (1) decreased use of state correctional institutions, (2) more even administration of justice, (3) increased protection of citizens, and (4) rehabilitation of offenders. The extent to which these goals have been achieved is summarized below:

Decreased Use of State Correctional Institutions. One goal of the program was "...to reduce the necessity for commitment of persons to state correctional institutions...". Table 1 compares commitment rates for the 47 participating counties from the base period of the legislation to the 1972-73 Fiscal Year. Presented in this table are both individual county rates and the mean rates for all 47 counties. During the base period these counties had a mean commitment rate of 67.8 commitments per 100,000 population. By the 1972-73 Fiscal Year, however, commitments from these counties had been reduced to 34.0 commitments per 100,000 population, a reduction of 50 percent from the base period.

Figure 1 illustrates the effects of Probation Subsidy on the use of state commitments, county probation, and "other" sentences for criminal court cases. From this figure it can readily be seen that since the initiation of Probation Subsidy commitments to state institutions have decreased drastically, the use of probation has correspondingly increased, and the use of the "other" sentences has changed only slightly.

Figure 2 shows how Probation Subsidy has influenced the use of state commitment for new Juvenile Court wards across the state. Here again, it can be seen that commitments to the state have decreased drastically following the onset of Probation Subsidy.

Some concern has been expressed that the reduction in commitments of offenders to state-level corrections has increased the population of local institutions, thus shifting the burden of institutionalization to local government. Tables 2 and 3 address this issue.

Table 2 shows total jail population on a midweek day in early September of each year since 1965. The sentenced prisoner population has declined during this period while the number of unsentenced prisoners has increased significantly.

The data appearing in Tables 2 and 3 indicate that there has not been an increase in the utilization of local institutionalization as a result of the Probation Subsidy program. Rather, the numbers and proportions of sentenced prisoners in county facilities have actually decreased slightly since the program's inception.

In conclusion, the data presented in this section indicate that the Probation Subsidy program has been extremely successful in achieving its goal of reducing the use of state correctional institutions, and furthermore, that the accomplishment of this goal has not been offset by the need for increased institutionalization at the local level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Base Period Percentage</th>
<th>F.Y. 1972-73 Percentage</th>
<th>Percent Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alameda</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>-33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amador</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>-29.4</td>
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<td>Calaveras</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>-40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colusa</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>-81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contra Costa</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>-52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Norte</td>
<td>117.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>-72.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Dorado</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>-82.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fresno</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>-53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humboldt</td>
<td>56.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kern</td>
<td>100.8</td>
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<td>-52.1</td>
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<td>Kings</td>
<td>85.2</td>
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<td>Marin</td>
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<td>-38.2</td>
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<td>40.0</td>
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<td>Merced</td>
<td>71.7</td>
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<td>Plumas</td>
<td>75.2</td>
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<td>70.3</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>-31.3</td>
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<td>San Diego</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
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<td>67.9</td>
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<td>San Joaquin</td>
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<td>Tehama</td>
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<td>Mean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
<td>25.26</td>
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<td>-37.8</td>
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</table>

^a1959-63 or 1962-63, whichever was higher; ^bA test of significance comparing two correlated means yielded a t = 9.90 with a probability of less than .001;

^cA test of significance comparing two correlated variances yielded a t = 1.51 with a probability of less than .01.
Figure 1
Criminal Court Dispositions
1955-72

- Probation
- State Commitment
- Other

- Includes both straight probation and probation plus jail.
- Includes commitments to both CYA and CDC.
- Includes straight jail, commitments to CDC (mental hygiene), and fines.
Figure 2

Proportion of New Juvenile Court Wards Committed to the Youth Authority, 1955-72

TABLE 2

California County Jail Population as of One Midweek Day in September*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Unsentenced</th>
<th>Sentenced</th>
<th>Percent Sentenced</th>
<th>Percent Unsentenced</th>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>24,931</td>
<td>7,890</td>
<td>16,201</td>
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<td>1967</td>
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<td>7,875</td>
<td>13,910</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>36.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>24,924</td>
<td>9,617</td>
<td>15,307</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>25,471</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>14,471</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>25,033</td>
<td>10,205</td>
<td>14,828</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>24,500</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>24,241</td>
<td>10,794</td>
<td>14,130</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The total population of juvenile homes, ranches, and camps in California, as shown in Table 11, peaked at 2,992 in 1968-69. In 1970-71, this number declined to 2,612, a decrease of 13 percent, even though California's juvenile population continued to increase during this period. Many juvenile halls are now below capacity.

TABLE 3

Average Daily Population in California County Youth Camps and Schools 1965-66 through 1972-73*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Average Daily Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>2,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>2,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>2,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>2,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>2,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>2,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>2,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>2,617</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Statistical Facts on the California Youth Authority, November, 1973, p. 15
The data appearing in Tables 2 and 3 indicate that there has not been an increase in the utilization of local institutionalization as a result of the Probation Subsidy program. Rather, the numbers and proportions of sentenced prisoners in county facilities have actually decreased slightly since the program's inception.

In conclusion, the data presented in this section indicate that the Probation Subsidy program has been extremely successful in achieving its goal of reducing the use of state correctional institutions, and furthermore, that the accomplishment of this goal has not been offset by the need for increased institutionalization at the local level.

**More Even Administration of Justice.** Prior to Probation Subsidy, it was observed that commitment rates from one county to another varied widely. In fact, county commitment rates ranged from a low of 22 to over 119 per 100,000 population during the base period. Accordingly, another goal of the Probation Subsidy legislation was to reduce this variation in order to "permit a more even administration of justice".

Table 1 compared commitment rates for the 47 participating counties from the base period to the 1972-73 Fiscal Year. During the base period, the distribution of county commitment rates had a range of 98 (119 - 22 + 1). By the 1972-73 Fiscal Year, however, this range had been reduced to 55 (45 - 9 + 1), a reduction of 44 percent. In addition to individual county rates and mean rates, Table 1 also presents a commonly used measure of dispersion known as the standard deviation. This statistic indicates how widely a group of scores vary around the mean; the greater the variance, the larger the standard deviation. During the base period the standard deviation of county commitment rates was 23.3. By the 1972-73 Fiscal Year, however, this figure had been cut to 14.5. This reduction of nearly 40 percent means that the participating counties have become significantly more homogeneous in the degree to which they commit persons to state correctional institutions.

Another perspective is given by Table 4, which presents frequency distributions of commitment rates per 100,000 population for the 47 participating counties during the base period and the 1972-73 Fiscal Year. In this table, the reduced variance of commitment rates discussed above can readily be observed. For example, it can be seen that during the base period only 26 counties (or 56 percent) of the 47 counties had commitment rates which fell within the three most frequent categories (59 - 79). During the 1972-73 Fiscal Year, however, 33 counties (or 70 percent) had commitment rates falling within the three most frequent categories (20 - 49).
Table 4
Frequency Distributions of Commitment Rates for 47 Counties During Base Period and F.Y. 1972-73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commitment Rates per 100,000 Population</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Base Period</th>
<th>1972-73 F.Y.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 and over</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 99</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 89</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 69</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, these data show that there was a greater amount of consistency among the participating counties with respect to their use of state institutions during the 1972-73 Fiscal Year than there was during the Base Period of the Subsidy legislation. In the terms of that legislation, this consistency is indicative of a "more even administration of justice." It is thus logical to conclude that this goal of the legislation has been achieved since the program's initiation.

Increased Protection of Citizens. Hopeful that Probation Subsidy could somehow help stem the ever-increasing crime rates of the early 1960's, the designers of the legislation included as a goal the increased protection of the state's citizens. One measure of the level of protection is the reported crime rate. Admittedly, the reported crime rate is not a precise measure of crime since it is influenced by a number of other variables. For example, reported crimes depend on the public's willingness to report them. Studies have indicated only small proportions of some kinds of crime (like shoplifting and rape) are actually reported, while larger proportions of other crimes are reported.

Another factor influencing reported crime rates is the quality of the existing crime reporting system. For many years, California has had a better data collection system on reported crimes than any other state. Therefore, it might be expected that a higher percentage of committed crimes would be recorded in this state than elsewhere, which would result in apparently higher crime rates for California.
Table 5 compares California and United States crime rates from 1960 to 1972. These data show that California has consistently higher crime rates than the national rates for both total crime and crimes of personal violence and consistently lower crime rates for willful homicide. Willful homicide (including murder and non-negligent manslaughter) represents a type of crime which is unlikely to be affected significantly by crime reporting procedures. For instance, the probability of a murder being reported in any jurisdiction in 1960 was probably close to 100 percent, as it is today; hence, any increase in reported murders is probably due to an actual increase in murders rather than to improvements in crime reporting systems. One conclusion to be reached from these data is that it is California's superior crime reporting system which accounts for its consistently higher reported crime rates as compared to national rates.

### TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Crime Index</td>
<td>Violent Crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,126</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,141</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,194</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,444</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,316</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,671</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1,595</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>2,483</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,747</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,907</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2,975</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1964</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1972</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\textsuperscript{a}From Crime in the United States - FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1970, 71 and 72.

\textsuperscript{b}From Crime and Delinquency in California - California Bureau of Criminal Statistics, 1960-1972.
It is also apparent from the data in Table 5 that the Probation Subsidy program has neither increased nor decreased reported crime in California. Rather, reported crime rates in California have continued to rise, paralleling increases in national rates. Therefore, to the degree that reported crime is a valid indicator of level of "public protection" Probation Subsidy has not been successful in achieving its goal to increase protection. On the other hand, there also is no indication from these data that Probation Subsidy has reduced public protection in California. The obvious conclusion is merely that crime rates have increased due to forces that are national in scope.

The most probable explanation for the failure of Probation Subsidy to reduce reported crime in California lies in the fact that reported crime is an extremely gross measure. While it is impossible to determine exact numbers, it is apparent that only a small percentage of the total crimes reported in California are actually committed by persons who are on probation caseloads. Furthermore, since Subsidy caseloads (adult and juvenile) in 1977 constituted less than 10 percent of the total active probation caseload for that year, their potential for affecting the overall crime rate was negligible. In other words, even if criminal activities among Probation Subsidy caseloads were reduced to zero, we still would probably not expect crime rates to be decreased significantly. Consequently, a more appropriate evaluation of Probation Subsidy can be obtained by directly examining the degree to which Probation Subsidy has been effective in reducing the criminal activity of its probationers, and by making comparisons, where possible, with conventional probation and state parole. These are the objectives of the next section of this report.

Rehabilitation of Offenders

For most correctional specialists a major goal of any correctional program is the rehabilitation of the offender. Unfortunately, "rehabilitation" is very difficult to define in terms of readily available data, which makes this a difficult goal to evaluate.

One type of measure which reflects a program's degree of success in rehabilitating offenders is the type of removal from the program. For example, when a probationer is found to be rehabilitated, his probation may be terminated. If a probationer is terminated early, before his probation has expired, it is a definite sign that he has responded well to the program and is considered to be rehabilitated. A regular termination, however, can represent a range of rehabilitative effects from successful to marginal (but not negative enough to be considered a total failure). Finally, if the probationer is arrested for a new offense or otherwise violates the conditions of his probation, it can be concluded that the program has failed to some degree in its efforts to rehabilitate him.

From Table 6 it can be seen that there has been little change in the percentages of adults removed from criminal court probation caseloads by termination (success) and violation (failure) between the years of 1960
and 1.7%. The fact that these percentages vary by less than 5 percentage points during this 1-year span is quite remarkable considering the dramatic changes which have occurred in California's criminal justice system during this period. The consistency of these data therefore suggest that, despite the enormous increase in probation caseloads following the initiation of Probation Subsidy, there has been no consequent decrease in the overall rehabilitative effectiveness of county adult probation programs across the state.

### TABLE 6

Adult Defendants Removed from Probation in California Criminal Courts by Termination or Violation, 1960-72

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Termination</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Violation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>9,779</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>6,160</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>11,728</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7,391</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>11,619</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7,652</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>11,956</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7,494</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>12,810</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8,210</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>13,612</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>8,531</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>13,937</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9,275</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>17,534</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11,490</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>15,657</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9,228</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>18,571</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11,552</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>23,997</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>14,365</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>25,875</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>17,192</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>27,097</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>17,798</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*c This breakdown is no longer provided in BCS reports.

Another interesting observation made possible by Table 6 is that the percentage of early terminations has increased dramatically since the early 1960's. These data indicate that a much larger proportion of cases are currently recognized as being successfully rehabilitated prior to the expiration of their normal probationary period than was the case prior to Probation Subsidy. However, the reasons for this trend are not clear from the available data.
broadly based data, such as that presented in Table 6, can be used to detect trends over time in the statewide criminal justice system. However, this is not the type of data which is necessary in order to conduct valid comparative evaluations of the rehabilitative effectiveness of specific correctional programs within that system. This is because these data are influenced by a number of variables which are unrelated to the actual rehabilitative processes yet which may exert considerable influence on the success rates of the various programs. For example, certain types of administrative policies may directly influence the percentages of cases terminated or violated. When such policies differ from one program to the next, it is impossible to use terminations and violations as valid measures of success and failure.

Other variables which invalidate the use of such broadly based data are those associated with the types of offender assigned to the programs. For example, if the criminal backgrounds of the offenders assigned to two correctional programs are significantly different, other conditions being equal, the program receiving the less severe cases will have the better "success" rate as indicated by a higher percentage of cases being terminated. Therefore, in conducting comparative evaluations of correctional programs, it is necessary to control for differences in types of offenders assigned to the programs.

Such considerations emphasize the need for undertaking thorough comparative evaluation studies of the various program alternatives within the criminal justice system. These studies should address the primary question: Which types of offenders, when exposed to what types of correctional programs, exhibit the best rehabilitative effects?

A study such as this is under way by the Department of the Youth Authority. The study employs matched samples and statistical techniques (analysis of covariance) to control for differences among the populations in offense type, age, ethnic origin, base expectancy (a measure predictive of violational behavior), and length of time on field supervision (the "at risk" period during which the sample cases were being supervised in the community and were thus liable to commit further crimes and be arrested).

Although the analysis of the data is only in the initial stages and is far from complete, some preliminary results are available. These results relate to a comparison of Subsidy and regular juvenile probation with respect to the degree of recidivism which occurred during the first 12 months of supervision. Table 7 shows the mean numbers and percentages of felony, misdemeanor, and total arrests among matched groups of Subsidy and regular probationers. It can be seen from these data that there are no significant differences between the two samples with respect to the adjusted mean numbers of arrests during the first 12 months of field supervision. The Subsidy sample had a slightly larger mean number of felony arrests (0.53 to 0.44 arrests per case), while the regular probationers had a slightly larger mean number of misdemeanor arrests (0.59 to 0.56 arrests per case). It should be noted that 65 percent of the Subsidy group
and 74 percent of the regular probation group had no felony arrests during the study period. The mean numbers of felony arrests recorded in Table 7, then, are the product of only one-third of the Subsidy cases and one-fourth of the regular cases.

**TABLE 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Type of Arrest</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Felony</th>
<th>Misdemeanor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy Probation (N = 843)</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular Probation (N = 1313)</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Means are adjusted for Base Expectancy Score and Time at Risk*

From Table 8 it can be seen that there are also no significant differences between the two probation samples with respect to the mean number of felony, misdemeanor, and total findings of culpability. The Subsidy probation sample of 843 cases had a mean number of 0.51 sustained petitions per case compared to a mean of 0.48 per case for the regular probation sample of 1,313 cases. The percentages of findings classed as felonies and misdemeanors were 47.6 and 52.4 respectively for Subsidy probation compared to 42.8 and 57.2 respectively for regular probation. It should be pointed out that 81 percent of the Subsidy group and 85 percent of the regular probation group had no felony findings sustained during the study period.
TABLE A

Mean Number of Findings of Culpability Resulting from Recidivism Among Matched Groups of Subsidy and Regular Juvenile Court Probationers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Type of Finding</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Felony</th>
<th>Misdemeanor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy Probation (N = 943)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.510</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular Probation (N = 1313)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.484</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a* Means are adjusted for Base Expectancy Score and Time at Risk.

*b* Findings refer to sustained petitions.

This preliminary analysis suggests that Subsidy probation and regular probation are very similar with respect to rehabilitative effectiveness with similar juvenile probationers. A future report will compare the effectiveness of these two probation groups with a similar juvenile CYA parole group.

In conclusion, initial indications are that Subsidy Probation does not appear to be substantially more effective than regular probation with regard to the rehabilitation of a comparable group of more serious juvenile offenders. This finding is, of course, only tentative in that it is based on a limited analysis of immediately available juvenile probation data. A great deal of additional data is currently being collected on both juvenile and adult probation and parole which will add substantial information as to the degree to which this final goal has been achieved. Until these data are analyzed, any conclusions regarding this final goal should be held in abeyance.
Increasingly during the last 15 years, California and the nation have turned away from state-operated training schools for delinquents to community-based approaches. In the 1960's the California Youth Authority's pioneer Community Treatment Program launched community programs offering feasible (and more humane) alternatives for many young offenders. More recently, California's Probation Subsidy Program (developed in large part from CYA experience) has extended the role of community corrections even further, as described elsewhere in these pages.

At the same time, however, other experiences and research indicate that direct service casework, no matter what the locale, often fails to respond to delinquency as a patterned social problem. It is not enough to locate pathology in individual delinquents or to assume that the social problem of delinquency distills simply to a random distribution of pathology across society. Rather, as the architects of the "national strategy" (H.E.W.'s Office of Youth Development) argue:

We believe that our social institutions are programmed in such a way as to deny large numbers of young people socially acceptable, responsible, and personally gratifying roles. These institutions should seek ways of becoming more responsive to youth needs (Kobrin and Polk, 1972).

So it is also not enough, in this view, simply to "treat" individual pathology or to "correct" individual deviant youth via justice systems of local communities. Rather, in line with the "national strategy" of OYD, "priority attention . . . must be given to efforts to overcome the maladjustments of society itself" (Delinquency Prevention Reporter, 1973). The main prevention/development focus of this newer perspective is on social institutions and service/resource systems. This larger focus need not neglect direct work with individuals and families, but it "proceeds to approach the individual through and by means of an alteration of some institutional process" (Kobrin and Polk, 1972).

This "macro-approach" seems long overdue in state prevention efforts. For instance, a recent survey of 600 randomly selected CYA staff reveals that a solid majority of youth workers now (a) give prevention goals priority over treatment goals, (b) advocate a strong effort to divert more youth from the justice-correctional system--because of its potential for harm, (c) feel that a large dent in the delinquency problem will require a massive attack on the problem, and (d) feel that delinquents
are more conventional in outlook and hopes than their peers realize—but they perhaps need new involvements and roles to develop a stake in conventional behavior (Knight, 1972). In that survey, CYA staff tended to suggest remedies to the delinquency problem quite beyond the traditional caseload approach. Indeed, over two-thirds of those staff sampled felt that to make a large dent in the delinquency problem we should mount a massive attack against broad social and economic conditions. Likewise, large numbers of specific recommendations offered by staff called for broad-based community or other strategies hardly confined to the standard caseload mode of operation. In important ways, then, these recorded experiences and opinions converge with both the H. E. W. "national strategy" and with YD/DP Project premises.

The Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project represents the Youth Authority's development and test of several models of the new institutional/systems approach. The focus is on (a) youth resources and roles, and (b) comprehensive delivery of coordinated youth services. Established in July, 1972, this demonstration project is aimed at reducing youth crime and delinquency, diverting youth from the justice system into alternate programs, providing acceptable and meaningful roles for youth, reducing negative labeling of youth, and reducing youth-adult alienation.

The different models are to be developed in various communities in California and are to be geared towards the unique characteristics of each community served. The first model, based at the Youth Authority's Toliver Community Center, serves a Black residential area in northwest Oakland as its target. The second model is under development in La Colonia, a Mexican barrio of Oxnard, and a third in a depressed area north of Sacramento City.

Organized on the assumption that many youth problems derive from unresponsive social institutions, YD/DP models are designed (a) to integrate and coordinate community services for youth and (b) to foster community-development programs facilitating youth access to roles which impart feelings of competence, meaningfulness, belongingness, and potency. In the northwest Oakland impact area, the hub of the system (through which resources flow) is the community youth center, whereas the La Colonia program is largely operated by an indigenous board serving to link resources with a neighborhood block organization. (An active La Colonia community board—La Mesa Directiva—has already been organized by CYA workers.)

Foremost among program components at all sites is a youth advocacy function featuring youngsters, staff, and local adults working in concert for youth interests along a variety of fronts.

Each local system is to be jointly funded so that scattered organizations and agencies will be encouraged to work together in fashioning a common pipeline of plans and resources. The overall project is funded
by CYA, the California Council on Criminal Justice, and the Office of Youth Development of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. City, county, and private resources have also been sought and obtained. A Joint Delinquency Prevention Board (linking state and specific county operations) is under development to provide a miniproject subfunding process in the local communities.

**Major Findings**

The YD/DP Project, barely a year old, has contained a research component only since October, 1972. For that reason (and since program development necessarily moved slowly at the first project site), important ideas have not yet received adequate test. Only the most tentative data are now available.

The data do, however, provide speculative leads to be confirmed or rejected by more durable evidence. Even if the now-tentative findings are borne out by further data analysis, it also remains to be seen whether other models and communities will yield similar findings.

The tentative findings during early program development suggest:

1. Among CYA staff accustomed to an individualistic, "case"-orientation, the transition to institutional/systems-change activities is difficult.
   a. Since the newer concept is more complex than a case-treatment concept (and its sphere of operation much larger), the new project goals tend to usher in new levels of staff misunderstanding and communication problems. Difficulties are exacerbated by confusion of goals throughout the federal/state/local funding structure, as well as the various levels of project staff.
   b. The institutional/systems approach is not structured by a long-established, guiding frame of reference. Hence, it is easy to continue to accentuate "the case"--with casework simply dressed up a little differently, with the community delivering new kinds of cases, and with a new vocabulary attached to program elements.
   c. The transition seems especially difficult when an operational unit is "converted" en toto. Residual operating procedures tend to remain.
   d. The transition for staff seems more demanding where community problems, politics, and power are overwhelming or baffling.
e. "Small" successes in direct-casework service tend to reinforce traditional activities, especially since indirect impact is slower, more nebulous, and less personal.

2. As in several studies of Model Cities program operations, "systems coordination" is a dubious proposition if systems builders do not develop or already possess either "authority to coordinate" or some effective political power vis-a-vis local agencies and informal organizations. Especially if authority is not formalized, community development seems dependent on mobilizing active participation and leadership of concerned neighborhood citizens. Such community participation, in turn, seems to depend on at least small increments of success in community problem-solving.

3. Success in diverting youth from the justice system may depend not only on (a) changing attitudes and ideologies, and (b) establishing a diversion process—but also on (c) whether such systems-change threatens agency survival, workload, or "boundary-maintenance" of its sphere of activity. The data substantiate the notion that formal agencies may have organizational "uses" for youth quite apart from formal agency goals.

4. Measurable aggregate changes in target-area youth behavior (relinquent or otherwise) may not be an immediate outcome of institutional/systems intervention, despite the short-term evaluation needs of funding agencies.

**Implications**

It is already clear that to dent broad institutional/systems processes (which spin off individual problems, and ultimately, "cases") requires careful definitions of the nature and scope of program activities. Activities must be rigorously guided by specific goals, as well as by clearly understood concepts linking those goals and activities to specific circumstances which affect large numbers of youth-at-risk. According to chronological-log data, the YD/DP Project is indeed steadily sharpening that focus in light of continuing community experience both in Oakland and in Oxnard. Tactical successes in these early months of community work leave much room for optimism that the YD/DP Project can make cost-effective dents in the institutional and system processes which hinder youth access to mainstream opportunity.

**Influence of Findings**

Early experience in YD/DP programming and research reaffirms that ongoing research feedback is vital to self-correction in program planning and daily community activity. Data which reflect on the consistency of
theory, goals, objectives, and activities seem especially indispensable to a developing program immersed in complex community problems. Evaluation of overall effectiveness awaits the analysis of outcome statistics considered in conjunction with qualitative process data.
REFERENCES


Knight, Doug, Ellen Goldblatt, and Howard Lockard. Toliver Community Center Program Progress Summary; a Brief Research Overview. Sacramento, California, California Youth Authority, Division of Community Services. April, 1973.


EVALUATION OF YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

Elaine Buxbury

Program Description

Youth Service Bureaus were proposed in 1967 by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice as its major specific program recommendation for delinquency prevention. Youth Service Bureaus were to centrally coordinate all community services for young people and also to provide services lacking in the community or neighborhood, especially ones designed for less seriously delinquent juveniles. This concept proposed that youth would be referred to the bureau by the police, juvenile courts, schools, and other sources. Thus, some of the youth to be served were to be diverted out of the juvenile justice system to the bureaus. But there was to be no distinction between the services provided to delinquent and nondelinquent youth, thereby reducing the stigma that could otherwise become attached to receiving the bureau's services. Youth's acceptance of the bureau's services was to be voluntary.

Following the President's Commission recommendation, in 1969 California established the first Youth Service Bureaus to be initiated and funded by a State. This was a result of the Youth Service Bureaus Act, introduced in the California Legislature by Senator George Deukmejian. The $100,000 per year state support allocated by the Legislature was used as match to obtain $150,000 in Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds through the California Council on Criminal Justice. This allowed for nine communities throughout the state to be provided with $25,000 per year seed money as an incentive for local public and private agencies to pool their resources and to establish a pilot Youth Service Bureau. The seed money was not intended to provide complete funding for a Youth Service Bureau.

Each Youth Service Bureau funded in this manner in California was:

- To coordinate public agencies and private organizations interested in delinquency prevention so that they could work together to divert youth from the juvenile justice system.

- To have the support of the juvenile court, the probation department, and the law enforcement agencies of the community served.

- To be under the auspices of the county delinquency prevention commission.

- To be locally controlled by a managing board.

- To be staffed by a youth services coordinator, hired from grant funds, to serve as executive officer of the managing board and to be primarily responsible for day-to-day operations and services. Additional full or part-time staff and supportive services were to be contributed from participating agencies, organizations and volunteers.
To be a neighborhood center centrally located in the community to be served.

To be a place in the community to which delinquents and delinquency-prone youth could be referred by law enforcement agencies, parents, schools, and other sources in lieu of referral to an official justice agency.

To provide a wide range of services and continuity of treatment for individual youth.

Thus, the objectives of the pilot Youth Service Bureaus in California were to divert juveniles out of the justice system, to coordinate community resources, and to reduce delinquency in the areas served.

Originally, nine bureaus were established in the State. Selected to provide a variety of geographical, economic, ethnic, and administrative settings, the pilot bureaus were to serve these areas: Contra Costa County (Richmond area), Los Angeles County (Bassett School District area), San Diego County (the Clairemont section of the City of San Diego), Yuba and Sutter counties, Los Angeles County (City of San Fernando and nearby areas), San Mateo County (City of Pacifica), Santa Clara County (East San Jose area), Ventura County (Ventura Unified School District area), and Yolo County (East Yolo area).

While the two principles underlying the pilot bureaus in California were flexibility and local control, the Youth Authority nevertheless was responsible for administering the funds, providing technical assistance to the bureaus, and evaluating the bureaus' impact.

Using $25,000 per year allocated for evaluation, the Youth Authority's Division of Research and Development determined the effectiveness of the pilot Youth Service Bureaus in the state by establishing and maintaining an information system, obtaining service area delinquency statistics, observing programs, interviewing project staff and community resources in the service areas, and providing technical assistance to bureaus conducting supplementary evaluations. The first two years of the evaluation were funded out of the California Council on Criminal Justice grant mentioned earlier. The third year of the evaluation was funded by LLAA's National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice.

Summary of Findings

The first Youth Service Bureaus in California set out to demonstrate that by coordinating resources, juveniles could be diverted out of the justice system and delinquency could be reduced.

The pilot Youth Service Bureaus made initial efforts at coordination despite limited resources and power. Examples of coordination included agencies' detaching staff to the bureaus, interagency councils stimulated by the bureaus, and joint programs developed and sponsored by the Youth Service bureaus and other agencies. On a case level, coordination
incurred receiving referrals from other agencies and accountability to the referral sources. Overall, while the California Youth Service Bureaus' achievement of the coordination objective was neither extensive nor systematic, the bureaus' role in achieving more coordinated services began to emerge more fully as the bureaus stabilized.

During fiscal 1972 (July 1971-June 1972) the number of bureaus had increased to ten. That year these ten bureaus provided direct service to nearly 5,000 new clients. Most of the bureaus served 200 to 500 new clients per year, with one atypical bureau serving more than 1,700 new clients during the year.

Chiefly because of the atypical bureau, the composite total for all bureaus together, shows that most referrals were from individuals. (Table 1) However, separately, most of the bureaus received the majority of their referrals from agencies. The predominance of agency referrals in most of the bureaus indicates linkage at the first step of case coordination. Schools were the most frequent referral source among agencies, while a smaller proportion of referrals than anticipated were from the justice system, it is nevertheless significant that law enforcement made use of the Youth Service Bureaus by referring youth to them.

### TABLE 1

**Referral Sources to California Youth Service Bureaus**
**Fiscal Years 1971 and 1972**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referral Source</th>
<th>Fiscal Year 1971</th>
<th>Fiscal Year 1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total new clients served</td>
<td>3126 100.0%</td>
<td>4749 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to California Youth Service bureaus by:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
<td>1535 50.7</td>
<td>2025 42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement</td>
<td>627 20.1</td>
<td>554 11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation</td>
<td>363 11.6</td>
<td>430 9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>358 11.4</td>
<td>855 18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other agency</td>
<td>237 7.6</td>
<td>186 3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>1540 49.3</td>
<td>2724 57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>993 31.8</td>
<td>1009 21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>304 9.7</td>
<td>466 9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other individual</td>
<td>243 7.8</td>
<td>1249 26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Specific</td>
<td>1 *</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than 0.1%.
The typical youth served was fifteen years old and therefore at an age most vulnerable for justice system processing, since the median age of initial juvenile probation referrals in California was 16.1 in 1971.

Reasons for referral to the California Youth Service Bureaus indicate that the youth served were appropriate for the bureaus' intended purpose of serving both delinquent and nondelinquent youth. (Table 2)

Among the reasons for referral for which youth could be processed by the justice system, delinquent tendencies (Section 601 of the Welfare and Institution Code) were a more frequent reason than were specific offenses (Section 602). However, the preponderance of individual referrals to the bureaus had a noticeable impact on the composite referral reasons; overall, the most frequent referral reasons were "other" problems, such as employment or health problems. While these problems are basically not reasons for justice system processing, they indeed may be contributing factors to a youth's delinquency or may be consequences of being labeled a delinquent through justice system processing.

**TABLE 2**

**Reasons for Referral to California Youth Service Bureaus**

**Fiscal Years 1971 and 1972**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total new clients served</td>
<td>3126 100.0%</td>
<td>4749 100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Offenses</td>
<td>761 24.3%</td>
<td>692 14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquent Tendencies</td>
<td>1267 40.5%</td>
<td>1594 33.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent</td>
<td>10 .3%</td>
<td>13 .3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Problems</td>
<td>1555 49.7%</td>
<td>3054 64.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>-- --</td>
<td>8 .2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average number of reasons for referral: 1.1

Note: Columns add to more than 100% because of multiple reasons for referral.

Based on the delinquent reasons for referral to the bureaus, youth served were less seriously delinquent juveniles than those served by the conventional components of the justice system. Table 3 shows that the proportion of youth processed for specific offenses increases and that of youth processed for delinquent tendencies decreases as juveniles penetrate
the justice system more deeply. Among the reasons youth were referred to Youth Service bureaus, the proportion of specific offenses is lower and that of delinquent tendencies is higher than for all arrested youth or youth initially referred to probation.

Youth referred to the bureaus by law enforcement also fit this sequence. Police referred youth to the bureaus about equally often for specific offenses and for delinquent tendencies. This fits the sequence of proportion between arrests and initial referrals to probation. This implied that the bureaus have offered an alternative to police in their decision-making prior to referral to probation, bearing out recommendations for the bureaus.

The bureaus' hallmark was to develop and provide services directly to youth rather than to provide widespread access to existing services through service brokerage and referral or intervention and advocacy.

A variety of direct services to youth were developed and provided by the pilot Youth Service Bureaus in California. Family counseling, individual counseling, medical aid, job referral or placement, recreation programs, and intervention or advocacy with other agencies were all provided by California's Youth Service Bureaus. Not every bureau provided all of these services since local need and local resources determined the services to be offered. The single most frequent service delivered to Youth Service Bureau clients in California was family counseling. A minority of the youth served by the bureaus were referred to other agencies for service.

### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Contact</th>
<th>ALL REFERRAL SOURCES TO YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS</th>
<th>POLICE</th>
<th>POLICE REFERRALS TO YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS</th>
<th>PROBATION INTAKE</th>
<th>COURT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specific Offenses (602's)</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>49.8%</td>
<td>67.5%</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquent Tendencies (601's)</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As bureau planners intended, the typical youth had few contacts with a bureau, with many youth either needing or accepting services, the average youth had less than five contacts with a bureau. Half of the new clients' cases were closed within three months, with cases closed most often because further services were unnecessary.

The Youth Service Bureaus set out to demonstrate that by coordinating resources, juveniles could be diverted out of the justice system and delinquency could be reduced. In most areas where Youth Service Bureaus existed, additional juveniles were diverted out of the justice system and delinquency was reduced. Several criteria are evidence of this.

Agencies of the justice system -- particularly law enforcement and probation intake -- utilized the Youth Service Bureaus by referring youth to them. Use of the bureaus as resources for referral was generally informal rather than based on justice system screening policies. Individual relationships between justice system personnel and Youth Service Bureau staff were often the basis for making referrals to the bureaus. Because of this, justice system use of the bureaus as a referral resource was less than anticipated, varied from community to community, and fluctuated through time.

Based on a study in selected bureaus, youth referred to the bureaus from all sources were less likely to be arrested in the six months following bureau intake than in the six months before. Youth who had been arrested in the six months before intake were again more likely to be arrested in the subsequent six months.

At the time of intake, one percent of the youth were wards of the court. Six months later, six percent were court wards. This evaluation did not determine what proportion would have been arrested or would have become court wards without the intervention of the bureaus' services.

Community level data -- arrests and initial probation referrals for all youth in the area -- show that justice agencies began to handle youth in trouble differently, diverting more of them out of the justice system. This trend occurred even though justice agencies did not refer all of the diverted youth to the bureaus.

At the first decision point, juvenile arrests in some service areas were substantially reduced when compared with these areas before the bureaus were opened. Next, the number of juvenile arrests referred to probation intake decreased markedly in four of the five bureau service areas where data were available. These decreases were from twenty to forty percent. These two criteria included both local and out-of-town youth who had been arrested locally. They also included youth already on probation.

Another perspective of community level data is at the point of initial referral to probation from all sources, including non-local law enforcement and non-justice system sources. The preponderance of available evidence at this point also showed diversion occurred. In a majority
of the service areas where data were available, there were reductions in the number of youth living in the bureau service area who were initially referred to probation. Comparisons were possible with nearby areas for five Youth Service Bureaus. In four of the five bureau areas initial probation referrals decreased while they increased or remained unchanged for youth living in the nearby areas.

The most notable drop in initial probation referrals of bureau area youth was among those referred by the local police from the bureau’s service area. In the three bureau areas where these data were available, the decreases were dramatic: 45% to 60% in two to three years. These sizeable decreases led to the conclusion that the Youth Service Bureaus’ most profound impact on the juvenile justice system is at the point of probation intake among youth not on probation who are residents of the bureau service area and who are referred to probation by the bureau area’s local police. Some of these youth may instead be referred to a Youth Service Bureau, but others may not. Clearly, the presence of a Youth Service Bureau may affect youth other than those whom it serves directly.

The ultimate objective of the California Youth Service Bureaus was to reduce the incidence of delinquency in the project areas. Using juvenile arrests as the criterion, the weight of the evidence is that delinquency was reduced in the areas where Youth Service Bureaus were established.

To sum up, enough evidence is available to show that the Youth Service Bureaus can be instrumental in coordinating resources to divert juveniles out of the justice system and to reduce delinquency.

Implications of Findings

California’s pilot Youth Service Bureaus were evaluated in order to determine the effectiveness of the individual bureaus and of the concept.

The Legislature had requested the Youth Authority to submit annual reports on the pilot bureaus’ progress. This has led to what is probably the most important outcome of the evaluation: the introduction by Senator George Deukmejian of a bill that could establish 40 youth service bureaus throughout the State (SB 2100). This bill would give responsibility to the California Youth Authority to establish minimum standards for youth service bureaus, administer the funds, monitor services and supply technical assistance.

Findings from this evaluation were also utilized in formulating National Standards and Goals for Youth Service Bureaus. (The Youth Authority also conducted a separate National Study of Youth Service Bureaus for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The National Study’s findings were also incorporated into the National Standards and Goals.)
Moreover, the evaluation methods and findings will become the nucleus of a more rigorous study: Evaluation of Juvenile Diversion Programs, to be conducted at the request of the California Office of Criminal Justice Planning. In this three-year study, evaluation methods will be tested on OCJP-funded juvenile diversion programs. Evaluation standards and model juvenile diversion programs will be developed by this study.
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Duxbury, Elaine, "Youth Service Bureaus—California Style", Youth Authority Quarterly, 24 (2), 11-17, Summer 1971.


*References include material prepared by the staff of the Evaluation of Youth Service Bureaus in California. Publications prepared by the Youth Authority's Division of Community Services and by the staff of the National Study of Youth Service Bureaus are not included in this list.
EDUCATION

Summary of Findings

Educational research has focused on three general areas: 1) studies of the educational needs of Youth Authority wards; 2) studies of the effect of institutional education programs and 3) studies of post-institutional programs.

Educational Needs Studies

Studies aimed at determining needs have shown that CYA admissions have extremely low achievement scores in Reading and Arithmetic. Even so, very few have IQ scores below 70. Accordingly, research programs aimed at strengthening reading and arithmetic capabilities are indicated.

Institutional Treatment Programs

Remedial program instruction has been shown to be effective in raising the reading and math achievement of wards. However, it has not been possible to obtain a precise estimate of the amount of superiority of such programs over regular school efforts.

Several special education programs relating to education have been evaluated. At the O. H. Close School, a Ward Aide program was established. This program selected wards with good academic background and stable personalities to provide educational and helping services to younger wards. Although it was hypothesized that ward aide would receive benefit from their involvement in this program, it was found that recidivism rates for the ward aide were no better than the recidivism rates for a matched group which did not go through the Ward Aide program. However, it was shown that the individuals going through the Ward Aide program were more likely to obtain employment in human services occupations or go on to school than individuals who did not go through the Ward Aide program.

At Nelles, a behavior modification program was established. While recidivism rates were lower during the period of program operation than the rates prior to the implementation of the program, it was determined
that this reduction in recidivism was a part of an overall state-wide trend toward lower recidivism rates.

A Junior college program provides wards, while assigned to an institution, the opportunity to enroll in college, taking classes first in the institution and later attending day classes on the college campus. It has been shown that the college program is feasible and that the students benefit in changed attitudes. Following release from the institution, 60 percent have continued college during the first six months following their release.

The Differential Education Project was established at Paso Robles and explored the hypothesis that students grouped together by the I-level classification system would function better both socially and academically if assigned to teachers with matched teaching styles. It was shown that the homogeneous classrooms had a mixed impact on students in terms of academic achievement, self-concept, and in their postrelease school and work record. Project teachers received a greater sense of personal accomplishment and rapport with students than in heterogeneous class settings. There were fewer student/teacher problems.

Post-institutional Programs

To test the effectiveness of job finding techniques, the Jobs-related-to-training Project was undertaken at the Youth Training School. Students were randomly assigned to one of three groups: 1) an experimental group (receiving job placement services); 2) a job referral group (referred to other agencies for job placement services); and 3) a control group (receiving no services from YTS staff). The employment rate of these three groups after three months on parole, was found to be essentially the same, suggesting that job placement services were not related to being employed three months after release.

The Santa Clara Liaison Project provided continuity in educational planning for youths during the period they were committed to the CYA. Public school staff provided assistance to Santa Clara County commitments in obtaining entry back into the school system after being released from a CYA institution. The major objective was to increase the
probability the ward would attend school after his release to the community. The study showed no significant differences in school attendance of Santa Clara wards and wards of other counties.
Background

Education has traditionally been a major component of the rehabilitative efforts of youth correctional agencies. Some feel that the focus of our education programs should be to turn law violators into nonviolators, while others feel that education should be focused on giving the students skills necessary for successful competition in our society.

In the summer of 1967, funds became available from the federal government under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I, to improve educational programs within Youth Authority institutions. The federal legislation required that each of the ESEA programs be evaluated in order to determine its effectiveness. This evaluation requirement resulted in an expansion of the department’s education evaluation efforts. Most of the studies reported are evaluations of Title I programs (the major exception is the junior college program evaluation). The studies have been classified into three general areas: 1) studies of the educational needs of Youth Authority wards, 2) studies of the effect of institutional education programs, and 3) studies of post-institutional programs.

Education Needs Studies

Studies of educational needs attempt to identify the presenting problems of the student. The studies should result in a clearer understanding of the type of programs that should be developed and implemented to meet the students' needs. A careful need study requires all the techniques and skills commonly used within Educational Research.

The distribution of achievement levels of first admissions to the Department of the Youth Authority shows that the department should emphasize remedial programs within its educational curriculum (see Table 1).

Statewide distribution of achievement levels for new admissions has changed very little in the last five years; however, the average achievement level for entries to one of our institutions, YTS, has dropped dramatically. Documentation of this change has assisted school administrators in their effort to restructure their program to meet the changing needs of students entering that institution.

Because of the large number of individuals entering the Department of the Youth Authority with extremely low achievement scores, the Department of Youth Authority found it necessary to attempt to determine whether mental retardation is a significant problem in the Youth Authority population. The Educational Research Section has found that group IQ tests are not particularly useful in identifying the mentally retarded.
TABLE 1

Reading and Math Achievement Levels of First Admissions to the Department of the Youth Authority During Calendar Year 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade Level</th>
<th>Reading Vocabulary</th>
<th>Reading Comprehension</th>
<th>Arithmetic Computations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 - 3.9</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 - 5.9</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0 - 7.9</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.0 - 9.9</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.0 - 11.9</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.0 and over</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has also been found that individual IQ scores below 70 are fairly rare in the Youth Authority population. Consequently, there is relatively little need to establish specialized programs for the mentally retarded.

During the spring of 1972, the Department of the Youth Authority initiated an effort to revise its U. S. History curriculum to incorporate the contribution of minorities (60 percent of the Department of the Youth Authority's population is either Black or Brown). The Educational Research Section initiated the study to determine students' reaction to present U. S. History courses and establish in what ways they felt that the courses should be modified. In addition to feeling that more minority content should be incorporated into the U. S. History curriculum, students felt that 1) more group activity should be in the History curriculum, 2) the material should be more related to present day events, and 3) there should be increased use of multimedia devices. The revised U. S. History curriculum has made an effort to meet students' desires in these regards, since it was felt that meeting their desires would result in an increased motivation on their part.

The systematic use of research methodology to determine student needs is only just beginning within the Department of the Youth Authority. Needs research appears to have significant potential for influencing the quality of Youth Authority education programs.

Institutional Treatment Programs

Remedial Programs. The bulk of the educational research conducted in the last five years is centered around the ESEA-supported remedial
reading and math programs. These programs are designed to increase the reading and math achievements of wards functioning below the sixth-grade level in these subject matter areas. Enriched staffing, multimedia devices, and program instruction characterize these programs. These programs have been shown to be effective in raising the reading achievement of wards (see Table 2). However, numerous methodological problems have made it difficult to obtain a precise estimate of the amount of superiority of the remedial program over regular school efforts.

TABLE 2

Grade Level Gains in Reading and Math for ESEA Remedial and Comparison Groups
Fiscal Year 1969-70

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number Tested</th>
<th>Average Posttest Grade Level</th>
<th>Average Posttest Grade Level</th>
<th>Average Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading Comprehension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remedial Group</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>+.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Group</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>+.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remedial Group</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>+.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Group</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>+.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remedial Group</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>+.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison Group</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>+.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No evidence was found that the remedial program influenced the subsequent recidivism of wards. A data processing system was established to monitor the gains of students who received services from remedial programs. Monthly feedback to institutions is being provided. This monthly feedback information has resulted in fairly rapid identification of program problems. The result has been reallocation of staff or modification of program operations.

Ward Aide Program. A formal ward aide program was established at O. H. Close School. Students demonstrating good academic accomplishment and stable personalities were selected to assist in providing services to younger wards at O. H. Close. The program included recreational activities on the living unit and tutoring within the
It was anticipated that the ward aides would receive benefit from the responsibilities they undertook as well as provide services to the wards at the institutions. Available data indicate that the recidivism rates for the ward aides were comparable to the recidivism rates for the matched group who did not go through the Ward Aide Program, but that individuals going through the Ward Aide Program had a higher probability of obtaining employment in a human service occupation or going on to school than individuals not going through the Ward Aide Program (see Table 3).

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>O.H. Close Aides</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No School</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human service work</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other work</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Nelles System.** A behavior modification program was established at Nelles School in an effort to change the behavior of wards while in the institution and after their release from the institution. Recidivism data indicated that wards receiving services during the period of program operation had a lower recidivism rate than wards receiving services at Nelles prior to implementation of programs. However, this reduction in recidivism appears to be part of an overall statewide trend for lower recidivism rates (see Table 4).

**Junior College Programs.** The Fricot-Columbia Junior College Program was initiated in May of 1969 and continued until the closing of the Youth Authority's Fricot Ranch School about two years later. The program aimed at providing wards assigned to the institution with an introduction to college by enrolling them in courses at Fricot and, later on, enabling them to attend daytime classes on the college campus. The major elements of the program consisted of: 1) remedial, developmental, and introductory college courses, 2) rehabilitative
TABLE 4

Violation Rates for the Nelles System at Nine and Twelve Months Compared to Other Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and Year on parole</th>
<th>Nine Months</th>
<th></th>
<th>Twelve Months</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number Paroled</td>
<td>Percent Violations</td>
<td>Number Paroled</td>
<td>Percent Violations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71 (System)</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paso Robles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statewide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>6557</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>4845</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>8615</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>8615</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

services involving individual, small group, and large group counseling, and 3) organized recreational activities made available for interested students.

Students accumulated an average (median) of 39 units of college credits. Their median grade-point average was 3.3, or the equivalent of a "B," with 46 percent attaining 3.0 or higher.

To assess changes in attitudes and socio-psychological factors, personality tests were administered on a pre-post basis to a segment of the study population. The pre-post mean score changes were in a favorable direction on each of the eight scales used. Gains greater than would be expected by chance were found on the Self-Acceptance, Self-Esteem, and Personal Competence scales.

Follow-up data reveal that 60 percent of the students paroled from the program continued college during their first six months of time out. Nearly two-thirds attended college four months or longer during their initial six months on parole.

The department subsequently established junior college programs at four of their schools, Los Guilucos (which has also been closed recently), Karl Holton, Ventura, and Youth Training School. The programs at Los Guilucos and Ventura are presently being evaluated.
The Differential Education Project was introduced at Paso Robles School in October, 1969, under ESEA funding. Due to closure of the Paso Robles facility the project transferred to Ventura School in January, 1972, and continued through March, 1973.

The underlying hypothesis of the Differential Education Project was that a meaningful interpersonal relationship between the teacher and the student(s) would result in a better social as well as academic functioning. Students were grouped by the 1-level classification system and assigned teachers with matched teaching styles.

The data collected over a three-year period indicate that homogeneous classrooms with matched teachers have some positive impact on students. The picture is mixed, however, as indicated in Table 5.

**TABLE 5**

Responses to Homogeneous-Matched Teacher Settings Compared with Regular Classroom Settings by 1-level Subtype

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cfm</th>
<th>Cfc</th>
<th>Mp</th>
<th>Na</th>
<th>Nx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading comprehension</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math computations</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-concept</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesness Inventory Scales</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parole follow-up enrolled in school or working</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Project classroom significantly better.
= Project and comparison about the same.
- Project classroom significantly worse.

The project students were compared with students in regular heterogeneously grouped classrooms. The project Cfm and Mp students made significantly more progress in improved self-concept, whereas the Cfc and Na students showed no differences, and the Nx project students made less progress. In the area of academic achievement the project Cfc students benefited most from the homogeneous-matched teacher experience. Pre- and posttests on the Jesness Inventory gave a significant advantage to the comparison students, except in the case of Cfm's.
Parole personnel cooperated in giving information on school attendance and employment after leaving the institution. (78 percent returned the questionnaires). Project Cfm and Nx students had significantly higher enrollment in school and/or employment. Cfc students did not differ significantly from each other. The comparison Mp's and Na's had a significantly higher percentage of students who were in school or who were working.

Educational models were written by the project teachers, which gave insight into the classroom behavior and educational problems of the various l-level subtypes with which they worked. The project teachers, as a group, described a greater sense of personal accomplishment and rapport with students than they had in heterogeneous class settings. Records of the incidence of student-teacher problems also indicated that there was a lower percentage of these kinds of problems in the homogeneous classrooms.

Studies Underway. Two major evaluation efforts are presently underway but are not completed. One is the evaluation of the revised U. S. History curriculum. This new U. S. History curriculum is designed to 1) include more discussion activities within the U. S. History curriculum, 2) more adequately cover the contributions of the various minority groups to the development of the United States, and 3) incorporate the use of more multimedia devices within the curriculum. It is hoped that this U. S. History curriculum will increase tolerance, acceptance of minority groups, and appreciation of U. S. History in general.

Individual manpower training programs incorporate 1) programmed instruction in reading, math, and language, 2) vocational exploratory activities (Singer Graflex and Tool Technology), 3) survival skills through the complementary skills program, 4) improving employability behavior, and 5) increasing self-image and motivation through the AIMS program. Evaluation of various components of the IMT System will take place in the next year.

Postinstitutional Programs

Two postinstitutional programs have been examined by the Educational Research Section: The Jobs-related-to-training Project which attempted to find jobs for wards released from Youth Training School which were related to the training received at the school, and the Santa Clara Project which attempted to place wards back into public schools in Santa Clara County after they left Youth Authority institutions. Neither project was found to be successful in its major endeavor.

Jobs Related to Training. An experimental design was established for the Jobs-related-to-training Project with students randomly assigned to one of the three groups: 1) an experimental group (who received jobs placement services), 2) a job referral group (who were referred to other agencies for job placement services), and 3) a control group (who received no services from YTS staff). The employment rate of these
three groups after three months on parole was found to be substantially the same, indicating that the job placement services were not related to the probability that the ward would be employed three months after release. Interesting spin-off data was obtained on the type of employment acquired by various ethnic groups and the region. (See Table 6)

TABLE 6

Percent of Time Employed During the First Three Months After Release by Study Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parole Employment</th>
<th>Study Group</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>Referral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>413</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed 50%</td>
<td></td>
<td>140</td>
<td>36.50</td>
<td>29.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed 10-50%</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>18.98</td>
<td>20.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed 10%</td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>17.52</td>
<td>17.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>19.71</td>
<td>22.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing and other</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>8.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Santa Clara Liaison Project. The Santa Clara Liaison Project was established in October, 1969, to provide articulation of the school course work and credit for all youth of compensatory school age committed to the California Youth Authority from Santa Clara County. It was designed to provide for a continuity in educational planning from the time of his confinement in juvenile hall through his commitment to the California Youth Authority and into the time he would be returning to the local high school. Staff connected with the public school system in Santa Clara County provided assistance to the wards in obtaining entry back into the public school system, since the youths of public school age who returned to the community after being in Youth Authority institutions were known to have relatively poor school attendance rates. The major purpose of the project was to increase the probability that a ward would be attending school after his release to the community.

To determine whether increased school attendance resulted from the services provided in this project, a survey was made of the school attendance of all wards on parole under the supervision of the Santa Jose Parole Office as of the week of December 15, 1971. Those wards who had been committed from Santa Clara County were the target population; the rest became the comparison group. Results of this survey
showed no significant differences between the school attendance of Santa Clara wards and the comparison group. The most likely explanation for these findings was that regular parole agents are able to help the wards reenter school as much as parolees are willing and are able to be helped.

**TABLE 7**

School Attendance of Wards Under 18 Years of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Survey</th>
<th>Santa Clara</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In School</td>
<td>In School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Implications of Findings**

The sequence of studies discussed above is consistent with the general findings within the correctional field that it is very difficult to change the behavior of wards subsequent to their release from institutions. Although there is little indication that recidivism can be influenced by the type of project discussed here, there is some indication that the life styles of wards can be influenced. The results from the ward aide program and junior college program support this contention.

The relative success of need studies in influencing program direction seems to imply the desirability of increased emphasis on needs assessment by research staff. Establishment of program objectives should ideally result from a careful needs analysis. Alternative programs should then be established and evaluated in terms of their ability to reach the outcome specified from the needs analysis. Only after behavior change at the institution has been established through various testing efforts, would it seem worthwhile to look at more ultimate outcomes such as recidivism and employment.

Standardized testing instruments are available for measuring gains and achievement by wards within Youth Authority programs. This has allowed for a comparison of programs and monitoring of their success over time. Equivalent standardized instruments for measuring changes in attitudes and behavior would allow for a comparison of the effect of various intervention programs on these dimensions of human behavior.
REFERENCES


DRUG ABUSE
Summary of Findings

Since 1960, the California Youth Authority has been concerned with drug abuse among Youth Authority wards. Further, over the years, the number of drug-involved wards has grown significantly—from 18 percent in 1965 to 24 percent in 1971. During the same period of time, involvement with opiates increased from four to 12 percent.

In order to check out some of the stereotype thinking about drug usage, a followup study of juvenile drug offenders arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department in 1960 and 1961 for first time marijuana or dangerous drug abuse was undertaken. These first time arrestees were followed for four and five years and the extent of their subsequent involvement in delinquent or drug abuse activities was determined through examining rap sheets and other public records. This study revealed:

(1) that only 12 percent of the subjects were subsequently arrested for opiate involvement; (2) that more than half the group avoided any subsequent arrest on drug charges and that only 17 percent of the subjects became involved in criminal activity other than drug involvement.

Over the years, several treatment and control programs for the drug offender have been implemented and evaluated in the CYA. The Narcotic Control Project provided specialized parole caseloads averaging 30 parolees each, and antinarcotic (Nalline) testing of parolees to detect drug use together with short-term confinement and treatment of parolees reverting to narcotic use. Over all, the program demonstrated little treatment effectiveness, although the results suggested that the wards benefited more from later phases of the program than from earlier phases. In addition, it was found that wards released from institutions did better in the program than did wards transferred to the special caseloads from other parole units.
Three institutional drug projects were initiated in 1966. Staff at three institutions (one a school for girls) were instructed to develop treatment programs which would be the most appropriate for the types of drug-involved wards they had. The results of these programs at two of the institutions were mixed, but again, they suggested that different types of drug users require different kinds of treatment. One of the programs (at Preston) was shown to have a negative impact.

The Preston program was replaced by the "Preston Family" program. This program stresses voluntary participation of wards and staff in a therapeutic environment in which there is total concentration on the drug abuse problems of wards. The effects of this program are still under study.

The last and most current project is the Community-Centered Drug Program. This program attempts to (1) identify and classify wards according to their treatment needs; (2) identify treatment resources and approaches for the different types of wards; (3) utilize available drug treatment resources in local communities; and, (4) stimulate the development of such resources in communities where they are lacking. Evaluation of this program is currently under way.
RESEARCH ON DRUG ABUSE
Chester F. Roberts

The Background

Drug abuse has been a persistent and pervasive problem among Youth Authority wards since the Department's inception. In 1960, a Narcotics Census Project was initiated for the purpose of assessing the extent of narcotic usage among YA wards and determining some of the basic characteristics of drug abusing wards. The results of the survey (Seckel, 1961) indicated:

- Of the 14,221 wards surveyed, 18 percent had histories of involvement with illegal drugs...About 15 percent were reported involved with marijuana and about 5.5 percent with heroin. Two percent of the wards were reported as having histories of addiction to heroin.

- A relatively small proportion (22 percent) of wards with marijuana involvement later became involved with heroin.

- The highest percentage of involvement was noted among Mexican-American boys, followed by successively small percentages among White and Negro boys (29.8 percent, 12.7 percent and 10.0 percent respectively for marijuana involvement; 13.8 percent, 4.3 percent and 1.2 percent respectively for heroin involvement).

- Involvement rates tended to increase uniformly with age.

Beginning in 1965, surveys of drug involved youth in the YA population were undertaken (California Youth Authority, 1965-1972). Figures derived from these surveys and shown in Table 1, indicate the growth of the drug abuse problem.

The numbers of drug involved wards in the Youth Authority at the end of June, 1971, had increased by 211.0 percent over the number at the end of June, 1965. This growth rate, however, was only slightly more than half the increase rate for narcotic and drug arrests in California during the same period (389.0 percent).

This comparison reflects the fact that rapid increases in drug involvement were not only a Youth Authority phenomenon, but that the latter was a part of a more widespread problem involving youth generally. It is also clear from Table 1 that the increases in overall drug involvement during the period cited were especially related to involvement with nonopiate drugs.
Table 1

Trends in Drug Involvement Among Youth Authority Wards, 1965a
(Percentages of Total Population by Type of Drug of Abuse)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Date</th>
<th>Type of Drug of Abuse</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Nonopiates</th>
<th>Opiates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-31-65</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-31-66</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-31-67</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-31-68</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-31-69</td>
<td></td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-31-70</td>
<td></td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-31-71</td>
<td></td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The final publication in this series presented data for 12/31/71. In 1972 a new system of identification came into use.

In an attempt to better understand the basic elements concerned in leading a person to become involved with narcotics and drugs, the Youth Authority in 1962, conducted a series of five in-depth interviews with drug abusers in its population, searching especially for decision points, peer inter-relations, background variables, etc. The report (Adams, 1962) found a number of common elements among the statements of the five narcotic abusers interviewed. Young Mexican-Americans were seen as the predominant population at risk, with considerable less risk of involvement for White and Black youth. Early use of marijuana, followed by pills, then heroin was reported, although the informants tended to agree that at each stage progressively smaller numbers are involved. Supplier contacts were mostly close friends or acquaintances. Only two of the five had resorted to serious crime to maintain their usage, all had themselves supplied drugs to others.

These findings from the early studies of drug involvement among Youth Authority wards rather pointedly negated a number of widely held attitudes concerning drug abusers and the consequences of drug abuse. The view that marijuana use almost inevitably leads to subsequent heroin use was not supported by either study.

The sinister form of the "pusher" luring his victims gave way to almost casual initiation to use in the company of friends or family members. The presumed relationship between drug involvement and major property crime or violence was shown to be too simplistic and narrow.
More importantly the monolithic stereotype of the "drug addict" began to fade as the more complex differences between various types of users began to emerge. In the earlier study a clear difference in drug initiation and subsequent development was found between those with and without prior delinquent histories. The conclusions of the latter study suggest that the risks of one's becoming seriously involved with narcotics increase relative to certain background characteristics related to sex, age, race, family constitution and socio-economic status.

The Narcotic Control Program

As a result of growing concern about the drug abuse problem and in anticipation of future increases in the drug abusing population, the 1959 regular session of the California Legislature authorized the Youth Authority to establish narcotic treatment-control units for the purpose of "...such study, research and treatment as may be necessary for the control of addiction or imminent addiction to narcotics of persons committed to...the Youth Authority." After considerable planning and initial experimentation a Narcotic Control Program was initiated for wards on parole in the Los Angeles area on May 1, 1962. The major goal of the program was to "provide the type of service which will minimize the continuing use of narcotics or drugs among Youth Authority wards." The means of achieving this goal were seen as "an initial period of involuntary control followed by such treatment or supportive therapy as may be needed by the addict during the period in which he is building up his own inner defenses." Specific program elements included; 1) specialized parole caseloads averaging 30 parolees each; 2) anti-narcotic (Nalline) testing of parolees to detect recent drug use; and 3) short-term reconfinement and treatment of parolees reverting to narcotic use.

Wards were brought into the program in two ways: 1) following release from an institution, either directly or within a short time; and 2) by transfer from other parole units for wards who had already been on parole for some time. By the time the program was terminated, in April 1967, a total of 714 wards had been admitted to the program (288 institutional releases and 426 parole transfers). Two different operational phases are apparent in the program, coinciding roughly with a change in program administrators. The early phase was marked by a fairly intensive control emphasis, while a more lenient willingness to work with the ward in a "treatment" orientation was apparent in the latter phase.

Two interim research reports and a final evaluation of the program were published (Davis, 1964; Davis, 1965; Roberts, 1970). Considered as a whole, the program demonstrated little treatment effectiveness, but when outcome was reviewed over time, clear differences on two criterion measures, general recidivism and drug involved recidivism, indicated positive effectiveness on wards who spent a major portion of their time in the latter phase of the program as shown in Table 2.
TABLE 2

General Recidivism and Drug-Involved Recidivism Rates
for Wards in the Narcotic Control Program, by
Period of Admission to Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>General Recidivism</th>
<th>Drug Recidivism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5/62 - 10/63</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/63 - 11/64</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/64 - 1/66</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Institutional Releasees were compared to the Parole Transfers, a significant difference was found, with the latter showing higher failure rates on both outcome measures. In addition, it was found that the longer the ward had been in another parole unit prior to transfer into the program, the more quickly he was likely to be revoked or given an unsatisfactory discharge after entering the program. A review of the data supported the hypothesis that transfer into the program from a regular parole unit tended toward the rapid development of reactive behaviors among a number of wards which ultimately led to their failure in the program.

The research on the Narcotic Control Program, then, demonstrated the differential effectiveness of varying control and treatment approaches, the influence of the ward's prior experience on subsequent program effect, and the potential for ward deterioration to be found in the interaction of inadequate treatment approach and inappropriate subjects.

A Follow-up Study of the Juvenile Drug Offender

Early in the course of the Narcotic Control Program, a number of questions concerning drug abusers and the consequences of drug abuse arose. It was recognized that a number of statements concerning drug abuse were widely bandied about, often used as the assumptive bases for program development and support, but often with little or no corroborative evidence to support them. To test the validity of some of these commonly cited statements, the Youth Authority, with the cooperation of the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency and the Rosenberg Foundation, embarked on an intensive follow-up study of all juveniles (under 18) arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for first-time marijuana or dangerous drug violations in the years 1960 and 1961, a total of 866 subjects. The 1960 cohort was followed up for a period of five years, the 1961 cohort for four years. Background characteristics and histories were obtained on each subject.
Public record searches were made on each subject in order to determine: 1) the extent of identifiable involvement in delinquent or criminal activity prior to their first drug arrest and subsequent thereto; and 2) the details of this involvement in terms of the circumstances of the offense, circumstances of the arrest, possible mitigating factors, extent of drug habit, sources of supply, crime partners, etc.

The findings of the study (Polonsky, 1967; Roberts, 1967) tended to counter a number of popular suppositions concerning drug abusers, as shown below:

- **Does marijuana or dangerous drug use usually lead to opiate abuse?** Only 12.1 percent of the subjects were subsequently arrested for opiate involvement.

- **Once a drug abuser, always a drug abuser?** More than half the group avoided any subsequent arrest on a drug charge.

- **Is drug abuse primarily associated with lower socio-economic living conditions?** Although the majority of subjects were from less-than-standard areas, the data indicated that arrestees from those areas were less likely to be subsequently arrested on any drug charges and less likely to be arrested on opiate charges than were those from better neighborhoods.

- **Is drug abuse highly linked to other criminal activity?** For only 17 percent of the subjects could a continuing causal relationship between drug involvement and non-drug delinquency be reasonably supported.

In general the report again emphasized the complexity surrounding the realities of drug abuse as distinct from the over-simplistic myths and half-truths which masquerade as reality.

**The Institutional Treatment of Youthful Drug Abusers**

In 1965 the California Legislature requested the California Youth Authority to:

...establish a program for the purpose of rehabilitation, treatment, and education of persons committed to the Youth Authority who are addicted or habituated to amphetamine or barbiturate dangerous drugs...

In response to this request three institutional drug treatment programs were initiated in mid-1966, one at the Youth Training School, another at the Ventura School for Girls and the third at the Preston School of Industry. Besides the stipulated amphetamine and barbiturate users the programs were extended to include opiate and hallucinogen abusers.
In absence of any proven program model applicable to the treatment of such wards, the staff of the three institutions were asked to develop those programs which they felt to be the most appropriate for the types of wards they encountered, and to revise their program formats about every eighteen months. In practice the revisions which were made were reflected less in the formal elements of the program -- the numbers of large group meetings, small group counseling sessions, etc., than in the social climate of the living units. At YTS the program progressed consecutively through three phases characterized first by an emphasis on developing self-esteem, reliance on group and individual counseling, and a focus on the psychodynamics of ward behavior, then followed by a phase which focused on immediate behavior problems and the use of status/privilege rewards for inducing behavioral change, then finally a phase with a high degree of regimentation and compliance demanded of wards. These three phases might best be characterized by the terms "psychotherapeutic-oriented", "behaviorally oriented" and "reality-oriented", the latter in deference to Glasser's Reality Therapy concepts.

At Ventura there were also three phases of program orientation, the first focused primarily on re-training and preparation of the ward for drug-free life on parole, the second oriented toward the development of coping mechanisms by wards, and the third similar to the third phase of the YTS program. At the Preston School of Industry there was little change in the program from its inception and the basic approach centered on correcting "unhealthy habits" and willful misbehavior. Instead of attempting to resolve basic personal or social conflicts directly, the staff saw their goal as leading the ward toward less destructive ways of "acting out".

At all three institutions opiate abusers were supposed to be placed in the special program. At YTS and Ventura other types of drug abusers were randomly assigned to the special unit from a pool of eligibles, the remainder forming a control population which was distributed among the other living units at each institution. At Preston nonopiate drug abusers were assigned to the special unit on a first-come, first-serve basis.

A preliminary report (California Youth Authority, 1970) on the programs has been published, the final report will be published in July 1974. A preview of the data reveals the comparisons of outcome at 15 months from release to parole as shown in Table 3. These rate comparisons show that:

- At YTS hallucinogen abusers in the first and second phases of the program failed (parole revocation or bad discharge) at a much lower rate than their controls or than other types of drug abusers, but those in the third phase had a much higher failure rate.

- Dangerous drug (amphetamine and barbiturate) abusers in the first and second phases at YTS failed at higher rates than their controls, but those in the third phase had a much lower failure rate.
TABLE 3

Failure Rates for Wards in Drug Programs and Controls at Youth Training School and Ventura School, by Program Phase and Drug Abuse Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drug Abuse Type</th>
<th>Youth Training School</th>
<th>Ventura School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opiate Abusers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Program</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallucinogen Abusers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Program</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous Drug Abusers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Program</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Hallucinogen abusers in the first and third phases at Ventura performed much better than their controls but those from the second phase failed at a higher rate.

- Dangerous drug abusers in the first phase at Ventura failed at a higher rate than their controls, but those from the second phase failed at a lower rate.

- Opiate abusers revealed no major improvement in their failure rates compared to controls at YTS or Ventura, except those from the third phase at Ventura who failed at a lower rate.

The data clearly indicate consistent differential responses to treatment conditions by different categories of drug abusers. Most clearly they warn the treator against lumping different types of abusers together and attempting to apply a simplistic and monolithic "treatment" approach to them. They suggest instead that different types of drug abusers require quite different kinds of treatment approach and that approaches which have positive value for some kinds of abusers may well have negative consequences on others.

The institutional drug program at Preston School of Industry proved to have severe negative impact on nearly every type of ward assigned to the program. For wards released through August 1968, 63 percent had failed on parole within 15 months from release, as compared to 37 percent among wards released from Youth Training School. In mid-1970 the program was discontinued.
The Preston "Family" Program

For some months prior to the closure of the Preston drug program, some wards and staff had been considering ways of re-organizing and re-orienting the program. As a model they had become aware of the "Family" programs currently functioning at the Mendocino and Napa state hospitals. These programs provide for the equitable involvement of both wards and staff in collective interaction within a therapeutic milieu. Primary vehicles for inducing interaction are intensive encounter/confrontation meetings, a hierarchal governing structure of responsibilities and obligations which disregard distinctions between staff and wards, and the essentially voluntary nature of participation in the program. With only minor variations this model was adopted as a replacement drug program at Preston. An extensive description of the program process was published in 1972 (Fager, 1972). Two progress reports have also been published (Seckel, 1972; Seckel, 1973) and a final report will be due in November, 1973.

The Community-Centered Drug Program

The lessons from the institutional drug treatment programs were beginning to be apparent by mid-1971, when the Youth Authority was again considering the possible nature of a new statewide program concerned with drug abuse to meet the needs of the vastly increasing numbers of abusers within its population. There appeared clear needs for differential treatment approaches for different types of drug abusers, a need for special treatment milieu for different cultural groups, a need for a variety of flexible treatment goals and needs to provide specific enhancing preconditions for optimum treatment effectiveness. It was equally clear that the Youth Authority within its own resources was ill-equipped to provide such a widely diverse network of services through its own facilities for the large numbers of highly varied types of drug abusers within its population. The implication of this recognition was that the YA must begin sharing its responsibilities with other drug abuse treatment resource agencies, especially the wide range of existing community-based programs.

Through a series of staff meetings the outline of the present Community-Centered Drug Program was established to specifically develop four inter-related service delivery systems: 1) a system of identifying and classifying wards in ways which enable prediction of outcome under various types of treatment approaches; 2) a system of identifying and classifying relevant treatment resources and approaches in terms of their availability and applicability for different types of drug abusers; 3) procedures for treating drug abusers through utilization of, and in cooperation with, the wide variety of drug treatment resources already available within local communities; and 4) a means for stimulating the development for community drug abuser treatment resources where such resources for various types of wards are needed, but are presently lacking.
To augment and monitor the above goals, the Research Unit of the program was charged with four specific tasks: 1) an effort to systematically identify those background characteristics and personality variables which uniquely distinguish drug abusers from non-abusers, and/or different types of drug abusers; 2) an evaluative study of the nature of treatment activities conducted by various community agencies and their effectiveness with different types of drug abusers; 3) development of an informational file on drug abusers in the Youth Authority and of population accounting procedures for the accumulation of data on that population; and 4) a general evaluation of the operational viability of the program as a whole. Special and interim reports from the project are to be published in serial order and two reports are presently due for publication (Widmann, 1973, Switzer, 1973).
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REFERENCES (Cont'd)

CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENDERS

Summary of Findings

An important focus of California Youth Authority research has been on the classification of offenders. The rationale for this emphasis is that delinquents are not all alike and commit offenses for different reasons; consequently, it follows that it would be useful to have a treatment-related classification of offenders which would serve as a guide for treatment. The thought is that for every delinquent type there should be a most beneficial treatment approach. In this section of this report, the Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) Classification System is described briefly. This classification scheme has been used in a number of CYA projects (e.g., the Community Treatment Project, which is described elsewhere in this report).

As originally developed, the classification is determined through an interview conducted by a person trained in the I-level diagnostic procedure. Project Sequil has attempted to objectify the procedure through the use of pencil and paper tests which are computer scored for I-level and subtype. This procedure has been systematically implemented in the California Youth Authority reception centers. Accordingly, information is available to reception center staff for the determination of treatment goals and for making treatment decisions.
The Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) theory had its first application in the early 1950's in a study of military offenders. The first major elaboration of the theory occurred in 1961 with the beginning of the Community Treatment Project.

The original theoretical formulation described a sequence of personality (or character) integrations in normal childhood development. This classification system focuses upon the ways in which the individual is able to see himself and the world, and the ways he is able to interpret what is happening between himself and others. According to the theory, seven successive stages of interpersonal maturity characterize psychological development. They range from the least mature, which resembles the interpersonal reactions of a newborn infant, to an ideal of social maturity which is seldom or never reached in our present culture. Each of the seven stages, or levels, is defined by a crucial interpersonal problem which must be solved before further progress toward maturity can occur. All persons do not necessarily work their way through each stage, but may become fixed at a particular level. The range of maturity levels found in an adolescent delinquent population is from Maturity Level 2 (Integration Level 2 or I2) to Maturity Level 5 (I5). Level 5 is infrequent in the adolescent population, but represents a significant proportion of young adult offenders. It should be stressed that interpersonal development is viewed as a continuum. The successive steps, or levels, which are described in the theory, are seen as definable points along the continuum.

An elaboration of the original classification system was developed in 1961. This elaboration was based on the assumption that although a diagnosis of integration level (I-level) identified a group of individuals who held in common a certain level of perceptual differentiation, not all individuals in this group responded to this perceptual frame of reference. Similarly, there appeared to be three typical response sets among delinquent I3's, and four typical response sets among delinquent I4's. In this manner, the nine, delinquent subtypes were identified. These nine subtypes were originally described—as part of the proposal for CTP, Phase 1—by lists of item definitions which characterize the manner in which the members of each group perceive the world, respond to the world, and are


2. Grant, M. Q. Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification: Juvenile. Los Angeles: California Youth Authority.
perceived by others. The description of the nine delinquent subtypes, with predicted most effective intervention or treatment plans, combined to make up the original statement of the Differential Treatment Model. This Model has been revised and expanded over the years of experimentation in CTP. The most recent edition in print was published in 1966.\(^3\)

Brief descriptions of the three maturity levels (Integration Levels or I-Levels), as well as the nine empirical subtypes, found in the juvenile delinquent population are given below:

**Maturity Level 2 (I\(_2\)):** The individual whose interpersonal understanding and behavior are integrated at this level is primarily involved with demands that the world take care of him. He sees others primarily as "givers" or "withholders" and has no conception of interpersonal refinement beyond this. He has poor capacity to explain, understand, or predict the behavior or reactions of others. He is not interested in things outside himself except as a source of supply. He behaves impulsively, unaware of anything except the grossest effects of his behavior on others.

**Subtypes:**

1. **Asocial, Aggressive (Aa)** responds with active demands and open hostility when frustrated.


**Maturity Level 3 (I\(_3\)):** The individual who is functioning at this level, although somewhat more differentiated than the I\(_2\), still has social-perceptual deficiencies which lead to an underestimation of the differences among others and between himself and others. More than the I\(_2\), he does understand that his own behavior has something to do with whether or not he gets what he wants. He makes an effort to manipulate his environment to bring about "giving" rather than "denying" response. He does not operate from an internalized value system but rather seeks external structure in terms of rules and formulas for operation. His understanding of formulas is indiscriminate and oversimplified. He perceives the world and his part in it on a power dimension. Although he can learn to play a few stereotyped roles, he cannot understand many of the needs, feelings, and motives of another person who is different from himself. He is unmotivated to achieve in a long-range sense, or to plan for the future. Many of these features contribute to his inability to predict accurately the response of others to him.

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\(^3\) Warren, M. Q. and CTP Staff: Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification: Juvenile. Diagnosis and Treatment of Low, Middle and High Maturity Delinquents. California Youth Authority publication, 1966 Edition.
Subtypes: (3) Immature Conformist (Cfm) responds with immediate compliance to whoever seems to have the power at the moment.

(4) Cultural Conformist (Cfc) responds with conformity to specific reference group, delinquent peers.

(5) Manipulator (Mp) operates by attempting to undermine the power of authority figures and/or usurp the power role for himself.

Maturity Level 4 (IV): An individual whose understanding and behavior are integrated at this level has internalized a set of standards by which he judges his and others' behavior. He can perceive a level of interpersonal interaction in which individuals have expectations of each other and can influence each other. He shows some ability to understand reasons for behavior, some ability to relate to people emotionally and on a long-term basis. He is concerned about status and respect and is strongly influenced by people he admires. The standards which he has internalized are often extremely rigid, leading to harsh judgments of himself and others. Unresolved identity issues are frequent.

Subtypes: (6) Neurotic, Acting-out (Na) responds to underlying guilt with attempts to "outrun" or avoid conscious anxiety and condemnation of self.

(7) Neurotic, Anxious (Nx) responds with symptoms of emotional disturbance to conflict produced by feelings of inadequacy and guilt.

(8) Situational Emotional Reaction (Se) responds to immediate family or personal crisis by acting out.

(9) Cultural Identifier (Cl) responds to identification with deviant value system by living out his delinquent beliefs.

The delinquent subtypes along with their code names and the proportions they represent in the Community Treatment Project population may be summarized as follows:
## Delinquent Subtypes: Code Names and Proportion of Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code Name</th>
<th>Delinquent Subtypes</th>
<th>Proportion of Adolescent Population (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aa</td>
<td>Asocial, Aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ap</td>
<td>Asocial, Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>Conformist, Immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cfc</td>
<td>Conformist, Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mp</td>
<td>Manipulator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Neurotic, Acting-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nx</td>
<td>Neurotic, Anxious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Se</td>
<td>Situational Emotional Reaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>Cultural Identifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The need for a treatment-related classification system in the field of corrections is generally conceded by practitioners and researchers alike. Such a system could lead to more effective assignment and management decisions. Having available an adequate classification system could enable correctional administrators to guide persons into programs that have been found to be appropriate for other offenders having the same characteristics.

A widely accepted classification system could additionally serve a vital research function. At the present time, persons in the corrections field are frustrated in their attempts to build up an empirically based body of knowledge, due in part at least to a lack of comparability of research findings. The availability of a classification procedure that is simple to apply could vastly improve this situation.

Project Sequil, The Development of a Sequential I-Level Classification System, has been operating under funds granted by the California Council on Criminal Justice since February, 1971. The Project is designed to develop a reliable, valid, efficient, and relatively quick method of classifying delinquent offenders and similar populations according to a typology developed and utilized by Dr. Marguerite Q. Warren and her associates. The I-level typology is increasingly being accepted as one of the most useful, currently available, methods of classifying offenders. It has been employed as an aid to differential treatment, and in management and assignment decisions in the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project (CTP) since 1961. It has been employed in several institutional and parole programs within the Youth Authority and in other correctional agencies. Many county probation departments within the state use the I-level system to various degrees and several have indicated strong interest in using the Sequential method of classification. Correctional agencies throughout the United States and Canada have also used the I-level system in their programs.

General Description

The theory that forms the basis for the I-level Classification System was first presented in a paper published in 1957 (Sullivan, Grant and Grant), and further developed by Warren in 1961 and 1966. Although the authors originally proposed seven levels of perceptual ability, more recent work has been concentrated on levels two, three, and four, for these include

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This study was made possible by a grant from the California Council on Criminal Justice to the American Justice Institute who cooperated with the California Youth Authority in its implementation.
the great majority of adolescent delinquent offenders (Warren, 1961). Within each of these three maturity levels, subtypes are distinguished according to the characteristic manner in which the individual responds to interpersonal events. Thus, nine delinquent subtypes are identified (two 12 subtypes, three 13 subtypes, and four 14 subtypes). Listed below are the delinquent subtypes and the symbol (code name) used for their identification:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Aa</td>
<td>Unsocialized, aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ap</td>
<td>Unsocialized, passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>Conformist, immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cfc</td>
<td>Conformist, cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mp</td>
<td>Manipulator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Na</td>
<td>Neurotic, acting-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nx</td>
<td>Neurotic, anxious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Se</td>
<td>Situational emotional reaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Cultural identifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A major difficulty with the procedures for 1-level classification relates to the use of lengthy clinical-type interviews as the major diagnostic tools. It has been found difficult to train large numbers of staff in the skills necessary to produce accurate and reliable diagnoses by means of the interview. Training at the Center for Training in Differential Treatment (CTDT) now involves a five-week course, and continued practice in interviewing and diagnosing over several weeks. Even more problematical is the conclusion arrived at by those who developed the 1-level system and who now train others, that not all persons who receive training are capable of doing accurate diagnosis. The interview is empirically known to have many weaknesses as a diagnostic instrument. Goldberg in 1969 stated, "...I can summarize this ever-growing body of literature by pointing out that over a rather large array of clinical judgment tasks (including by now some which were specifically selected to show the clinician at his best and the actuary at his worst), rather simple actuarial formulae typically can be constructed to perform at a level of validity no lower than that of the clinical expert (p. 485)". It comes as no surprise, therefore, that persons who have been geographically separated have experienced difficulty in arriving at interview diagnoses that agree with ratings of others.

The Sequential 1-Level Classification System overcomes some of the difficulties described above. Classification can now be made by means of objective pencil and paper tests computer-scored for 1-level and subtype according to formulae obtained from multi-dimensional statistical analysis. These formulae derive probability values for an individual's belonging to each of the three levels and nine subtypes. During the Preston Typology Study, approximately 2,000 wards admitted to Preston School for Boys were classified into the nine 1-level subtypes using this computer program together with data from a brief sentence completion test and a semi-structured interview. The accuracy achieved using combined data from several independent measurement procedures appeared more satisfactory than the accuracy using an interview...
alone. Significant agreement among the three independent measures were demonstrated. Toward the end of the study further refinements in the system were investigated including the introduction of a step-wise computer program that first distinguished subjects into i-level classes and then into subtypes.

Further analysis conducted during the first two years of Project Sequil have led to the incorporation of the Jesness Behavior Checklist (Self-Appraisal) as the second step in the Sequential procedure. The Checklist probabilities for membership in the i-level and subtype categories are used together with the probabilities from the Jesness inventory when the latter is not clear with regard to level and/or subtype classification. The need for classification data from the sentence completion test and interview have been eliminated in the final Sequential procedure, although these instruments may be used in rare cases in which the Inventory and Behavior Checklist do not produce a classification, or for additional clinical data.

Summary of Major Findings

Comparison of Methods. The Center for Training in Differential Treatment diagnosed by the interview method 122 cases on whom a Sequential diagnosis was also available. For this sample there was 70% agreement on i-level and 34% agreement on subtype between the two techniques. Diagnoses by the Community Treatment Project (CTP) staff on a separate sample of 68 cases have been compared with Sequential diagnoses. The agreement in this instance was 57% for level and 30% for subtype.

However, Molof (1969) has presented some interesting data concerning agreement between interview diagnoses. A sample of 48 cases were diagnosed by clinicians at the Youth Authority’s Northern Reception Center-Clinic (NRCC) and were independently diagnosed by CTP staff. The agreement was 63% for level and 35% for subtype. Another evaluation of the agreement between interview diagnoses was obtained from a set of tape-recorded interviews. Dr. Palmer of CTP chose 21 of these interviews as good examples of wards of the various levels and subtypes. These recordings were given as a diagnostic test to members of training teams at NRCC and SRCC. Average agreement with CTP diagnosis was 65% for level and 35% for subtype at NRCC and 67% for level and 48% for subtype at SRCC. Consequently, the Sequential method seems to agree with the interview method about as well as the interview method agreed with itself in these two instances.

The Sequential system, however, does not purport to measure the same thing as the interview method even though cases diagnosed by the interview method were used in its development. The object in the development of the Sequential system has been to sharpen and clarify the behavioral profiles of the various diagnostic categories through a "boot-strapping" operation in which probabilities derived from the original formulas were used as data in making subsequent diagnoses. The first computer formula was derived from the responses of 295 prototype subjects. These subjects
were diagnosed by the original staff of the Community Treatment Project from 1962 to 1966 using the interview method. (The CTP diagnostic guidelines have changed somewhat since the prototype subjects were selected. Fewer subjects are now being classified at the $L_2$ and $L_3$ levels and there has been a corresponding increase in the number of $L_4$ diagnoses.)

**Construct Validity.** Since the interview method of diagnosis is not sufficiently reliable to serve as a criterion for validity, four psychological constructs were selected for determining the construct validity of the Sequential $L$-level diagnosis. The first of these was intelligence. There are certain similarities between the abilities which comprise $L$-level and $I.Q.$, such as a) the ability to conceptualize, b) social awareness, c) information processing capacity, and d) the abstraction and manipulation of social symbols in a culturally prescribed manner.

Loevinger's (1966) Ego Level is a second construct which is similar to the $L$-level system. Both the general format and specific descriptions of the various stages of ego development strongly resemble the $L$-level subtype descriptions.

Rotter's (1966) Internal-External locus-of-control construct bears theoretical resemblance to the $L$-level. Persons with low $L$-levels would be expected to be more externally oriented than those with high $L$-levels in their perceptions of the source of control over their lives.

The Embedded Figures Test (EFT) also has features similar to the $L$-level, (Witkin, Otten, Raskin, and Karp, 1971). According to the authors, the EFT measures general mode of cognitive and perceptual functioning which includes field dependence or independence, global versus articulate structuring of the perceptual field and the entire process of psychological differentiation. Similarly, as one progresses in the $L$-level development, his frame of reference becomes more articulated; psychological differentiation takes place, and increases in a manner similar to that described by Witkin, et. al.

The following table presents the results of this construct validation study.

**TABLE I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test</th>
<th>I-Level vs. Test</th>
<th>Test vs. I.Q.</th>
<th>I-Level vs. Test Controlled for I.Q.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal I.Q.</td>
<td>.54*</td>
<td>-.56*</td>
<td>-.13 NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embedded Figures</td>
<td>-.38*</td>
<td>-.56*</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal-External</td>
<td>-.41*</td>
<td>-.29*</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego Level</td>
<td>.38*</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* - $p < .01$

** - Not yet ascertained
As shown in the table, the correlations of I-level diagnosis with each of the other measures is significant and in the direction expected. Since I.Q. seems to be central to all of the constructs measured, its correlation to each test was calculated. Then the partial correlation between each test and I-level diagnosis, controlling for I.Q., was calculated. It may be seen that the relationship between I-level and the Internal-External scores remains significant after the effect of I.Q. has been removed. However, the relationship of I-level with the Embedded Figures Test dropped to insignificance.

Implications of Findings

Sequential I-level diagnosis is correlated with the original I-level theory and with other theoretical constructs as well. Current emphasis in Project Sequil lies in demonstrating practical utility of the system. This objective is being pursued in three ways:

1) Measuring the relationship between actual behavior of subjects and that which is expected on the basis of I-level classification.

2) Measuring the reliability of I-level diagnosis over time.

3) Measuring reaction to program as a function of match between client I-level diagnosis and staff preferences keyed to I-level subtypes.

Results of these current efforts will show some ways in which Sequential diagnosis can be helpful in determining treatment planning.

Influence of Findings on Program Operation

The final form of the Sequential procedure has been developed and implemented in the Youth Authority Reception Center Clinics. Results of these current efforts should provide caseworkers with information which will be helpful in making treatment decisions and forming treatment goals.
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TRAINING CENTER RESEARCH

Summary of Findings

Two training centers to instruct people in treatment approaches which have proven their effectiveness in demonstration projects have been developed. Out of the Community Treatment Project and its use of the I-level classification system and the differential treatment approach developed the Center for Training in Differential Treatment. The basic objective of this Center has been to develop and evaluate a training model in differential treatment. The project has gone through two phases in which curriculum materials were developed, personnel trained and the effects of this training evaluated. The major objective of Phase 2 has been to develop and test an audiovisual training model.

Trainees were selected from a variety of agencies. One of the requirements for selection was that the trainee's agency agreed to implement the differential treatment concept in some aspect of its program.

The experience of the Training Center has provided insights into the problems of instituting differential treatment approaches. Among these insights are (1) that the matter of implementing totally new treatment approaches is most difficult and that conventional training budgets will need to be increased if differential treatment approaches are to be properly implemented; (2) that not all persons can be trained successfully in differential treatment and that trainees must be carefully selected; (3) that it is not enough for a member of an organization to be trained in differential treatment and then returned to his organization to implement a differential treatment program. There is a need for follow-on consultation from the Training Center to provide added support for the change.

A second training research effort is the Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project. This project grew out of the Northern Youth Center Research Project, in which one of the treatment approaches used was based on the principle of behavior modification. Location of this program was in an institution. In this project the objective was to apply behavior modification techniques in community settings.
Accordingly, a training package has been developed and California Youth Authority parole agents and probation staff from several counties have been trained. The trainees are supervisory staff who, after completing their instruction, return to their own organizations to train their own staff. The Training Center project staff consult and work with the supervisors in their organizations. Among the findings of this project are: (1) Strong commitments from departmental leaders are critical for success; (2) Field agents often lack interviewing skills which they must learn to become effective behavior modifiers and to establish good contingency contracts; (3) Effective behavioral therapy (contrary to established probation practices of imposing non-negotiable contracts) must, in fact, look toward client self-management. This means that clients must be involved in identifying their own problems, specifying their reinforcers, and writing their own contracts.
General Description

The basic objective of the Differential Treatment Training project was to develop and evaluate a training model in differential treatment for delinquents based on the Interpersonal Maturity Level (1-level) theory. (Sullivan, Grant and Grant, 1957). During Phase I (1967-1970), project goals were (1) to develop a training center; (2) to develop, refine and evaluate curriculum materials; (3) to train personnel and assess the effects of training methods and content; and (4) to provide and evaluate follow-on consultation to students and their parent organizations. (Warren, 1966)

The major objectives of Phase II (1970-1973) included (1) development and testing of an audio-visual training model; (3) development of criteria for trainee selection; and (3) further assessment of the functioning of the Interagency 1-level Training Team which had been developed during Phase I. (Warren, 1969)

In the process of training model development between November, 1967 and May, 1973, 28 training workshops were held, mainly at the Training Center in Sacramento. The 28 programs are identified in Table 1. Numerous shorter presentations of Training Center activities lasted from two hours to three days.

Trainees were selected from agencies which agreed to attempt to implement differential treatment concepts in some aspect of their program. Trainees represented agencies working with the range of severity of delinquency problems, from prevention (e.g., Big Brothers) to maximum security institutions for habitual offenders. Workers from juvenile and adult programs, from institution and community-based programs, and from county, state, federal, Canadian provincial, Australian state, and private facilities have also been included. A few participants have been university-based.

Changes in Trainees' Knowledge and Integration of Content. Pre-post scores were obtained from (1) a 59-item, multiple-choice combined Level Test and Subtype Test and (2) a five-item Definitions Test. These tests measure specific content knowledge. A Critical Incidents Test was given on the final day of training and a Diagnostic Accuracy Test was given one year following training to measure content integration. There was significant improvement in scores (beyond .01 level) from all pre- to posttests for all trainee groups.

Changes in Trainees' Technical Skills. Skills required within the Differential Treatment system include interviewing, making clinical inferences from interview material and planning treatment.

Numerous staff ratings made of trainees' interview skills and skills in inferring clinical characteristics changed positively over time. Questionnaire data obtained from trainees at the end of training and one year later also indicated that trainees saw their diagnostic and treatment skills increasing. Before and after evaluations of trainees' skills by their supervisors showed changes in the predicted, i.e., positive, direction.
Changes in Trainees' Attitudes. In addition to assessing trainees' attitudes about I-level and differential treatment, the attitudes of their superiors and administrators were also obtained at three points in time (pre- and post-training, and one year after training).

Responding groups were asked to rate the appropriateness of a number of general treatment and differential treatment stances. It became more acceptable for workers "to become emotionally involved with clients" and "to not fit the agencies' mold for workers". All trainee treatment attitude changes were in the hoped-for direction, while supervisors and administrators showed either random changes or a more negative stance toward the treatment items.

One year following training, all three respondent groups indicated that their opinion of the value of I-level and differential treatment concepts had increased, as had their opinion of the extent to which the concepts could be applied.

Predisposition to Use the Newly Learned Material

Assessment in this area was made via questionnaire items, reports of training conducted, and participation as part of a training team or group. Staff ratings of motivation to train were positively associated with posttest scores. Training reported by the seven groups of intensive trainees is reported in Table 2. The most impressive evidence in this assessment area is that all but 11 of 99 intensive program trainees reported having conducted training in their parent agency within one year of completion of their own training.

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General Orientation &lt; 16 hrs.</th>
<th>Extensive Overview ≥ 16 hrs.</th>
<th>Interviewing &amp; Diagnosis</th>
<th>Treatment &amp; Treatment Planning</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Training Programs</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of Training</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>2426</td>
<td>2930</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>7289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainees Participating</td>
<td>11,95</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>3994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Hours per Program</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Trainees per Program</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Program Implementation

Table 3 summarizes subsequent training by CTDT trainees, differential treatment program implementation and planned implementation or expansion within those programs which had sent staff to intensive training. Table 4 details various differential treatment elements and the frequency of their reported use in various program elements. The median program duration was approximately 11 months with a range of one to 55 months.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type and Number of Programs Participating (in any of 28 CTDT Programs)</th>
<th>Number of Programs Participating in Intensive Training</th>
<th>Subsequent Training by CTDT Trainee</th>
<th>Some Program Implementation</th>
<th>Some Implementation &amp; Planned Expansion</th>
<th>No Implementation Planned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CYA (N = 22)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calif. Probation (N = 27)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (N = 28)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals (N = 73)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Implications of Findings. Implicit in the amount of training conducted by the Training Center and the continuing demand for such training is the growing interest in differential treatment in general and specifically in the classification procedures and intervention strategies which derive from the Interpersonal Maturity Classification. Differential treatment program implementation may be viewed as the joint result of (1) agency commitment to innovation and change, (2) an understanding of issues related to training and program implementation, (3) the availability of appropriate trainees, (4) the availability of appropriate training, (5) appropriate follow-on consultation, and (6) adequate program evaluation procedures.
Table 4

Number of Programs Reporting Use of Differential Treatment Elements
As reported by C.T.D.T. Intensive Training Trainees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settings</th>
<th>Group Home or Diagnostic Center</th>
<th>Camp on Ranch</th>
<th>Juvenile Training School</th>
<th>Field Services</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLIENT CLASSIFICATION BY 1-LEVEL INTERVIEW</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLIENT 1-LEVEL CLASSIFICATION BY MODIFIED INTERVIEW OR OTHER METHOD(S)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT MODEL PLANNING FOR CLIENTS; I.E., WRITTEN STATEMENT OF PROBLEM, GOALS, STRATEGIES.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODIFIED DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT MODEL PLANNING FOR CLIENTS.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT PLANS.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS (PALMER'S WORKER STYLE).</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSIGNMENT OF WORKERS TO MATCHED I-LEVEL SUBTYPE CASELOADS.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Many correctional agencies seem committed to change. If differential treatment programming is the change to which they are committed, it may be necessary to increase existing budgets to provide adequate training and to allow relatively free time for trainees during training and practicum necessary for content integration.

2. Many areas of impact of differential treatment concepts upon existing policies and procedures have been identified in a Simulated Agency Impact Model. Pre-training consultation by persons familiar with the organizational issues is a considerable advantage in that it may assist administrators in thinking through the issues which may arise if such concepts are adopted.
3. The training model primarily aims at the training of supervisors and trainers. Agencies may need to modify staff selection procedures to insure that staff supervisors and trainers selected for differential treatment involvement possess the characteristics of successful CTDT trainees. In addition, adoption of selection procedures similar to those used within the Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project may help in making appropriate assignment of worker specialists to specified groups of clients.

4. Except in exceptional situations, training probably cannot be provided by perusal of written material alone. The video training model eventually will be available to past trainees and their agencies as well as to agencies which have not already participated in CTDT training. A number of past trainees may be able to serve as resource people to those wishing to obtain training before the video package is complete. These same ex-trainees might also be considered as resources if the video package is found to need experienced staff for its presentation. Inquiries regarding training may be directed to the Training Center.

5. Follow-on consultation helps guard against organizations modifying training and programming to meet organization rather than program staff or client needs. Adequately trained staff, such as supervisors and trainers, can be called upon to provide ongoing consultation. Training Center staff may also be available for such consultation.

6. Program evaluation needs to focus on clearly defined program goals. Goal statements which take into account potential differential impact of worker styles, treatment environments and treatment methods on the various subgroups of clients are considered most productive. Data obtained in this fashion are useful for modification of the existing program, as well as for planning program expansion.

Influence of Findings on Program Operation

In addition to material already summarized, additional impact data were available from administrators', supervisors', and trainees' questionnaires. Administrators were asked if involvement with I-level led to any of the following changes. The percentage of administrators responding "yes" is indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agency self-study</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of treatment philosophy and goals</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of treatment priorities</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of treatment policies</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases in training budget</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases in training positions</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fifty-two percent of administrators indicated negative side effects of involvement with I-level. Most often mentioned were worker frustration resulting from high caseloads, concern that inadequate training would jeopardize clients and concern that clients would be forced into classification categories.

Trainees, supervisors and administrators indicated added resources for workers and clients as a result of I-level involvement. Resources for workers included additional training capabilities and a conceptual framework for viewing clients. Trainees indicated added resources for clients included adoption of a program philosophy of treatment, lower caseloads and, in some cases, homogeneous (by I-level and subtype) caseloads. Supervisors and administrators indicated, as added resources for clients, more treatment-relevant plans, a treatment orientation, and more financial resources. Administrators saw the I-level training as providing the agency and the trainee with "a systematic frame of reference or classification system", "increased sensitivity to clients", and "a new treatment (or management) tool".
REFERENCES


Warren, M. Q. and CTP Staff. Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification: Juvenile. Diagnosis and Treatment of Low, Middle and High Maturity Delinquents. California Youth Authority. 1966.


COOPERATIVE BEHAVIOR DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

Carl F. Jesness

This paper describes the first year of the Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project, a three-year research-demonstration project designed to aid the counties and state in implementing effective community-based treatment programs. The project is combining the resources of the Research Division of the California Youth Authority and probation units from several counties. The methods under study are those of behavior assessment and modification.

Project Objectives

The long-range objective of the Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project is to reduce the incidence of chronic delinquency by the application of behavior modification techniques in community treatment settings. The specific aims of the project are:

1. To develop an effective training package that teaches the basic principles of behavior modification and techniques of contingency management that are applicable to a variety of settings.

2. To train parole agents and probation staff of several participating counties to a specified level of proficiency in the principles of behavior modification and in techniques for applying these behaviors.

3. To stimulate the development of alternative programs and strategies based on these principles in the rehabilitation of probationers and parolees.

4. To evaluate the effectiveness of different behavior-intervention strategies with different types of offenders.

5. To develop improved techniques for distinguishing those offenders who respond most positively to active intervention from those who do best if purposefully ignored.

6. To develop and demonstrate an effective experimental training model that can be used to assist probation departments in improving their services.

This study was made possible by a grant from the California Council on Criminal Justice to the California Youth Authority.
The project objectives have been specified in great detail to ensure that all participants are fully aware of the expectations of project staff. At the start of the project, an informal, but written contract described what would be provided by the project staff and what would be expected of the participating agencies.

**Approach for Achieving the Objectives**

Probation units from seven northern California counties and one parole center are participating. The basic treatment model has been described as a "triadic model" (Tharp and Wetzel, 1969). In this model the professional does not ordinarily work directly with the client, but instructs others in the use of the techniques, and they, the mediators, supply the clients with the reinforcement. The training was based on a similar "exponential" model. Those trained first were mostly supervisory staff. These supervisors were, in turn, responsible for training their own staff of field workers.

The first step of the project was to develop a training package of audio-visual aids, written materials, and field exercises. After the training materials were prepared, the supervisors attended 72 hours of training. Training was completed only when they had completed all the training phase objectives. This amount of training was just enough to enable them to present the training package to staff in their own probation units, with the help of project staff. Their initial training did not make them behavioral experts. To become experts, they will need ongoing consultation. Training for the supervisor as well as for the field agents will continue throughout the project.

The initial training of field staff took approximately 40 hours. Thereafter, training consisted of case discussion with a supervisor or the behavior specialist. The project consultants are meeting regularly with supervisors throughout the operational period of the study.

Diversity is encouraged, and each county's program is taking a somewhat different form. Prior experience with behavior modification has shown that staff need flexibility to find unique applications of the behavior principles that are suited to their special problems. Variations in programs will help us hear about the effects of such differences as a) the extent to which para-professionals and volunteers are used as mediators; b) the extent to which the judiciary is involved in the contingency planning and contracts; c) the extent to which the behavior principles are used by administrators in eliciting and maintaining desired staff behavior; d) the extent to which client self-management is stressed; e) the extent to which group techniques are used; f) the importance of establishing a match between the personalities of staff and client; and g) the extent to which continuity of program is provided between institution and community treatment.
Evaluating the effectiveness of such heterogeneous and diverse programs will be difficult. It will be essential to document carefully the quality and treatment offered. For that purpose, extensive case reviews are held.

**Method**

The basic hypothesis of the project is that behavior modification programs in the community will prove more effective in reducing the incidence of serious delinquent behavior than other methods with a comparable investment of personnel and time. The number of cases designated as experimental subjects will be limited to whatever number can be given reasonable attention by the worker. Thus, each agent is expected to have only three of his cases under contract at any one time. The clients will receive at least an average, but not an excessive, amount of time from the worker. In most programs, a staff member is not able to provide intensive treatment to all of his caseload. He typically serves probationers and parolees as crises arise, or on a self-demand schedule. Boys who get in trouble the most, or who make the most disturbance, tend to get a disproportionate amount of his time. These conditions would prohibit the drawing of scientific conclusions about program effectiveness. Therefore, it will be necessary that all clients designated as experimental subjects participate in a planned intervention program in which records are kept and contracts are established.

**Selection of Experimental and Control Cases.** Systematic procedures are being introduced to enable comparability of data and generalization of findings. This will be accomplished through the use of a common classification system (the Interpersonal Maturity System), by obtaining standard behavioral reports on wards, and by the consecutive assignment of experimental cases using random procedures. The major statistical analyses will involve the single-subject type of design. In this procedure, the effects of intervention strategy are compared with previous performance (baseline). In many instances a multiple-baseline approach will be used in which change in rate of behaviors on contracts will be compared with others not under contract. Wherever possible, data are being collected on comparable clients not treated through the systematic application of behavioral principles. Two kinds of control cases have been designated. Control type A are clients under the supervision of an agent trained in behavior modification but with whom he may not be attempting to apply systematic contingency contracting (using instead his treatment of choice). Control type B clients are being selected at random from the caseloads of workers not trained or familiar with contingency contracting or behavior modification.

**Data Collection.** The evaluation will include comparisons of pretest and posttest results of rating scales, questionnaires, and a personality inventory. At the time of assignment of an experimental client, the agent is expected to complete an Initial Problems and Environment form, which specifies the nature and frequency of behavior deficiencies and problems the client is currently experiencing. An agent also arranges for the completion of copies of the Jesness Behavior Checklist-Observer form, and a target date is set for returning all completed forms to his supervisor. At the time of each consulting visit, the project consultant specifies one or
more randomly selected experimental cases to be reviewed at the next consulting visit.

The most critical data on program effectiveness will come from offense reports. Other criteria will be the number and severity of problem behaviors and the number of subjects referred to the California Youth Authority. For those on parole, the number of revocations and the seriousness of continued delinquency will be evaluated. Since it has been shown that well-planned behavior modification programs affect performance at school and in interpersonal relationships, other basic data will be drawn from school and home behavior reports.

In addition to evaluating program effectiveness, data are being collected exploring the effects of the assignment of clients of different I-level subtypes to field workers showing different styles, preferences, and interests. Information is also being obtained to further verify a generalization suggested by data from the Youth Center Research Project to the effect that behavior modification is much more effective when the client feels positive regard toward his caseworker.

Most of the direct evidence bearing on the effectiveness of contingency contracting will come from compiling data on each experimental subject using the single-subject type design. In this procedure, the effects of an intervention strategy are compared with previous performance (baseline). In many instances a multiple-baseline approach will be used in which change in rates of behaviors under contract will be compared with others not under contract. Analysis will also be made of the comparative effectiveness of contracts differing in quality.

Current Status and Progress to Date

The formal training of parole and probation supervisory staff was completed on schedule on September 13, 1972. Thirty-three persons from nine agencies successfully completed the course. The training of field staff began almost immediately after the supervisor-trainees had completed their training per week. For most units, that training was completed by the end of February, 1973.

Involved in the project are:

1) Alameda County Probation - one regular and one subsidy unit.
2) Marin County Probation - the day-care center (four DPO's), staff from the subsidy unit, two supervisory DPO's and three of their field staff.
3) Sacramento County Probation - one regular field supervision unit and one subsidy unit.
4) San Francisco Community Parole Center - all parole agents.
5) San Francisco County Probation - one subsidy unit.
6) San Joaquin County Probation - two regular and two subsidy units.
7) Santa Clara County Probation - two subsidy units.
8) Solano County Probation - juvenile hall staff and all juvenile field deputies.
9) Yolo County Probation - one regular unit and one subsidy unit.

In addition, several staff from county juvenile halls and ranches were trained.

During the training and the consultation that followed, project staff worked almost exclusively with the supervisors, critiquing their sessions, advising where necessary, and dealing directly with line staff only when requested. Some modifications in the original plan have occurred including a few changes in the groups participating. The major change, however, has been in the changes made in the model. Although the exponential training model is still seen as the best long-range model for implementing program change, some weakness has become apparent.

In the exponential model, in which direct training to field agents is not offered, and departmental supervisors are expected to become their own experts and do their own training, turnover of a few staff can quickly wipe out trained personnel. Another weakness in the model is the difficulty in generating among the field supervisors the same enthusiasm and expertness that the project consultants have. A strong commitment from department leaders seems critical for the successful completion of new programs such as the Cooperative Project, for initially, the introduction of new methods tends to increase rather than decrease the workload of field agents.

Progress during the current phase (4th) of the project was somewhat slower than earlier experience had led project staff to expect. Getting to the actual writing of contingency contracts, and to implementing other modes of behavior therapy with the clients, has been especially slow.* Although there are many reasons for this, the most important (in addition to those of high caseload and lack of motivation) appear to be the following:

1) Many field agents lacked interviewing skills that were originally assumed to be present. Because of this relative lack of skill, it was difficult for them to establish good contingency contracts.

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*The original work schedule was as follows:

I - April 1, 1972 to June 30, 1972 - Development of training package.
II - July 1, 1972 to September 30, 1972 - Intensive training of supervisory staff.
III - October 1, 1972 to February 28, 1973 - Field training of all participating agents.
V - October 1, 1974 to March 31, 1975 - Data collection and report writing.
2) The research requirement that consecutive cases be taken on as subjects in the project added to the complexity of the task of writing contracts, for many clients do not appear to the workers to present problems that are readily dealt with through the techniques of contingency contracts. Other clients are seen only infrequently, and the traditional behavioral model of establishing baseline data and getting accurate frequency counts is not readily applicable.

3) Project staff have strongly recommended that effective behavior therapy (including the special technique of contingency contracting) should be characterized by greater client involvement. In all cases:
   a) the clients should say what their own goals are (both long-range and immediate, and
   b) clients should be involved in helping to identify the problems, specifying the reinforcers, and writing the contracts.

The elements of effective behavioral therapy are somewhat contrary, if not directly contrary, to the established behavioral patterns of probation and parole workers who have traditionally imposed contracts without negotiation. In the field of corrections, of course, wholly negotiated contracts are not possible, for the Court always imposes some conditions upon the client. However, it is the hypothesis of the project staff that the long-range objective of a corrections program must be towards client self-management, and the best way to get there is to start working toward that objective as soon as the first contact is made with the client.

Some changes in the assumptions agents make about their clients, and training in specific skills are needed. Project staff have now designed a training package that deals directly with teaching the skills needed for successful behavior therapy (including contingency contracting). This training package will be offered to all participants during the summer and fall of 1979.

In addition to offering training in interviewing, several other modifications have been made to take account of the fact that with some clients, the contacts will be brief and superficial, and that very little in the way of active intervention or behavioral change is anticipated. The modified procedures will also take account of the fact that many of the presenting problems (especially the illegal behaviors) do not appear to lend themselves to the collection of baseline data and formal contingency contracting. However, all agents talk with their clients and attempt to influence their behavior. The project's goal in these cases will be to help the agent understand more clearly what he is communicating to the client, to help him learn methods of accomplishing these objectives more effectively, and to help him learn to identify what effects his interventions have on the client. For that purpose, new procedures for defining goals and collecting data have been developed that add greater flexibility to the approach taken with different clients.
Overall, the project is generating an impressive amount of creative ideas and procedures that can significantly increase the professionalism and technical expertise of probation and parole agencies. These agencies, with the support of the Court, are in a strategic position to constructively or destructively influence the lives of young offenders. It is our contention that we can develop and demonstrate highly constructive behavior intervention innovations.
REFERENCES


PREDICTION, LENGTH OF STAY
AND FOLLOWUP STUDIES

Summary of Findings

The California Youth Authority has an offender-based transactional information system which provides voluminous information on the characteristics of wards and how their characteristics relate to such matters as length of stay and parole performance.

Annual and semi-annual reports have been issued over the years on the characteristics, movements, and performance of Youth Authority wards. Information relating to roles, trends, and projections are reported at regular intervals. Special studies are conducted, the most important of which have analyzed the relationships between ward characteristics, recidivism, length of stay, and post-discharge performance.

In this report, three types of studies are summarized. These are illustrative of studies undertaken but by no means represent an exhaustive listing.

Base Expectancy Studies have been carried out continuously in the CYA. It is clear that parole success or failure can be reliably predicted. The two most important predictive variables are (1) age (the older the ward the more likely he will succeed) and (2) prior violational record (the more priors, the less likely to succeed). Many variables correlate, but over and over again, the characteristics of age and prior record are the two shown to have the highest and most consistent relationship to recidivism.

A second series of studies has investigated the relationship of Length of Institutional Stay and Parole Performance. Study after study has pointed to the conclusion that the length of stay in an institution is unrelated to recidivism.
Post-Discharge Studies have followed the violational careers of Youth Authority wards after they have left the jurisdiction of the department. A major conclusion is that 65 percent avoid being sentenced to an adult prison system. Of the 35 percent who go to prison, about half are sentenced and discharged directly to prison while under CYA jurisdiction. The remainder are sentenced to prison after they have been discharged from CYA jurisdiction.
BASE EXPECTANCY STUDIES

George Davis

In recent years, a steadily increasing number of correctional agencies throughout the United States have employed a variety of statistical techniques to develop what have been variously referred to as prediction, experience, and base expectancy tables. The Department of the Youth Authority of the State of California has been no exception. Through its Division of Research, it has directed a considerable research effort toward both the development and continual improvement of base expectancy tables since the Fall of 1958. (Beverly 1959)

Base expectancy tables simply list the numbers of parolees falling within each of a finite number of specifically defined categories and the observed degree of parole success or failure associated with each of these categories. Success or failure is generally measured in terms of official actions (e.g., returns to an institution as a result of either new offenses or violations of the conditions of parole) taken within a fixed period of time following release to parole. Table 1 presents a six-category base expectancy table constructed from data relevant to 3046 male wards who had been committed to the Youth Authority for the first time and who were released to California parole supervision some time in 1961. The performance of each parolee was examined and he was classified as a parole violator if either his parole had been revoked or he had been discharged to another jurisdiction (e.g., California Department of Corrections) following a suspense action incurred within fifteen months of institutional release.

A criticism often made of base expectancy tables is that they discriminate only at either end of the distribution of categories, leaving a large middle group about which no predictive statements, other than average, can be made. That this is not a necessary condition of base expectancy tables is shown by the fact that the present table has no group, middle or otherwise, whose violation rate may be said to be average. Each parolee may therefore be classified as belonging to a group whose violational expectations are either greater or less than average.

The Variables Used in Base Expectancy Classification

The specific base expectancy category to which a parolee is assigned will generally depend upon either a particular configuration of characteristics or a numerical score derived from consideration of a given set of background factors. In either case, these factors are systematically selected from a large number of factors usually found to be significantly associated with violation or nonviolation of parole. The base expectancy table presented below was based upon numerical scores obtained by use of a twelve-variable regression equation, this equation having been derived.
from a multiple linear regression analysis of thirty-nine performance-related characteristics. The twelve variables upon which each parolee was scored were: (1) age at first admission to the Youth Authority, (2) type of offense for which committed, (3) record prior to the Youth Authority, (4) current attitude toward school, (5) number of foster home placements, (6) number of offense partners, (7) race, (8) number of households of which parolee had been a member, (9) degree of supervision of the ward by his mother, (10) number of evenings per week spent outside the home, and (11) mental rating. These variables are listed in order of the magnitude of their unique contribution to criterion of variance. With the exception of age at first admission (a continuous variable), all variables were treated as dichotomies.

Uses

Base expectancies are used to: (1) enable the researcher to make more equitable comparisons between treatment groups in evaluating the effects of treatment, (2) provide an auxiliary instrument of selection for use in making decisions concerning treatment or placement, (3) plan differential programming for specified classes of parole risk wards.

The first use--to make more equitable comparisons between treatment groups--can be explained best by an example. When the violation rates of releasees from different institutions are studied, considerable variation is found. Is this because institutions with low violation rates have more effective programs, or are they simply dealing with a better-risk population?
Since each released ward may be placed in a base expectancy category according to his total score, it is possible to construct a frequency distribution of wards by base expectancy category for each institution. The expected violation rate for each institution may be obtained. Then comparisons of observed and expected violation rates for each institution can be made, as well as indirect comparisons between institutions. Using this method, it has been possible to show that the violation rates of the releases of most institutions are satisfactorily explained by the base expectancy classification of the youths released.

The second use--as an auxiliary instrument of selection for use in making decisions--may also be illustrated by an example. In one study, it was found that approximately 5 percent of wards released from the Youth Authority were released directly from a reception center. The violation rates of these releases was 39 percent. However, Table 1 shows that base expectancy categories 1 and 2 have violation rates of less than 39 percent. These two categories comprised about 44 percent of the total population and together had an average violation rate of 26 percent--some 13 percentage points better than the wards who were released directly from the reception center.

It should be pointed out that in addition to an estimate of parole success, other factors must be taken into consideration in making decisions on direct release. For example, the type of offense must be such that the ward is unlikely to constitute a threat to the safety of the community, and the placement must be deemed reasonably wholesome. Even so, it is likely that fewer wards were released directly from reception centers than may have qualified. The base expectancy table might well be used as an auxiliary instrument for this decision.

The third possibility is that of developing different kinds of programs for different classes of parole risks. One example is to assign different kinds of parole risks to different sized caseloads. Good risk parolees might be assigned to very large caseloads with minimal supervision. Small sized caseloads might be assigned to the middle risk group, and so on.

Limitations

Most of the variables now constituting base expectancy tables cannot be changed by any treatment (age at admission, prior record, offense). Hence the tables as presently constructed cannot help with decisions as to institutional program assignment or time of release.

Base expectancy tables based on parolees from one correctional agency cannot be assumed to be valid for parolees from other correctional agencies.

Since the probability of parole violation is determined from the parole performance of large numbers of parolees, the violation rate
associated with the base expectancy category may not accurately apply to any one particular individual in that group. Thus, decisions on individual wards should not be made solely on the basis of base expectancy scores.

The reader interested in a detailed discussion of the uses and limitations of base expectancy tables is referred to the references which follow.
REFERENCES


LENGTH OF INSTITUTIONAL STAY AND PAROLE PERFORMANCE

George Davis

General Description

The relationship between the length of institutional stay and the parole performance of California Youth Authority is periodically studied.

Length of stay (LOS) is defined as the number of months between admission to a CYA institution (usually a reception center) and release to parole. It should be noted that between admission and release, a ward may be assigned to several institutions. Most typically, however, a CYA ward spends about four weeks in a reception diagnostic center and the remainder of his stay in one institutional or camp setting. Parole performance is represented as a dichotomy of violation/non-violation, with violation defined as a revocation (return to an institution) or violational discharge occurring within 15 months after release to parole.

Institutions serve different types of wards, according to their sex, age, security risk, and rehabilitation needs. The average length of confinement at CYA institutional facilities ranges from a low of 8.5 months for releasees from camps, to a high of 15.0 months for those released from training schools. In order to hold the characteristics of wards and institutions constant, the relationship between length of stay and performance on parole is ordinarily analyzed separately for each institution.

Summary of Findings

The studies have shown no consistent and significant differences between length of stay and parole performance. This conclusion is supported by three different methods of statistical analysis. Length of stay was dichotomized by: 1) Mean length of stay or less versus longer than the mean; 2) Median length of stay or less versus longer than the median; 3) Trichotomized to the lower 25 percent versus middle 50 percent versus highest 25 percent.

The following table is an example of one analysis using mean length of stay and grouping the institutions by sex. This is used for illustrative purposes as the preferred analysis is by institution of release and by risk group, i.e., good risks/bad risks.

Table I shows that, for boys, length of stay is unrelated to parole performance. Those having short length of stay do as well as those with long length of stay. For girls, length of stay is shown to be related with shorter length of stays.

Implications. The conclusion which has been drawn from this series of reports is that the period of time wards are kept in institutions is simply unrelated to recidivism, or as in the case of girls related inversely. Many other variables are so related, such as sex, age, prior record, and type of offense; but the institutional length of stay, in and of itself, has consistently shown itself to be unrelated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution of Release</th>
<th>Total Released</th>
<th>Parole Performance</th>
<th>Percent Violators</th>
<th>Significance Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-violators</td>
<td>Violators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean LOS or shorter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Longer than mean LOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Boys</td>
<td>5,374</td>
<td>3,183</td>
<td>2,191</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean LOS or shorter</td>
<td>3,195</td>
<td>1,893</td>
<td>1,302</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longer than mean LOS</td>
<td>2,179</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Schools</td>
<td>4,788</td>
<td>2,763</td>
<td>2,025</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean LOS or shorter</td>
<td>2,852</td>
<td>1,652</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longer than mean LOS</td>
<td>1,936</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys Camps</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean LOS or shorter</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longer than mean LOS</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Girls</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean LOS or shorter</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longer than mean LOS</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1**

Analysis of Parole Performance by Institutional Length of Stay, 1969 Release Cohort

(Showing percent revoked or discharged for a violation committed within 15 months of parole exposure)
POST-DISCHARGE STUDIES

George Davis

General Description

One of the ways in which progress of Youth Authority wards is monitored is through the evaluation of parole performance. If one of the goals of the Youth Authority is to permanently reduce the delinquent and criminal behavior of its wards, then it is necessary to go beyond the point of control by the Youth Authority and obtain some measure of post-discharge behavior.

In November of 1966, the first Youth Authority research report of post-discharge behavior was published. (Jamison, Johnson and Guttman, 1966) That study utilized two discharge cohorts, one in 1953 and the other in 1958. A second study similar in methodology followed the more current discharge cohort of 1965. (Davis, Pike, Orsborn and Guttman, 1973).

All wards discharged from Youth Authority jurisdiction in 1965 were identified from Youth Authority records and a Bureau of Criminal Identification (BCI) number was obtained for each individual. A listing of these names and numbers was compiled and sent to BCI where the current arrest information (i.e., rap sheets) was put together for each person. The "rap sheet" information consists of an entry for each arrest for which a fingerprint is obtained, along with the arresting agency, the date of the arrest, and the booking offense. Disposition data, which is entered at a later date, shows the disposition of the arrest and the sentence imposed, if applicable. The arresting agency is ultimately responsible for the input to the "rap sheet", both as to the arrest and disposition.

Each "rap sheet" was read by Youth Authority personnel and each disposition for an offense occurring after discharge was coded as to the length and type of sentence. The followup period was approximately five years.

The earlier study suffered from some problems in the quality of the pre- and postdischarge information. The law enforcement agencies in California have in recent years been more diligent in supplying arrest and disposition information to BCI and thus the quality of the followup data has improved.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Table 1 shows the total number of prison commitments, either at discharge or within the followup period, for the 1958 and 1965 discharge groups. The 1958 group shows a total of 39 percent of the wards committed to prison. This group is fairly equally divided between those discharged directly to prison and those committed to prison during the followup period. The 1965 cohort shows a total of 35 percent committed to prison with a slightly lesser number going to prison at discharge than those committed during the followup period. Males discharged in 1958 show a total of 44 percent committed to prison, while those discharged in 1965 show 40 percent. Females show a larger proportion of
prison commitments in the 1965 group than in the 1958 group (8 percent versus 5 percent). This difference can be explained by the trend for women to become more a part of the criminal scene (e.g., the female drug offender). The smaller proportion of male offenders receiving prison sentences in the 1965 discharge group is a reflection of the current sentencing practices which give high priority to community correctional programs rather than to state prison sentences.

**TABLE 1**

Comparison of Prison Commitments in the 1958 and 1965 Discharge Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total discharged in 1958</td>
<td>1,970</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1,716</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentenced to prison</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At discharge</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After discharge</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No prison commitments</td>
<td>1,206</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>94.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total discharged in 1965</td>
<td>4,277</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3,617</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentenced to prison</td>
<td>1,481</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At discharge</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After discharge</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No prison commitments</td>
<td>2,796</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>92.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows the 1965 discharge group by most serious post-discharge sentence. Seven hundred three wards (16 percent) were discharged directly to prison. Thirty-three percent of the population were not sentenced for serious criminal activity during the five-year period—(25 percent had no arrest record or had minor traffic arrests only, while 8 percent had arrests but no dispositions. Nineteen percent of the group had an arrest with probation only or a short sentence. An additional 13.5 percent had a local jail sentence of from 31 to 365 days.
TABLE 2

Followup of Wards Discharged from California Youth Authority During 1965 (Showing postdischarge followup to September, 1971)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total discharged in 1965 (less exclusions)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discharged from CYA to prison in 1965</td>
<td>4,277</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local sentence over 30 days in jail</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>778</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local sentence up to 30 days in jail</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No arrests or arrests and no sentence</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,404</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>981</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Implications of Findings

The two postdischarge studies conducted by the Youth Authority point to some generalized conclusions as to what can be expected of the long-term criminal conduct of seriously disturbed youthful offenders. Specifically, the latest study indicates that:

1. A fairly large proportion of Youth Authority discharges do not appear to engage in significant criminal activity after their release from Youth Authority jurisdiction.

2. A significant proportion of Youth Authority discharges continue to engage in criminal activity after their discharge from Youth Authority jurisdiction.

3. It would seem desirable to investigate possible ways of predicting which of these two groups a YA ward is likely to be in.
REFERENCES