A RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT CENTER FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS: FOLLOW-UP AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

BRUCE HOWARD ENTE

1975

ABSTRACT

A RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT CENTER
FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS:
FOLLOW-UP AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

By

Bruce Howard Ente

A review of the literature concluded that neither psychological nor sociological theorists have succeeded in identifying a definitive etiology of delinquent behavior. Further, a variety of intervention strategies have exhibited only mixed results in rehabilitating and re-socializing juvenile delinquents. In the tradition of residential treatment centers, Camp Highfields for Boys was opened near Lansing, Michigan in January, 1967. Using a cultural transmission model, youths aged thirteen to seventeen whose delinquency warrants temporary removal from the community have been accepted for treatment of psychological, social, or educational problems.

The present research was undertaken as a follow-up study and program evaluation in order to secure data about level of community adjustment subsequent to treatment and then to input that information to evaluation of program process and effectiveness. Within the framework of a single group pre-test/post-test design, data was collected depicting each of 99 youths (all Lansing residents) at time of admission. A comprehensive assessment of each youth was provided by 25 variables depicting personal, familial, school, and legal functioning. Eight major aspects of the camp program were identified and scores were computed for each resident representing the development of these treatment resources during his tenure. Outcome criteria focused on

academic performance, involvement with police, and adjudicated recidivism during the two years following separation from the facility.

An overall view of the incidence and types of post-treatment delinquency revealed in summary statistics that Camp Highfields can point to a recidivism rate of 33%, predominantly property offenses. Correlational data, V-analysis results, and O-analysis predictions all strongly suggest, however, that participation in the program did exert beneficial influence on camp residents. Significantly, availability of a more extensive treatment program did correlate with decreased arrests during the first year follow-up, but not the second year. It was also seen that adolescents less committed to a deviant lifestyle were most likely to benefit from the camp's intervention and to be at lower risk upon release.

Based on the results and their interpretation, a number of suggestions were advanced for strengthening the camp program. In light of the current state of delinquency research, experimental studies for remediation of delinquent behavior were proposed for implementation at Camp Highfields.

A RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT CENTER FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS: FOLLOW-UP AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

By

Bruce Howard Ente

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Psychology

1975

To Joan

who shares my dreams

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great debt to my Committee members: Robert J. Calsyn, Chairperson, Louis G. Tornatzky, and George W. Fairweather. Each in his own way has been both a teacher and a friend; I have taken something of all three with me and will always appreciate their willingness to give of themselves. Thanks and warm feelings go to Marj Curtis, whose help could always be counted on, and to my colleagues in the adventure known as Ecological Psychology.

Without the support of a wide variety of persons in the Lansing area, this research could never have been undertaken. Encouragement and assistance came from Messrs. Warren Ritter and Darryl Zwick of the Ingham County Probate Court; Mr. Craig Sparks, ex-Director of Camp Highfields, and the entire Camp staff; Deputy Chief Riefsnyder, Captain Walsh, and Lieutenant Ryan of the Lansing Police Department; and Dr. Edward Remick and the late Mr. Ken Mead of the Lansing School District.

Finally, in a footnote to history, I would like to remember Emma at Rink's with apologies for not entering clinical psychology, and Dave Leffel who had confidence in my future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Deviance is a problem which must be confronted by every society. Deviance, or the expression of some undesirable difference is a state of belief, being, or action which exceeds the limits of acceptable conduct as defined by the society's norms. Given the imperfectly defined nature of social norms and the fact that norms fluctuate over time, across cultures, and even across social classes within a culture, statistical definitions of deviance are of little use. Rather as Becker (1963) pointed out, social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label. Deviance on a noticeable scale usually occurs as the result of one of seven normative problems (Dinitz, Dynes, and Clark, 1969): norm conflict, unreachable goal norms, discontinuous norms, impotent and sanctionless norms, evasive norms, and stressful norms. Most of these normative difficulties are reflected in one or more theories on the causation of the aberrant behavior known as juvenile delinquency.

Historical View of Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency, like other forms of deviance, may be regarded as a social problem with a "natural history" (Fuller and Myers, 1940); as such it passed through the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform. Awareness of juvenile delinquency as a distinct social phenomenon arose with the growth of large

urban-industrial centers characterized by Wirth (1966) as consisting of large numbers of people, densely settled, with heterogeneous individual and group life styles. Prior to the late 1800's there had been no distinction in English or American jurisprudence between adult crime and juvenile delinquency, but urbanization and emerging social sciences combined to increase public awareness that youngsters should not be treated or incarcerated with adult criminals.

The first juvenile court was established in Cook County, Illinois in 1899 by act of the State Legislature to have jurisdiction over "wayward children" in cases of dependency, neglect, and delinquency which included incorrigible juveniles as well as law-breakers. This court was established under the doctrine of Parens Patriae by which the state invested the court with power to substitute for the child's parents; the child's right to custody was seen to predominate over his right to liberty and due process. This court embodied most of the features of contemporary juvenile courts -- informal private hearings, confidential records, probation staff, non-criminal vocabulary, non-adversary proceedings -- and served as a model for courts to follow. In particular, the orientation of the court leaned to diagnosis and treatment prescription rather than punitive retribution. This approach was formalized with the 1909 founding of the first child guidance center, the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute (later Institute for Juvenile Research), chartered to establish a program of scientific research into abnormal behavior patterns and treatment of delinquent children by psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers.

Concurrent with establishment of a juvenile justice system, a shift in criminological theory was occurring that brought the Positive school to predominance over the Classical school (Trojanowicz, 1973). Proponents of the Classical school see no differences between law-breakers and non-offenders except an act of will by which the criminal as hedonist chooses to commit a crime. To inhibit criminal behavior it becomes necessary to assess invariable punishments that will be aversive enough to cause potential offenders to "behave". The Positive school of thought in essence argues that anti-social acts arise out of intra-psychic and social conditions that result in sick or maladaptive behavior. This personal and environmental scientific determinism eventually led to the emphasis upon psychological and sociological factors that characterize most contemporary theories of delinquency causation.

Juvenile delinquency may be broadly identified as including "acts defined in the statutes of the States as a violation of the State law or municipal ordinance by youth of juvenile court age; or conduct so seriously anti-social as to interfere with the rights of others, or to menace the welfare of the delinquent himself or of the community" (National Center for Social Statistics, 1972). More succinctly, delinquent behavior may be regarded as behavior which violates the legal norms of society and which evokes official responses by the various elements of the juvenile justice system (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Delinquency is expensive in monetary, social, and human terms, but these costs account for only one part of the considerable concern evinced by society. On a deeper level as delinquent behavior increases or is more reliably measured, this represents visible evidence of

failure in the socialization process. Transgression of norms by children and adolescents threatens to disrupt transmission of cultural values, an unacceptable threat to a society obsessed with order.

The penal code of the United States prohibits two classes of acts: malum in se (evil in themselves) such as murder, assault, rape, arson which are threatening to society and its members, and malum prohibitum (evil because prohibited). Crimes which are "evil in themselves" generally are interdicted cross-culturally and have their roots in mores and unwritten laws of very early cultures. As law-making bodies developed in more sophisticated societies, attention turned largely toward protection of morals, health, and safety. Thus between 1900 and 1930 the additions that were made to criminal statutes in this country were generally aimed at regulating general conduct. As a result, as Smith and Pollack (1971) point out, a large part of the penal code is

> concerned with acts that are not universally considered evil, but that we at this point in time for a variety of reasons have labelled sufficiently undesirable to be punished by the criminal justice system (p. 27).

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967a) has highlighted the dilemma posed by crime and delinquency in a period of general affluence and widespread technological advances:

> Scientists and engineers have had very little impact ... on the overall operations of the criminal justice system and its principal components: police, courts, and corrections. More than 200,000 scientists and engineers have applied themselves to solving military problems and hundreds of thousands more to innovations in other areas of modern life, but only a handful are working to control the crimes that injure or frighten

> millions of Americans each year. Yet the two communities have much to offer each other: science and technology is a valuable source of knowledge and techniques for combatting crime; the criminal justice system represents a vast area of challenging problems.

Etiology of Juvenile Delinquency

In large measure, the "challenging problems" of juvenile delinquency arise from the complex etiology of delinquent behavior. A difficulty that has plagued much theorizing is well-illustrated by Hooton's (1939) work on morphology. This physical anthropologist measured 107 body characteristics of criminals and non-criminals and then concluded that criminal behavior was caused by inherited biological features. Drawing causal inferences from correlational data is especially dangerous when both variables under study are multifaceted and prone to subjective measurement.

At the present time a wide variety of antecedent conditions have been related to delinquency and it is therefore very difficult to trace a cause-effect relationship. Among the variables which have been documented as correlative dimensions of juvenile delinquency are socio-economic status (Goldfarb, 1953; Miller, 1958; Reiss and Rhodes, 1961; Vaz, 1967), association with delinquent peers (Tannenbaum, 1938; Thrasher, 1936; Shaw and McKay, 1942; Geiss, 1965; Empey, 1966), community integration (Macoby et al., 1958), I. Q. and education (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965; Coleman, 1966), poor self-image (Merton, 1957; Cohen, 1955; Scarpitti et al., 1962), early upbringing and family tension (Berman, 1964), broken homes (Glueck and Glueck, 1962; Toby, 1967; Monahan, 1957; Slocum and Stone, 1963), and methods of parental control (McCord, McCord, and Zola, 1959; Nye, 1958).

Psychological theorists have focused on factors that account for the deviance of certain individuals and the conformity of others. Much work has dealt with delinquency as a manifestation of mental illness with associated ego dysfunction, super-ego conflicts and so on. A longitudinal study by Scarpitti, Murray, Dinitz, and Reckless (1962) validated their prediction that a child's positive self-concept when reinforced by parents, teachers, and significant others can divert the youngster from delinquent influences and activities. Essentially this same process is reflected in Reckless' "containment theory" on inner and outer control: "strong inner and outer containment constitutes an isolation against normative deviancy (not constitutional or psychological deviancy)" (1966, p. 223).

Other psychodynamic investigations have focused on the parent-child interaction as the source of delinquent behavior. In general these theorists have argued that since the family is such a potent source of socialization, especially in early childhood, family disruption will manifest itself in the child's poor ego control, primitive super-ego, acting out and so forth. In comparing delinquents and non-delinquents many researchers found a much higher percentage of unstable or broken homes among the delinquent population (Glueck and Glueck, 1968; Browning, 1960; Gold, 1963; Slocum and Stone, 1963; Peterson and Becker, 1965); Monahan (1957) also found a greater likelihood of recidivism among delinquents from broken homes. Other researchers have emphasized the tension and instability preceding actual break-up of the family as the major factor (Sterne, 1964; Abrahamson, 1960; Andry, 1960) while some believe that parental emotional instability (Freeman and Savastano, 1970) or parental

rejection (Jenkins, 1957) are the crucial elements. Finally, McCord et al. (1959) investigated four styles of parental discipline -- love-oriented, punitive, lax, and erratic -- and found lax or erratic discipline strongly related to delinquency whereas consistent discipline whether love-oriented or punitive was related to non-delinquency.

Sociological theorists, on the other hand, have attempted to identify environmental factors which give rise to variable levels of delinquency. These theories have largely evolved from Durkheim's (1951) treatment of anomie and deviance. Merton (1938), Cohen (1955), and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) have argued that delinquency is a reaction to the inability of lower class youths to achieve middle-class goals. Without the necessary advantages, qualifications, and opportunities for fulfillment of their upwardly mobile aspirations, some youths respond to the strain induced by joining a delinquent subculture and engaging in illegal activities.

Thrasher (1936) emphasized the role of the gang in facilitating delinquency, in an environment that often includes adult crime. Similarly Shaw and McKay (1942) and Sutherland and Cressey (1966) postulated that personal and group contacts with criminal elements, in conjunction with ineffective social control agencies, can account for levels of delinquency persisting over many years. Mead (1918) suggested that association with law violators must also have meaning to the individual and be supportive of a role he wants to become committed to. Along this same line, Matza (1964) viewed the delinquent "in a limbo between convention and crime, responding in turn to the demands of each... but postponing commitment, evading decision"

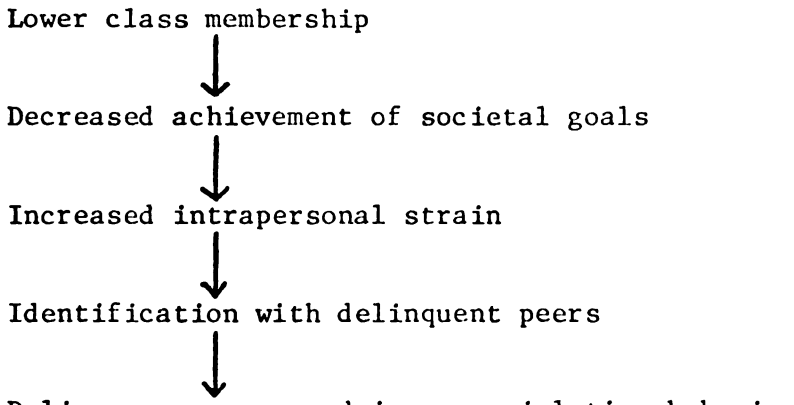
(p. 28). Deflection from law-abiding to law-breaking behavior and vice versa may be almost accidental, but ultimately the individual's choice will play a key in determining the long-range adaptation.

Theoretical Perspectives

Theorists such as Miller (1958) and Kvaraceus and Miller (1959) contended that delinquent behavior patterns are not basically incompatible with lower-class values such as toughness, autonomy, excitement, smartness and further that street gang activities are a reaction against the female-dominated households of lower class families. Vaz (1967) in a parallel analysis viewed middle-class delinquency as the outgrowth of normal adolescent explorations that transgress the boundaries of legitimacy, finally becoming normative and then taken for granted.

Validity of the latter two theories in particular and of previously discussed theories as well must be seriously questioned in light of the evidence on law-breaking activity versus official delinquency. Official delinquency is primarily a lower-class phenomenon (Eaton and Polk, 1961; Burgess, 1952; Wattenberg and Balistrieri, 1950) but recent studies using self-report measures of (non-official) delinquency have strongly questioned the relationship between social class and law-violating behavior (Clark and Wenninger, 1962; Dentler and Monroe, 1961; Nye, Short, and Olsen, 1958; Empey and Erickson, 1966).

In general the sociological perspective on delinquency causation may be summarized schematically as:



A field experiment undertaken by the Youth Studies Center of the University of Southern California (Empey and Lubeck, 1971) "attempted to unite the scientific functions of theory and research with the correctional functions of administration and intervention" (p. 3). A partial correlation technique was employed to examine the interrelationships of the variables diagrammed above, and revealed that social class did not account for much variance in any of the other elements. Further, only school grades as a criterion of achievement was a good predictor variable which, when combined with measures of family separation and parental relationships, could efficiently predict both strain and delinquency.

It appears from this that young persons who are lacking meaningful and satisfying ties with the two most pervasive socializing environments in our society -- the home and the school -- often adopt a delinquent posture in search of a supportive reference group that will help to alleviate interpersonal strain. A feedback loop probably exists such that strain further reduces conventional ties to social institutions again increasing strain. Empey and Lubeck also suggested

that a second feedback loop may complicate the traditional assumptions about sequential development of delinquency. Identification with delinquent peers may be a reaction to the stigmatization following delinquent acts, what Tannenbaum (1938) called "the dramatization of evil", rather than an antecedent of law-breaking behavior. The theoretical reformulation may be schematically represented as in Figure 1 (Empey and Lubeck, 1970). This closed system model argued that delinquency is the product of a sequential series of variables such that the further a given variable is from "delinquency" in the etiological chain, the lower its relationship with delinquency should be. Solid arrows represent the causal sequence among contributing variables; dotted arrows indicate the hypothesized involvement of two feedback loops.

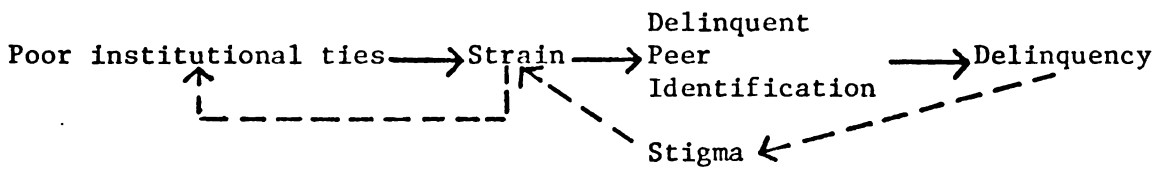


Figure 1. Closed System Model of Delinquency Causation

When Empey and Lubeck (1971) measured the relationships among the variables of this delinquency causation model with the gamma coefficient (Davis, 1967), a technique for computing partial correlations with ordinal data, the closed system assumption of the theoretical model was not supported. When the theoretical concepts were reordered to topographically reflect correlation size between them, the formulation in Figure 2 resulted:

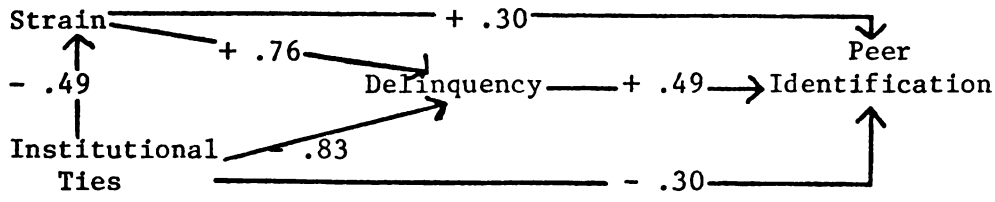


Figure 2. Variables in Delinquency Causation Theory with Intercorrelations

This strongly suggests, for instance, that identification with delinquent peers may follow from rather than precede delinquent behavior.

In 1936, Robison asked Can Delinquency be Measured? and concluded after an extensive and sophisticated study that "the data ... definitely indicate that for the field of delinquency, index-making is at present not feasible" (p. 209). Despite the passage of nearly forty years a similar conclusion would be reached today. Self-report studies (Erickson and Empey, 1963) suggest that official statistics reflect only a part of the actual incidence of delinquent behavior. In large measure this discrepancy may be traced to the considerable discretion that enters into apprehension and adjudication of alleged offenders.

At the point of initial contact with the criminal justice system, apprehension by a police officer, the alleged juvenile offender is subject to the wide discretion of the officer. Middle and upper class youths may be "reprimanded and released" with much greater frequency than lower class or minority youths. Piliavin and Scott (1964) investigated the way in which police "screen" delinquent youth for processing both in the field and at the station. They found that decisions were based on physical and affective cues emerging from the interaction between officer and youth, cues from which the officer inferred the youth's character.

The process of negotiation and interpersonal interaction is especially significant in labelling juvenile delinquents in the juvenile court setting where formal procedures are minimized and administrative discretion maximized. Thus when functionalist theories which focus on reported rates of delinquency in different social classes use information from official records to make structural comparisons of factors such as home life, ethnicity, and socio-economic status, they are missing the contingencies of the human interaction element. Cicourel (1968) has recorded and analyzed interviews between probation officers and juveniles and concluded that physical appearance, facial expressions, body motions, hints, moral arguments, threats, and imputed lying all play a part in the outcome. In particular on the question of guilt versus disturbance, "a juvenile who is appealing and attractive and who wants very much to be liked and relates in a friendly manner to all around her is a prime candidate for clinical interpretations as opposed to criminal imputations" (p. 132).

Despite serious shortcomings, "official" delinquency statistics do give some indication of the extent and seriousness of the problem of juvenile delinquency. "Juvenile Court Statistics-1917" reports the most recent estimates available on judicial disposition of delinquency cases based on data from 2/3 of all juvenile courts. During that year approximately 1,125,000 cases, excluding traffic offenses, were handled in court representing about 970,000 juveniles (2.9% of all children aged 10-17). Between 1960 and 1971 there was an increase of 121% in number of juvenile court delinquency cases as compared to a 30% increase in the population of 10-17 year olds. Similarly

arrests of juveniles as reported in the Uniform Crime Reports between 1960-1971 more than doubled; the most reliably reported serious offenses against persons showed an increase of 197% (though such offenses account for only about 3% of all juvenile arrests). In any case, these figures must be cautiously interpreted in light of their inflation due to more widespread and accurate measurement.

Intervention and Treatment Programs

Movement of the social problem of delinquency from the stage of awareness to policy determination has been complicated by the fact that in this country there has been no clear decision about whether treatment of delinquents is designed to 1) retaliate for injury to public welfare; 2) incapacitate the offender from committing further offenses; 3) deter other potential offenders through fear of consequences; or 4) rehabilitate or reform the offender himself. As juvenile delinquency was not originally distinguished from adult criminality, "treatment" in the form of incarceration was aimed at accomplishing the first three goals. Even upon establishment of "Boys' Training Schools," "Youth Correctional Facilities," etc. with the overt goal of rehabilitation of juveniles, institutional goals have largely maintained a covert orientation to custodial functions.

It is only with the increasing sophistication of the social sciences that juvenile delinquency has entered the stage of reform, characterized by efforts to treat offenders in such a way as to maximize their potential for individual and social functioning. In this context a wide range of intervention programs have been attempted. Reports of individual counselling (Powers and Witmer, 1951; Szymanski

and Fleming, 1971; Thomas, 1968) and group counselling (Cole et al., 1969; Ostrom et al., 1971) showed mixed results almost evenly divided between some improvement and no change. Similar results are reported for strategies of social casework (Meyer et al., 1965; Braxton, 1966; Berleman et al., 1972) and street-corner workers (Klein, 1969; Adams, 1967; Miller, 1962).

Juvenile or probate courts have been referral sources for a variety of treatment efforts centering around probation (McEachern et al., 1968; Venezia, 1972; Scarpitti and Stephenson, 1968). Programs emphasizing volunteers and indigenous non-professionals (Forward et al., 1973; Rosenbaum et al., 1969; Pines and Ridgely, 1974) have attempted to adapt and improve upon the probation model, but without marked improvements in outcome. Vocational and educational programs represent another avenue that has been explored, again with inconclusive success (Hackler and Linden, 1970; Bartlett and Newberger, 1973; Whitney, 1974). Efforts to divert youths from involvement with the juvenile justice system altogether have resulted in establishment of Youth Service Bureaus (Reuthebuck, 1971; Elliott and LeBouef, 1973; Duxbury, 1973). Whether Y.S.B.'s in fact have been performing this function is unclear, but results reported for this model are almost uniformly laudatory.

Over the past two decades, treatment approaches to juvenile delinquency have tended to emphasize reintegrative rehabilitation rather than punitive retribution. Further, communities have been identified and have defined themselves as playing a crucial role in the successful re-adaptation of deviant youths who are <u>also</u> members

of the community. In this context an increasing number of local treatment centers have been opened, often by communities which have newly recognized that

> crime and delinquency are symptoms of the disorganization of the community as well as of individual personalities, and that community institutions -- through extending or denying their resources -- have a critical influence in determining the success or failure of an individual offender (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967b).

One of the earliest efforts to develop a community oriented treatment alternative was the Highfields Project (Weeks, 1970). Short-term institutionalization was characterized by emphasis upon guided group interaction, supplemented with a work and recreation program designed to increase work skills and offer alternative problem-solving strategies. A subsequent evaluation by McCorkle et al. (1958) determined that 18% of Highfields boys violated parole compared to 33% of a comparison group. A second follow-up study by Weeks (1963) found that 37% of the Highfields Project youths had recidivated as compared with 53% of a comparison group from Annandale State Reformatory.

Out of the Highfields experience grew a formal field experiment designed to test a non-residential intervention strategy based on sociological theory. The Provo Experiment (Empey and Rabow, 1961; Empey and Erickson, 1972) instituted an "intensive treatment" phase including employment and peer group processes to create a change-oriented social system and a "community adjustment" phase to maintain reference group support and employment. Extensive outcome data indicated that the experimental community program seemed to be

associated far less with post-program delinquency and adult crime than incarceration, as well as a more rapid decline in rate of law-violating behavior. Further analysis showed that the differences were not due so much to benefits of the experimental program, however, as to deficits of traditional treatment.

A subsequent and considerably more sophisticated "field experimental model" was devised by Empey and Lubeck (1971) with the tripartite purpose of validating delinquency theory, generating an effective community based treatment program, and developing a meaningful and useful research strategy. The Silverlake Experiment was more successful in meeting the first and third goals than the second, however. As a residential-milieu treatment center incorporating group interaction, school attendance, and employment experience the Silverlake program did not result in lower runaways or in-program failure among experimental subjects than among controls, and post-program recidivism rates were equally high for both groups. It did appear that the absolute number of delinquent acts resulting in arrest did decline significantly among both experimentals and controls, an 84% reduction for experimental program graduates and an 85% reduction among control program graduates.

Present Program and Evaluation Objectives

In this same tradition Camp Highfields for Boys, Inc. was organized in 1965 by a group of community leaders in Lansing, Michigan as an alternative treatment resource for boys aged thirteen to seventeen whose delinquency warrants removal from the community but not incarceration in a youth reformatory. Group techniques for

working with delinquents fall into four main categories (Empey and Lubeck, 1971): 1. the cultural transmission model which seeks through traditional educational techniques to train groups of offenders in obedience and socially approved behavior; 2. the group psychotherapy model which focuses upon individual psychodynamics and the introduction of change that is theoretically independent for each actor; 3. the group centered model which suggests that change proceeds concurrently with and is the function of the effective development of the group; and 4. the therapeutic milieu model which emphasizes the manipulation of the total milieu of the institution as a means for altering offender behavior.

The first category most accurately characterizes Camp Highfields with its stress upon classes, structured activities, and orientation sessions to "indoctrinate the offender with the need for constructive citizenship, obedience to authority, and the problems of social adjustment" (Empey and Lubeck, 1971, p. 75). Although Highfields has avoided some of the more obvious pitfalls of the cultural transmission model such as a tendency toward authoritarianism and an opposition of staff and residents, other disadvantages have appeared and will be dealt with at greater length elsewhere. The philosophical orientation of camp staff has been to view delinquent boys as immature and impulsive, and lacking adequate educational, vocational, and interpersonal skills. Thus the facility provides a structured but relatively open and non-punitive setting for boys who are viewed as deficient in self-control, expressed through incorrigibility and truancy or via manifestly criminal activities.

The years since the formal opening of Camp Highfields in January, 1967 have seen the rapid expansion of physical plant, of staff, of resident population to a maximum of 48, as well as establishment of an accredited education program, recreational therapy, and limited employment opportunities. Due to constraints of staff, time, and funds Camp Highfields unfortunately has been forced to operate without any formal program evaluation or systematic feedback concerning former residents' readjustment after graduation or termination from the facility. After-care is not a part of the camp intervention so that chance meetings with former residents or occasional letters or visits from graduates who have "gone straight" are the only sources of information concerning outcome. Evaluation, to this point, has consisted of a time study to assess how employees spend their working hours. Throughout the camp's history, staff members have continually been aware that their program could and should be improved and strengthened. To this end, there has always been attention paid to unmet needs, self-examination, and so on within a generally supportive atmosphere.

These efforts, however laudable, can not substitute for a rigorous, methodologically sound examination of the results of the treatment program including an attempt to scientifically assess the impact of the program on the observed outcomes. Therefore, the present study has undertaken a follow-up study of Camp Highfields participants from 1967 through 1972 in order to determine post-release incidences of success and failure at re-integration as community members. Subsequently these data have been input to a program evaluation of Camp

Highfields as a residential milieu treatment center. This evaluation has focused on both process and effectiveness issues as they relate to program performance.

Since the major emphasis of this study falls upon a retrospective program evaluation, no formal hypotheses were formulated to be accepted or rejected. Instead, three major questions were generated to guide the research:

1) What rates and types of recidivism predominated among Camp Highfields residents subsequent to release, and how can these failures be accounted for?

2) What effect does Camp Highfields have on reducing delinquent behavior, and what aspects of the program contribute most significantly to post-release adjustment?

3) What type of juvenile offender is best treated by a residential milieu treatment center like Camp Highfields?

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Participants were all camp residents between January, 1967 and September, 1972 who were residents of Lansing, Michigan prior to admission to Camp Highfields (N=99). Residency was established by reference to home addresses on intake forms. Excluded from this study were 79 youths -- 76 who were residents of other parts of Michigan, two from other states, and one from Mexico -- since their police, court, and school records were not readily accessible.

All participants had left Camp Highfields at least twelve months prior to the start of this study. Five youths left the Lansing area upon their release; thus first-year follow-up data was available for 94 boys. A total of 74 camp residents had been released at least two years before data collection began. In addition three of this number left Lansing after one-year of post-release residency. Thus second-year data was available for 71 youths. A third year follow-up was not undertaken since less than half (N=45) of the study population had been separated from Highfields for that length of time.

Analysis Strategies

The thrust of this single group pre-test/post-test evaluation was to elucidate in Suchman's (1967) terms the process and effectiveness aspects of a treatment program for mid-adolescent juvenile delinquents.

Identification of treatment outcomes was accomplished through the straightforward use of summary statistics, measures of dispersion, and raw correlations. In order to identify the contributions of demographic variables and treatment variables to determining the observed outcomes, a multiple correlation technique was employed. A more comprehensive picture of the interrelationships among offender characteristics, treatment resources, and recidivism measures was obtained from the use of cluster analysis of variables. Further refinement was sought by the cluster analysis of objects procedure. Insight into the type of youth who benefitted most from the camp program was also derived from the two cluster analytic techniques.

Instruments

Each study participant was assessed on the basis of seven categories of descriptive variables which define the youth's major presenting characteristics at time of admission to Camp Highfields. Data was collected from a variety of Lansing agencies; the letters securing access to their records and administrative agreements which resulted are displayed in Appendix A. The various criteria, variable code names, and sources of data are presented in Table 1. The scoring key for each variable appears in Appendix B.

Insert Table 1 here

Table 1. The Pre-admission Offender Profile.

Measurement Domain	Data Source
1. Individual descriptors	1. Social history; camp screening interview
Age at admission to program (NEWAGE)	
Race of resident (ETHNIC)	
2. Lifestyle descriptors	2. Social history; Ingham County Court files
Paid employment experience (JOBS)	
Involvement in delinquent peer group (PEERS)	
Use of drugs (DRUGS)	
Verbalized goals for future (GOALS)	
3. Family descriptors	3. Social history; Camp screening interview, psychological testing results
Extent of nuclear family intactness (FAMILY)	
Mother employed outside the home (MOMHOM)	
Family socio-economic status (SES)	
Paternal disciplinary style (PADISC)	
Maternal disciplinary style (MADISC)	
4. Neighborhood demographic descriptors	4. U. S. Bureau of the Census 1970 Block Statistics
Mean home evaluation on youth's block (HOMVAL)	
Percent high density dwelling units on block (HIDENS)	
Percent black residents on block (BLAPER)	
Percent residents under 18 on block (KIDPER)	

Table 1. (cont'd.).

Percent families with female head of household on block (FHEAD)	
5. School descriptors	5. Lansing School District files; social history; camp screening interview
Record of suspensions for truancy (TRUANT)	
Record of disciplinary suspensions/ expulsions (BBEHAV)	
Grade point average for two years preceding admission (BGPA)	
Standardized achievement test score preceding admission (BTEST)	
6. Police record descriptors	6. Lansing Police Department juvenile files
Seriousness index of victimless crimes (LPDB1)	
Seriousness index of drimes against property (LPDB2)	
Seriousness index of crimes against persons (LPDB3)	
Total number of recorded police contacts (NUMCRB)	
7. Probate court record descriptors	7. Ingham County Probate Court files
Seriousness index of victimless crimes (ICPB1)	
Seriousness index of crimes against property (ICPB2)	
Seriousness index of crimes against persons (ICPB3)	

Individual and Lifestyle Descriptors:

The two variables included as descriptive of the individual client were extracted straightforwardly from face sheets at Camp Highfields or at one of the other agencies with which the youth came in contact. Similarly information about whether the youth had been employed or had used drugs was available in self-report form from camp records. If at the screening interview he expressed any aspirations for the future, this was considered evidence of verbalized goals. Screening interview summaries indicated that 57 residents were definitely queried about their goals. Of this number, 52 or 91% did express a goal for the future. Due to this very low variance, it was necessary to drop verbalized goals as a lifestyle descriptor for the purpose of analysis. Involvement in delinquent peer group activities was indirectly assessed from self-reports of close friends and from examination of the types and circumstances of offenses committed.

Family Descriptors:

Data about the family came from a number of agency case files and were scaled in several different ways. Presence of the mother in the house was a function of whether the youth's mother was employed or not. The family's socio-economic status was a function of the father's indicated job position; if there was no father in the family the mother's job, if any, was used. Ratings of the father's job were taken from Bogue's Socioeconomic Achievement (SEA) Index (Bogue, 1969). The SEA Index, similar to other SES ratings, is based on an equally weighted average of income and educational levels associated with persons in each category. Unlike earlier systems, however, the SEA Index

forms a ratio scale so it is possible to note relative and absolute differences between occupations. The restriction of range on this variable which resulted from somewhat limited variance in SES of families of Highfields residents may have slightly decreased the correlation coefficients of this item from what would appear in an unbiased population estimate. (See Appendix C for the array of occupations and SEA Index scores.)

Degree of marital or familial intactness was measured on a seven point scale ranging from a boy living with both natural parents to one who had been institutionalized most of his life. Since changes in family status could and did occur fairly frequently among the Highfields population (one set of parents had been married to and divorced from one another four times) the state of marital cohesion immediately preceding admission to the camp was recorded if that state had existed for at least six months. Otherwise the next preceding status was recorded.

Four styles of parental discipline -- 1) rigid/abusive, 2) disinterested/uncontrolling, 3) inconsistent, and 4) reasonable limits/freedoms -- were identified from case histories. Six expert judges in psychology, social work and family and child sciences then ranked these four styles on a ten point scale. See Appendix D for sample of rating form. Agreement on their rank order was high by Kendall's coefficient of concordance (W = .76) and variance within each rank was low. Therefore each style was assigned the mean value of the judges' ratings. Two raters, psychology and social work graduate students, then rated case histories of a systematic random selection of 33

subjects (sampling fraction = 1/3). The inter-rater reliability measured by Pearson's correlation coefficient was r = .68.

Neighborhood Demographic and School Descriptors:

The demographic description of each youth's immediate neighborhood was obtained by identifying the block and tract number for each home address and then extracting the required information from the U. S. Bureau of the Census' Block Statistics (1971) for the Lansing, Michigan SMSA.

Information about academic and behavioral performance in the public schools was sought from Lansing School District records. Grade reports for one or two years prior to entrance to Camp Highfields were available for 77 of the 99 subjects (78%). Standardized test scores could be located for only 27 of the camp residents (27%) and as a result this measure was dropped from the analysis. Similarly, disciplinary information concerning suspensions and expulsions was stored by the school district office in rather haphazard fashion. According to policy, records with no new entries for two years would be purged, but in fact older records were sometimes retained and newer ones occasionally destroyed. Due to the unaccountable bias that would have been introduced, variables relating to behavioral adaptation in the schools were eliminated from this study.

Police Record Descriptors:

Contacts with police is one important measure of delinquent involvement, since probate court records often reflect dismissal, reduction, consolidation, or adjudication of non-specific charges such as "high misdemeanors". A comprehensive list was collected of all

offenses for which Camp Highfields residents had been apprehended by the police, and then divided into three mutually exclusive categories: Victimless Crimes (including status offenses), Crimes Against Property, and Crimes Against Persons. To construct a ranked scale of offenses according to seriousness, this list of offenses was sent to six experts in the juvenile justice field. (See Appendix E1 for sample of rating form.) Four of six juvenile justice experts returned usable rankings of seriousness within each category. Kendall's coefficient of concordance showed fairly high agreement within each area: Victimless Crimes W = .73, Crimes Against Property W = .64, Crimes Against Persons W = .71. The overall average inter-rater correlation was r = .60. For scoring purposes each offense was assigned the mean value of its rankings by the judges. (See Appendix E2 for array of all offenses and associated ranks and scores.) In addition, the number of police contacts was summed for each youth to provide another index of frequency of law-violating behavior.

Probate Court Record Descriptors:

The same three scales of offense seriousness were designed to be used to measure the extent of a boy's involvement with the juvenile court. Unfortunately, Court records frequently were phrased only in terms of broad categories of offenses such as "felonies and high misdemeanors". Specific alleged offenses often were not reflected in the final adjudication and when such direct references did appear they were nearly always the same charges as had been recorded by the police department. Therefore these three variables were unable to contribute

much unduplicated data and consequently were omitted as resident characteristics at time of admission.

Description of Camp Highfields

Not unexpectedly the Camp Highfields program has been in an almost constant state of flux and growth since its inception in early 1967. The increasing sophistication of program planning has meant frequent staff changes on the intra-organizational level, as well as shifts in the camp's perceived position within the constellation of delinquency treatment programs in mid-Michigan. The relatively unstructured emphases of the educational, recreational, and work programs meant that each resident participated in each area to widely varying degrees. Without any records detailing residents' involvement in different phases of camp activities, it was possible only to identify what treatment resources were available to a boy during his tenure at Highfields.

Eight major aspects of the Camp Highfields program were identified which collectively portray the structural milieu from the resident's perspective. These features are listed in Table 2 along with the variables operationalizing each of them and the associated code names.

Insert Table 2 here

Two additional features were central to the portrayal of any stay at Camp Highfields. Length of residence was the total number of months spent at the camp during the first committment only; subsequent re-assignments of youths to Highfields by the court were regarded as

Table 2a. Camp Highfields Program and Facility Features.

1. Physical plant

   Number of buildings constructed and occupied (BLDGS)

2. Education program

   Sophistication of education program comprising staff, programming, support services (EDUPRG)

3. Recreational therapy

   Number of recreation programs and facilities available (RECPRG)

4. Extra-curricular activities

   Number of out-of-camp activities available (EXCURR)

5. Resident population

   Total number of youths in residence at camp (NUMBOY)

6. Staff personnel

   Total number of full-time camp staff members (NUMSTA)

7. Staff-resident ratio

   Ratio of camp personnel to camp residents (SRATIO)

8. Staff turnover rate

   Ratio of personnel leaving or joining staff to total number of staff (STALEF)

incidences of recidivism. Program participants could be separated from the camp in one of two ways: via graduation after receiving maximum benefit toward rehabilitation, or via termination, being excluded by the camp usually for extreme or repetitive behavioral aberrations. These two elements were included as treatment variables and appear in Table 2b.

Table 2b. Features of Camp Highfields Residence

9. Resident tenure

Period of time at camp (LENGTH)

Separation from program by graduation or termination (RELEAS)

In order to accurately chart the growth and development of Camp Highfields in terms of facilities, staff, treatment resources, and so on, extensive interviews were held with staff members in each of the major program areas. In addition, long time employees and an ex-camp director were asked to fill out a structured questionnaire to identify the dates of significant events which had been mentioned in the open-ended interviews. (The structured questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix F.) From the information which was thus accumulated, a monthly value was computed for each of the eight variables identified in Table 2a. These monthly indices encompassing the 69 months from January, 1967 through September, 1972 represented the stage of development of each particular resource or program at this point. Table 3 describes in detail the development of Camp Highfields during that nearly six year period.

Table 3. Chronological Development of Camp Highfields

January, 1967:	Camp opens with main building and farm (BLDGS=2)
	Movies and shopping in city (EXCURR=1)
February, 1967:	Classes begun with part-time teacher and library opened (EDUPRG=2)
	Weekend home visits initiated (EXCURR=2)
June, 1967:	Full-time teacher hired (EDUPRG=3)
	Basketball court set up (RECPRG=1)
August, 1967:	Second full-time teacher hired (EDUPRG=4)
September, 1967:	Nature trail marked out (RECPRG=2)
	Field trips to Lansing sports events (EXCURR=3)
January, 1968:	Friends allowed to visit residents (EXCURR=4)
May, 1968:	Shop building erected (BLDGS=3)
	Shop class taught by volunteer (EDUPRG=5)
September, 1968:	Hunting permitted for residents (RECPRG=3)
January, 1969:	VFW gymnasium used for athletics (RECPRG=4)
April, 1969:	Track program begun (RECPRG=5)
July, 1969:	Participation in baseball league arranged and golf taught (RECPRG=7)
September, 1969:	Cabin #1 erected (BLDGS=4)
	Remedial Education orientation adopted (EDUPRG=6)
	Golf dropped from program (RECPRG=6)
December, 1969:	Participation in basketball league begun (RECPRG=7)
March, 1970:	Job orientation classes started (EDUPRG=7)
June, 1970:	Formal shop instruction offered (EDUPRG=8)
	Lake dug and filled in (RECPRG=8)
	Work-study program started (EXCURR=5)

Table 3. (cont'd.).

August, 1970:	Cabin #2 and #3 built (BLDGS=6)
September, 1970:	Recreation classes offered (RECPRG=9)
	Farm work program initiated (EXCURR=6)
June, 1971:	Cabin #4 erected (BLDGS=7)
July, 1971:	Field mowed for football, etc. (RECPRG=9)
September, 1971:	Half-time teacher joins staff (EDUPRG=10)
December, 1972:	Maximum values in each area are:
	BLDGS=7
	EDUPRG=10
	RECPRG=9
	EXCURR=6

Camp records did not provide any information as to the specific participation by individual residents in various aspects of the camp program. Therefore the exact "treatment" that any youth received could not be identified. It was only possible to identify the level of sophistication that existed in these various treatment resources during a boy's period of residence. Thus monthly scores were summed over the period of each youth's tenure at Camp Highfields and then averaged to provide one mean value for each of the eight categories which describe the camp as that boy knew it. Since information about total staff membership, staff turnover rate, and staff-resident ratio was extremely unreliable for the 22 months prior to November 1968, information for the 22 youths in residence during that time was treated as missing data. A monthly summary of these three variables plus resident population is presented in Appendix G.

Post-release Follow-up Data

Since Camp Highfields is chartered as a treatment facility for boys through age sixteen, adolescents who are released at age seventeen or earlier are faced with a choice between two major life arenas: school or employment. Further there is a choice of law-abiding versus law-violating behavior possibly in the context of a peer group. The post-release follow-up indices, therefore, were designed to tap the most significant areas of involvement in late adolescence/early adulthood. The various criteria, variable code names, and sources of data are presented in Table 4. (A scoring key for variables with usable data appears in Appendix H.)

Table 4. The Post-release Follow-up Profile.

Measurement Domain	Data Source
1. School performance	1. Lansing School District files
Record of disciplinary suspensions/ expulsions (ABEHAV)	
Standardized achievement test score following release (ATESTS)	
Voluntarily leaving school before graduating (DRPOUT)	
Grade point average after release (AGPA)	
2. Employment experience	2. Social Security files; personal interview
Number of paid jobs held after release (NUMJOB)	
Reason for termination of employment, if any (JOBEND)	
3. Peer group relationship	3. Personal interview
Involvement in delinquent peer group (APEERS)	
4. Police record	4. Lansing Police Department juvenile and adult files
Seriousness index of victimless crimes during first year follow-up (LPDA11)	
Seriousness index of property crimes during first year follow-up (LPDA21)	
Seriousness index of crimes against persons during first year follow-up (LPDA31)	
Seriousness index of victimless crimes during second year follow-up (LPDA12)	
Seriousness index of property crimes during second year follow-up (LPDA22)	

Table 4. (cont'd.).

Seriousness index of crimes against persons during second year follow-up (LPDA32)	
Length of time after release to first recorded police contact (LATENT)	
Total number of recorded police contacts during follow-up period (NUMCRA)	
5. Probate Court Involvement	5. Ingham County Probate Court files
Subsequent assignment by court to correctional facility (PLCMNT)	

Aside from gathering information descriptive of community adjustment following release from Camp Highfields, an additional area of interest was residents' reaction to their experience at the camp. A letter from the then-current camp director introducing the study and its director and requesting ex-residents' cooperation was sent out accompanied by an explanatory letter from the study director. A pre-addressed, stamped postcard was included by which the subject would agree to inspection of his school file and indicate his willingness to participate in a brief interview. (Refer to Appendices J1, J2, and J3 for samples of correspondence with return postcard.) A slightly amended version of these same letters was sent to youths under age 17 since their status as legal minors made parental permission necessary. (Samples of letters and postcard appear in Appendices K1, K2, and K3.)

The response rate was an abysmally low 4%; only four ex-residents returned the postcard signifying their interest in participating in a brief interview. It was thought that since this particular group of youths was likely to be highly mobile, a higher return rate might be achieved through an appeal to one or both parents at their last known address. Consequently a second letter was mailed out to parents, again accompanied by a stamped, pre-addressed postcard. (See Appendices L1, L2, and L3 for examples.) This appeal for information concerning their son's whereabouts generated only two additional responses, and both subjects were inaccessible for interview.

The extremely depressed response rate, upon consideration, was not unexpectedly low. Given that some subjects left Camp Highfields as

much as 6½ years prior to this follow-up effort, and that this population as a whole is transient in nature, many youths were no longer living in Lansing, or were in the military or were in prison. Furthermore some percentage of them were likely still involved in criminal activities so that guarantees of confidentiality could not provide sufficient reassurance of anonymity. Even for those not engaged in illegal activity, Camp Highfields probably was viewed retrospectively as a punitive experience so that diffused altruism was insufficient incentive to motivate even minimal cooperation.

As a consequence of the small number of responses received, the telephone interview was abandoned as a data collection device. (Proposed interview protocol appears in Appendix M.) This necessitated dropping employment experience as a follow-up measure since access to Social Security records could be provided only with a signed released form.

Similar problems with use of school disciplinary records and standardized achievement test scores plagued the follow-up of these youths as had been encountered in constructing the pre-admission profile. Therefore these measures were omitted and only the post-release grade point average was retained.

Without a personal interview there was no source of information about peer group relationships, so this weak but unique measure of whether Camp Highfields had in some way affected the residents' value system had to be discarded as well. In addition to indices of seriousness of police contacts in each of the three categories of offenses during the first and second years following Highfields residency,

the total number of recorded police contacts was computed, as was the "latency" period following release--length of time to first contact with police authorities. Rather than duplicate essentially the same information about illegal activities from Probate Court records, a dichotomous measure was constructed to indicate whether the youth was placed by the Court in another juvenile or adult correctional institution. In the main these placements were to the Boys' Training School (BTS) in Michigan; a smaller number involved incarceration in Jackson State Prison, and even fewer represented a second committment to Camp Highfields.

RESULTS

Summary Statistics and Raw Correlation

A primary concern of this study was to collect valid and reliable evidences of post-treatment community adjustment in order to provide systematic information about types and extent of recidivism. In several instances, examination of raw data and summary statistics bears directly on this purpose. Of the 99 boys included in this study, 32 or approximately one-third of the sample were terminated from Camp Highfields by the camp staff; in most cases exclusion from the facility followed repeated rule-breaking or several run-away incidents.

The dichotomous variable concerning separation from the facility (RELEAS) was strongly correlated with the resident tenure variable (LENGTH) at the level $r = .55$. This relationship is not surprising since many exclusions from the program occurred during the first month or two of residency due to an "inability to make a necessary adjustment to program demands." It is noteworthy that the manner of leaving Highfields also was significantly related to subsequent assignment to a correctional facility (PLCMNT) at $r = .48$. It is a strong possibility that the observed relationship may be accounted for by an unknown third factor descriptive of the subjects themselves.

Subsequent to release from Camp Highfields, 12% of the youths had their first contact with police authorities within the first four weeks of "freedom"; an additional 11% came to the official attention

of Lansing police during the second month. Thus nearly one quarter of all ex-residents were involved with the police within two months of their release; an additional group may also have had contacts with the police which did not result in a formal entry on a "rap sheet". These police contacts may reflect the expression of youthful exuberance upon release or possibly even increased police awareness and/or surveillance. At the other end of the scale, 27 young men had no recorded contacts with police over the course of the one or two year follow-up period. This of course could relfect an undetected departure from the Lansing area or perhaps luck and skill at avoiding discovery of illegal activities, as well as true eschewal of such activities.

The impact of Camp Highfields on school performance and attendance was negligible. Mean grade point average of 77 boys upon entering the camp was 1.03 on a four point scale (A = 4.0, F = 0.0) with a standard deviation of .53. The mean grade point average for 34 ex-residents was 1.17 with a standard deviation of 1.01. The slightly higher post-release GPA and larger standard deviation are the result of participation by some youths in a high school re-entry program where grades of 3.0 and 4.0 are commonly given merely for attendance. Furthermore it was noted earlier that the outcome measure concerning school attendance (DRPOUT) had to be eliminated because of very low variance. A number of youths never re-entered the Lansing Public School system either by choice or by moving out of the school district. Of the 59 who did re-register, not one had graduated from high school although six students were in high school during the follow-up period and several were given a good chance of receiving a diploma. Overall,

data from the school setting does not convey very positive results.

When mean seriousness of involvement in all three categories of offenses were compared for the first 12 month and second twelve month follow-up periods, all three areas showed a decline in the index for the second year. If nothing else, this does suggest that passage of time plays a role in reducing delinquent behavior in late adolescence. Means and standard deviations for criminality follow-up measures are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Post-release Indices of Offense Seriousness per Police Records.

Category	1st year	2nd year
Victimless Crimes	$\bar{X}$ = 4.59	$\bar{X}$ = 1.83
	s = 12.38	s = 4.47
Crimes Against Property	$\bar{X}$ = 17.20	$\bar{X}$ = 6.07
	s = 42.59	s = 12.21
Crimes Against Persons	$\bar{X}$ = .77	$\bar{X}$ = .37
	s = 2.25	s = 1.50
	N = 99	N = 75

Data concerning post-release committment to another correctional facility by the Ingham County Court were available for 93 ex-residents of Camp Highfields. Of this number, 33 or 35% had been assigned to another program within two years of release. Twenty-four adolescents had been committed to the Department of Corrections for placement at the Boys' Training School. An additional five individuals were incarcerated in Jackson State Prison on charges ranging from breaking and entering, larceny from an automobile, larceny from a building, to armed

robbery. Four more youths were re-assigned to Camp Highfields.

An examination of the raw correlation matrix of pre-admission and post-release delinquent activity in Table 6 as measured by police arrest records shows clearly that involvement in one category of offenses prior to treatment does not imply a similar type of violation after release. Furthermore, there is no correlation even across offense categories between before and after treatment measures; no post-release measure of arrests is significantly correlated with any pre-admission arrest measure. Even within the two sub-groupings of pre- and post-residency variables the intercorrelations are quite low, suggesting that delinquency, at least among these youths, is not a global phenomenon but rather that the pattern of offenses varies from individual to individual.

Insert Table 6 here

When pre- and post-treatment delinquency is looked at in terms of total number of contacts with police, there is a similarly low relationship. The correlation between these two measures is only $r = .14$, not significant at the $p = .05$ level.

A primary concern of this study was to assess the effectiveness of the Camp Highfields program in reducing delinquent behavior by its residents. Whatever the offender follow-up might show, it could be argued that these effects were due to pre-treatment offender characteristics rather than to the Camp Highfields intervention. This alternative explanation may be confidently discounted if the

Table 6. Correlation of Pre-treatment and Post-treatment Indices of Offense Seriousness per Police Records.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Pre-treatment victimless crimes		.16	.21*	-.03	.08	-.07	.11	.02	.15
2. Pre-treatment property crimes	.16		.07	.04	.10	.01	.14	.02	-.04
3. Pre-treatment crimes against persons	.21*	.07		.06	-.02	.04	-.09	.00	.02
4. Post-treatment victimless crimes during 1st year	.03	.04	.06		.18*	.17*	.30**	.15	.08
5. Post-treatment property crimes during 1st year	.08	.10	.02	.18*		.23*	.05	-.06	.04
6. Post-treatment crimes against persons during 1st year	.07	.01	.04	.17*	.23*		.12	.01	.24*
7. Post-treatment victimless crimes during 2nd year	.11	.14	.09	.30**	.05	.12		.22*	.22*
8. Post-treatment property crimes during 2nd year	.02	.02	.00	.15	-.06	.01	.22*		.22*
9. Post-treatment crimes against persons during 2nd year	.15	-.04	.02	.08	.04	.24*	.22*	.22*	

*p < .05
**p < .01

pre-admission measures correlate weakly with the availability of camp treatment resources, which in turn correlates strongly with post-release outcome criteria

Table 7 presents the matrix of correlations between the variables assessing offender characteristics and the variables representing treatment resources.

Insert Table 7 here

Examination of this correlation matrix for subject and treatment variables reveals that two offender characteristics -- drug use and disciplinary style of father -- consistently correlated with treatment resources in the range of r = -.20 to +.36, all of which are significant at the p = .05 level. The negative direction of the correlations associated with drug use by camp residents suggests that as the camp developed its treatment capability, it accepted more seriously delinquent youths. This explanation is in accord with the oral history of Camp Highfields collected in interviews with present and former staff members. Other possible explanations are that drug use became more widespread in the society as a whole and/or the question of prior drug experience was included in the intake interview with greater regularity. Disciplinary style of youth's father was also correlated with treatment variables beyond the p = .05 level of significance. Out of a total of 63 correlations, only 19 reached significance at the .05 level. These overall weak relationships make it reasonable to assume that offender characteristics did not significantly influence the

Table 7. Correlation of Pre-admission Offender Characteristics with Camp Highfields Treatment Resources.

	Physical plant	Education program	Recreation program	Extra-curricular activities	Staff-resident ratio	Number residents	Number staff
Delinquent peer group involvement	-.17	-.16	-.15	-.13	-.03	-.15	-.19
Drug usage	-.36**	-.35**	-.23*	-.29*	-.25*	-.25*	-.33**
Employment experience	-.11	-.13	-.18	-.10	-.18*	-.09	-.20*
Race	-.05	-.03	-.05	-.03	-.12	-.03	-.02
Family socio-economic status	-.12	-.15	-.12	-.13	-.01	-.15	-.14
Mother employed outside home	-.10	-.09	-.17*	-.15	-.15	-.14	.11
Family intactness	-.13	-.17*	-.18*	-.18*	-.06	-.17*	.02
Paternal discipline	.27*	.26*	.27*	.33**	-.07	.32**	.10
Maternal discipline	.12	.11	.14	.21*	-.06	.17	-.01

*p < .05
**p < .01

availability of treatment resources, although these variables may well account directly for part of the variance in outcome measures.

Correlations between Camp Highfields treatment resources and the post-release indices of offense seriousness in all three categories over the two year follow-up appear in Table 8.

Insert Table 8 here

The most noteworthy observation in Table 8 is the relationship among treatment resources and first year delinquent activity as measured by police arrest data. Ten of fifteen correlations are significant at $p = .05$, and the directionality indicates that as treatment resources were developed and strengthened, delinquent behavior declined markedly during the first 12 months after release. Furthermore, the matrix demonstrates that this effect did not hold up for the second year following the date a youth left the camp. None of the 15 correlations concerning law-violating behavior during the second year differed significantly from zero.

The inference drawn from Table 7 is that as Camp Highfields increased its sophistication, more deeply committed delinquents were accepted for treatment. Also related to expansion of the camp facilities was a reduction in post-release delinquency, at least during the first year of follow-up. When these two conclusions are considered simultaneously, transitivity suggests that despite a more serious delinquent posture by residents at point of admission, outcome

Table 8. Correlation of Camp Highfields Treatment Resources with Post-release Indices of Offense Seriousness per Police Records.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Physical plant		.98**	.94**	.95**	.63**	-.05	-.30**	-.22*	.18*	.08	.12	-.18*
2.	Education program	.98**		.96**	.97**	.65**	-.07	-.32**	-.25*	.13	.05	.12	-.20*
3.	Recreation program	.94**	.96**		.93**	.67**	-.02	-.36**	-.21*	.16*	.07	.09	-.25*
4.	Extra-curricular activities	.95**	.97**	.93**		.61**	-.11	-.36**	-.27**	.13	.04	.10	-.23*
5.	Staff-resident ratio	.63**	.65**	.67**	.61*		-.13	-.34**	-.58**	-.07	.06	-.12	.13
6.	Victimless crimes during 1st year follow-up	-.05	-.07	-.02	-.11	-.13		.18*	.17*	.30**	.15	.08	.44**
7.	Property crimes during 1st year follow-up	-.30**	-.32**	-.36**	-.36**	-.34**	.18*		.23*	.05	-.06	.04	.80**

Table 8. (cont'd.).

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
8.	Crimes against persons during 1st year follow-up	-.22*	-.25*	-.21*	-.27*	-.58**	.17*	.23*		.12	.01	.24*	.15*
9.	Victimless crimes during 2nd year follow-up	.18*	.13	.16*	.13	-.07	.30**	.05	.12		.22*	.22*	.35**
10.	Property crimes during 2nd year follow-up	.08	.05	.07	.04	.06	.15	-.06	.01	.22*		.22*	.22*
11.	Crimes against persons during 2nd year follow-up	.12	.12	.09	.10	-.12	.08	.04	.24*	.22*	.22*		.27*
12.	Total number of police contacts post-release	-.18*	-.20*	-.25*	-.23*	.13	.44**	.80**	.15*	.35**	.22*	.27*	

*p < .05
**p < .01

measures showed a decline in severity of deviance. One element mediating between these two occurrences was the Camp Highfields treatment intervention.

Cluster Analysis of Variables

Cluster analysis (Tryon, 1939) is a statistical technique which can be used to objectively group together entities on the basis of their similarities and differences. Cluster analysis asserts that one can discover the general properties of objects by an objective clustering procedure of grouping variables without imputing causative underlying dynamics to the properties. The multivariate V- (or variable) analysis is an example of independent dimensional analysis in which succeeding clusters of items with high intercorrelations are "removed" from a complete correlation matrix in such a way as to minimize the number of composite factors that can reproduce the full array of intercorrelations without loss of generality.

In the present study, the "entities" being analyzed were variables describing camp residents prior to admission, treatment resources available at the camp, and the adjustment of residents in the community after release. A subjects to variables ratio of 2.5 to 1 was maintained which must introduce a note of caution in interpreting cluster structure, but is adequate to permit drawing tentative conclusions in an exploratory study. The initial empirical V-analysis generated seven clusters each constructed around a set of collinear defining variables. The results of this preliminary analysis appear in Appendix N.

In order to reach a more optimal solution, the empirical clusters were re-analyzed with defining variables preset to give logical

coherence to each cluster. In addition, three minor clusters -- two duplets and a triplet -- were dropped at this point. The results of this preset key cluster analysis are presented in Table 9.

Insert Table 9 here

The four clusters listed in Table 1 describe the four most significant characteristics or properties which underlie the three temporal classes of variables -- prior to treatment, treatment itself and subsequent to treatment. The low inter-correlation among outcome variables that was observed in the raw correlation matrix appears in the cluster structure since two distinct clusters each encompass outcome measures. Cluster 1 is one of two clusters which includes both resident characteristics and post-release outcome variables. Although the relationship is not clearly drawn, in essence this grouping suggests that youths from a more favorable socio-economic background avoid recorded police contacts for a longer period after leaving Camp Highfields, but their eventual involvement falls within the most serious category of crimes against persons such as assault, armed robbery, sexual offenses, larceny from a person and so on.

It may confidently be assumed that the inclusion of the variable "staff-resident ratio" in Cluster 1 is the result of a spurious correlation, since this item also has a high positive loading on Cluster 4 where it logically or rationally fits. The presence of the family structure variable is also an artifact insofar as it was

Table 9. V-analysis Preset Key Cluster Structure

VARIABLES	FACTOR LOADING
CLUSTER 1: Resident Socio-economic Status	
1. Higher home value (D)	.9449
2. Lower staff-resident ratio	.8133
3. Longer time to first police contact post-Highfields (D)	.6620
4. Greater seriousness of crimes against persons during first year post-Highfields (D)	.6080
5. More likely to have been employed pre-Highfields	.5167
6. More likely to be white (D)	.4846
7. Less intact family structure (D)	.1389
CLUSTER 2: Low-risk Offenders	
1. Longer tenure at Highfields (D)	.7830
2. More likely to have graduated from Highfields (D)	.6613
3. Less involvement in delinquent peer group pre-Highfields (D)	.5678
4. Less likely placed in correctional institution post-Highfields (D)	.5644
5. Less serious drug use pre-Highfields (D)	.3810
CLUSTER 3: Pre-treatment Delinquency	
1. More police contacts pre-Highfields (D)	.9175
2. Greater seriousness of property offenses pre-Highfields (D)	.8892

Table 9. (cont'd.).

VARIABLES	FACTOR LOADING
3. Mother more likely employed outside home (D)	.4533
4. Greater seriousness of victimless offenses pre-Highfields (D)	.3714
CLUSTER 4: Treatment Resources	
1. Larger camp staff (D)	.9962
2. More extensive education program (D)	.9924
3. Larger resident population (D)	.9796
4. More developed physical plant (D)	.9785
5. More extensive recreation program (D)	.9688
6. More extra-curricular activities (D)	.9669

Note: (D) denotes variables which are cluster definers

originally excluded due to low communality and was inserted as a pre-set definer in an attempt to refine the cluster.

Cluster 2 could be labelled the "Good Kid Cluster"; it too includes variables both from the pre- and post-Highfields period as well as two items relating to camp residency itself. Youths depicted by this cluster were less seriously delinquent upon entrance to the program as measured by peer group involvement and drug use and thus would be better treatment risks. They were more likely to remain at Highfields for a longer period of time (a measure of adjustment to the demands of the program) and consequently more likely to have graduated than to have been terminated from the facility, which should make this group even less "at risk". Once released, this group evidenced lower recidivism as measured by subsequent court assignment to other correctional programs.

The third cluster is internally consistent in portraying pre-Highfields delinquency. Three central indices of the extent of law-violating behavior are provided by seriousness of victimless offenses, seriousness of crimes against property, and total number of police contacts. At the same time the fairly strong negative loading on the variable "mother employed outside the home" suggests that youths whose mothers are not able to provide adequate supervision have a greater propensity or opportunity to engage in delinquent activities.

Cluster 4 is clearly a descriptor of the sophistication of Camp Highfields as a treatment facility. The high intercorrelations among all the items in this cluster reflect the concurrent growth in all phases of the Camp structure as it expanded physically and

programatically. It is noteworthy that the treatment resource variables form a tight cluster among themselves, that measures of post-release adjustment are not significantly related to increasing sophistication of treatment interventions. On the other hand, the pronounced collinearity of the treatment variables greatly reduces their freedom to be pulled into the other clusters.

The relationship between increasing treatment resources and declining post-release delinquency that was observed in the raw correlation matrix is also alluded to in an inter-cluster correlation. In the initial empirical V-analysis a correlation of -.30 was found between the cluster of treatment resources and a duplet of post-treatment delinquency measures (subsequently deleted from the key cluster refinement). In the preset V-analysis, it was not surprising to find a negative relationship ($r = -.35$) between clusters 2 and 3 since the "good kid" items and "pre-Highfields delinquency" items are nearly conceptual reflections of each other. The negative correlation of -.31 between cluster 1 (resident socio-economic status) and cluster 4 (treatment resources) likely reflects the enrollment of more seriously delinquent youths as Camp Highfields viewed itself as more able to resocialize them. This too reinforces a similar conclusion drawn from the correlation matrix.

O-Analysis and Typological Prediction

The BC TRY analysis package also provides a technique whereby objects or persons can be grouped into clusters on the basis of their congruencies of similarities and differences. This procedure, called O- (or object) analysis, is a means by which typologies can be

constructed based on similar profiles of individuals' scores on a given set of dimensions.

A number of advantages exist in forming typologies to classify diverse organisms (Tryon and Bailey, 1970): 1) cumulative information about a "type" will enable any new individuals added to it to be better understood; 2) strengths and weaknesses of members of different types can be conceptualized in terms of the special characteristics of each type's profile; 3) among members of any given type, scores on single dimensions can be more accurately interpreted in light of the entire profile; 4) the "type" permits more accurate prediction of an individual's score on a criterion variable than if prediction were based on only a single attribute.

The intent in carrying out a cluster analysis of the 99 youths who were participants in this study is closely related to all four of the above-named purposes. In particular it was of interest to investigate the relationship between O-analysis typologies and measures of recidivism. It was hoped that certain O-types would be clearly predictive of lower delinquency after treatment, information which could be of considerable practical value to treatment staff.

The dimensions or factors employed to assign Highfields ex-residents to various O-types were the factor scores of each youth on the four clusters derived from the empirical V-preset analysis. The condensation method of O-analysis operates by computing simple sum Z-scores for each subject on each cluster whose definers had been selected in the preset key cluster analysis. These clusters were previously identified as "resident SES", "low risk offenders",

"pre-treatment delinquency" and "treatment resources". After assigning all 99 subjects to arbitrary sectors in the cluster score space, the OTYPE program selected as "core types" those subjects in sectors with at least 2% of the total group. All other subjects are reassigned to those "core types", a process that is iterated to a final solution of O-types plus a set of unique individuals.

Results of the O-analysis are displayed in Table 10 where it can be seen that the 99 youths encompassed fourteen distinct typologies based on internally similar profiles of dimension scores. This is a notably large number of typologies, indicating that camp residents were a highly diversified group, at least when categorized according to configurations of cluster scores. Three trivial O-types containing fewer than five members were deleted from subsequent analyses.

Insert Table 10 here

A graphic representation of the eleven remaining O-types is provided in Figure 3. The mean score in standardized units on each dimension for all O-type members clearly displays the various profile patterns. Greater significance can be attached to these patterns when a subroutine of the O-analysis program, 4CAST, is employed to compute mean scores for O-type members on criterion variables of interest. In this instance two criterion variables were selected which exhibited highest frequency and variance among available outcome measures. The index of seriousness of crimes against property during the first year after release, and the total number of recorded post-release contacts

Table 10. O-types Derived from Typological Analysis.

O-TYPE NUMBER	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	OVERALL HOMOGENEITY
01	6	.9637
02 *	4	.9420
03	6	.9044
04	11	.9494
05	9	.8845
06 *	2	.8676
07	6	.9442
08	8	.9350
09	9	.9169
11	15	.9280
12	5	.9325
13 *	3	.9313
14	6	.8809
15	7	.9076

* - subsequently dropped from further analysis since N < 5

with police, in addition, had been excluded from the preset clusters because of communalities below .2000 and therefore were not inputs to the O-typologies. Thus it is possible to examine each O-type in light of the mean score its members achieved on these two important outcome measures. Figure 3 depicts both the typology patterns and associated criterion variable mean scores.

Insert Figure 3 here

Comparing O-type profiles which are similar except for the factor score on one cluster provides an opportunity to isolate the effect that one factor has on outcome as measured by total number of post-release contacts with police and by the first year index of crimes against property. The comparison can be of particular interest here when the cluster score which varies measures the availability of treatment resources. There are three pairs of typologies which demonstrate very similar configurations of factor scores on clusters 1, 2, and 3 yet which differ considerably on cluster 4 factor scores relating to treatment interventions.

One such pair is O-types 7 and 8 in which scores on the resident SES cluster are near the mean, low risk offender scores are slightly above the mean, and pre-admission delinquency scores are about one standard deviation below the mean. However, the treatment resource cluster score of O-type 7 falls more than one standard deviation below the mean, indicating low sophistication of treatment while O-type 8 is characterized by slightly above-average development of treatment

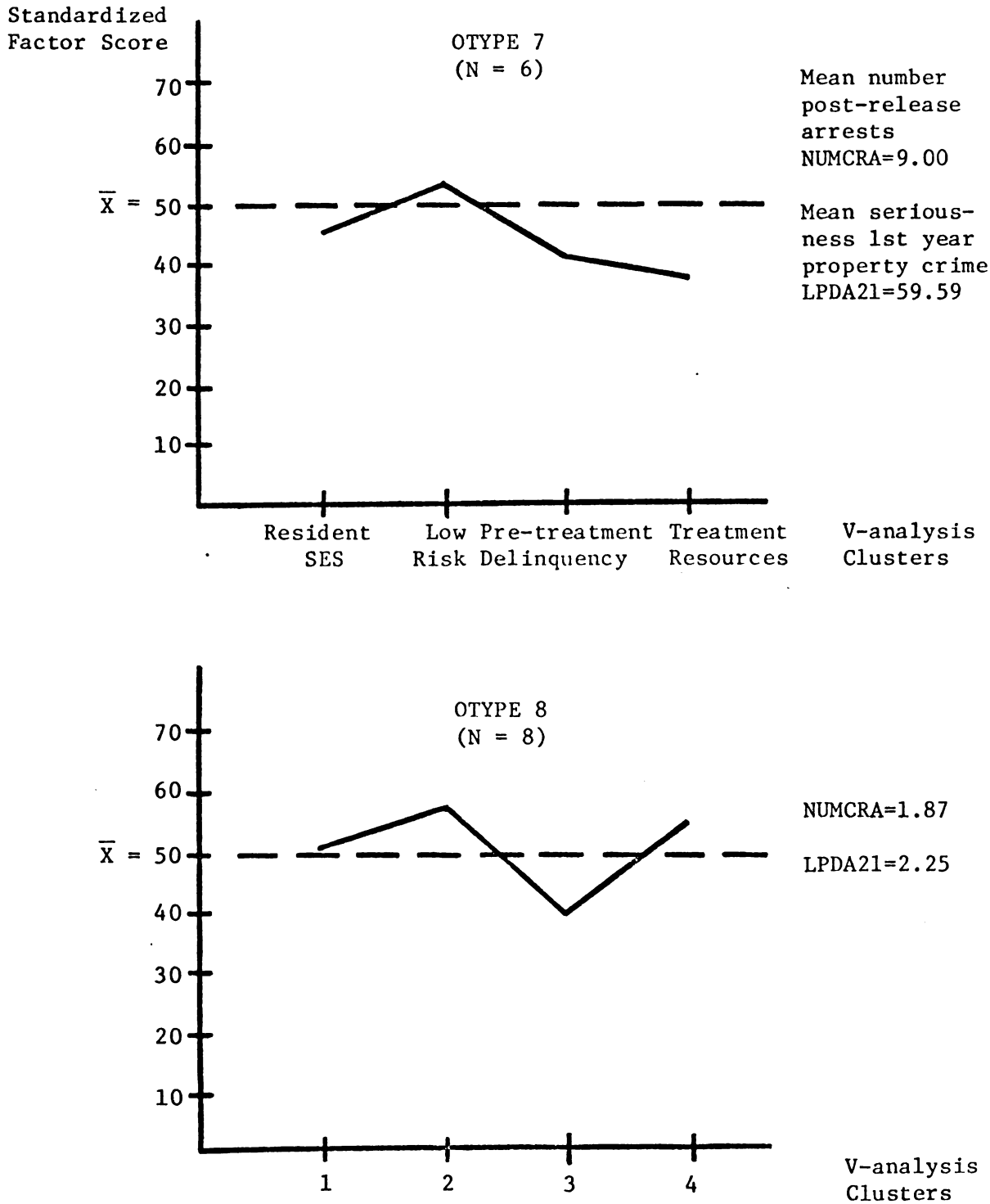


Figure 3.

O-typology Profiles with Outcome Variable Means

Figure 3 (cont'd.).

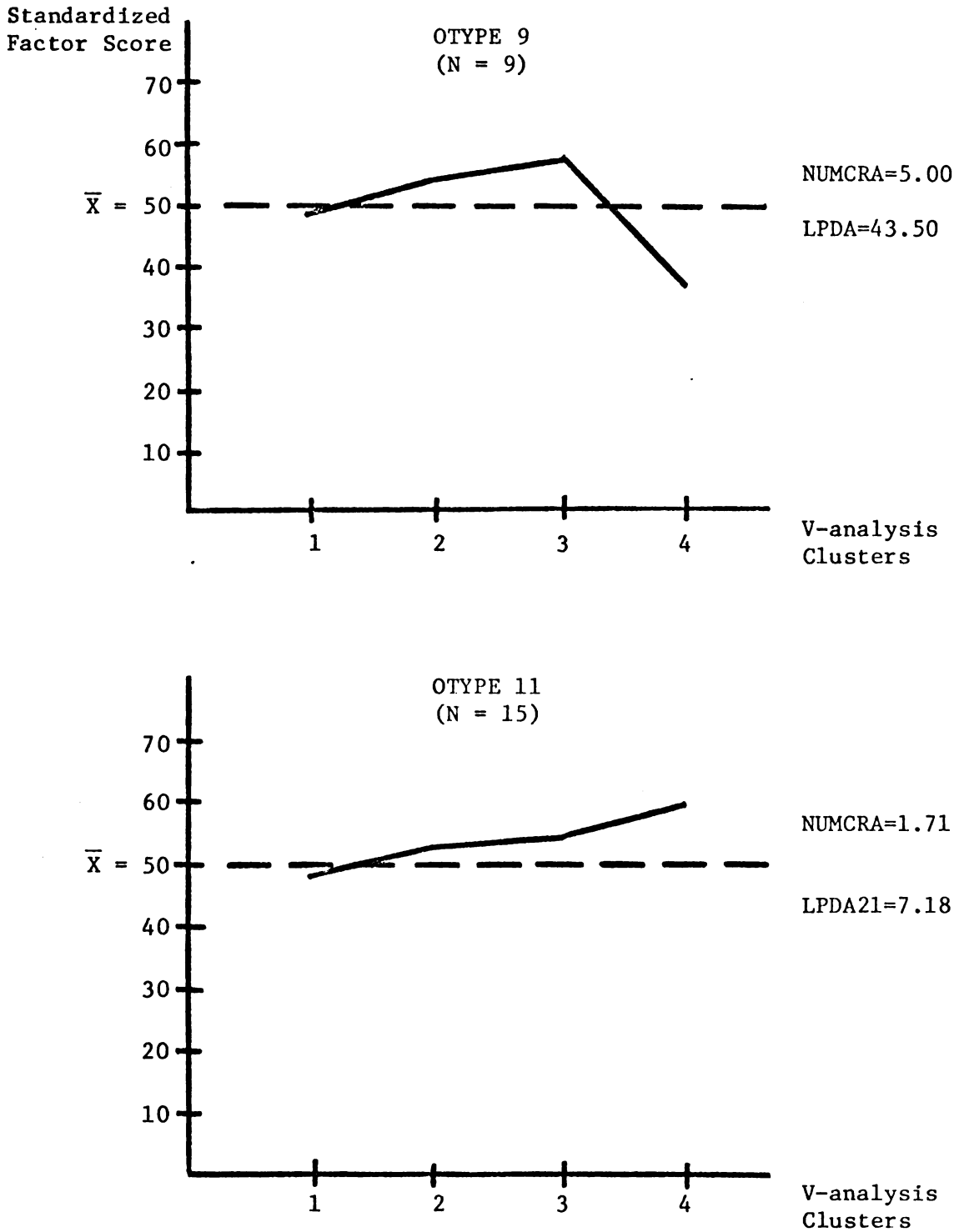


Figure 3 (cont'd.).

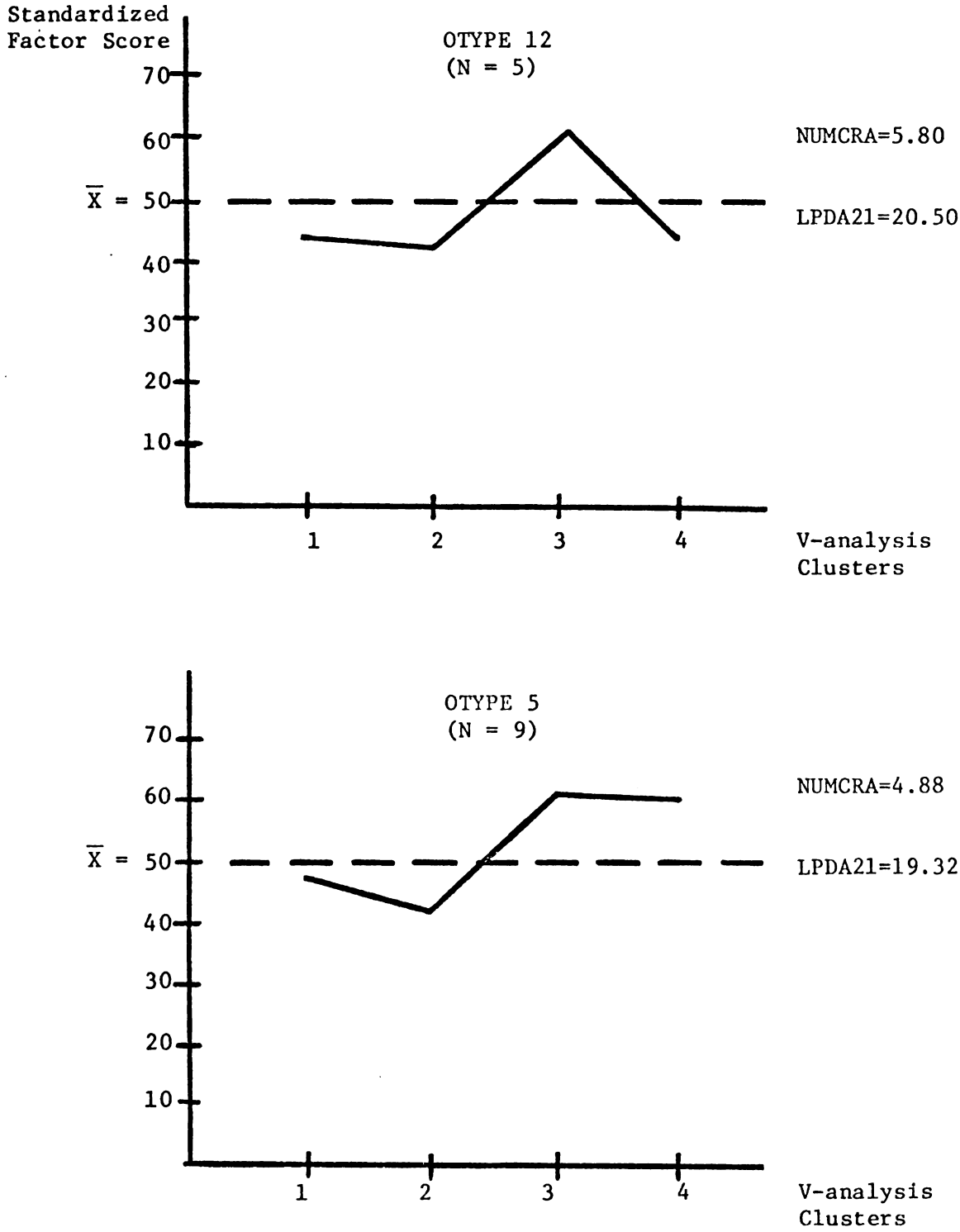
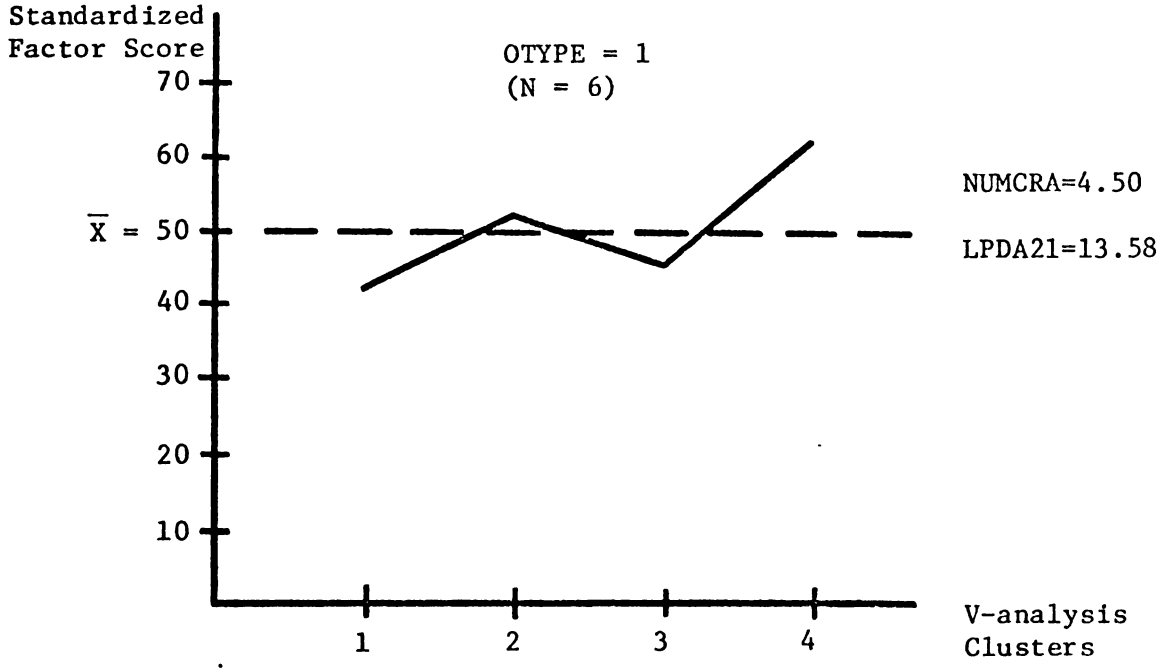


Figure 3 (cont'd.).



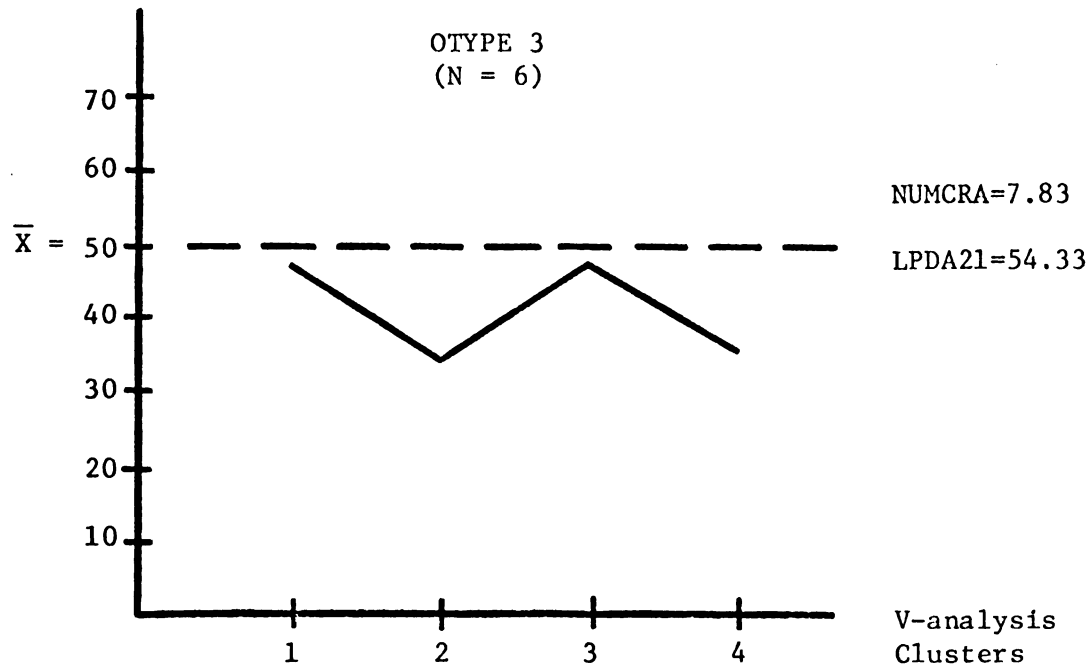


Figure 3 (cont'd.).

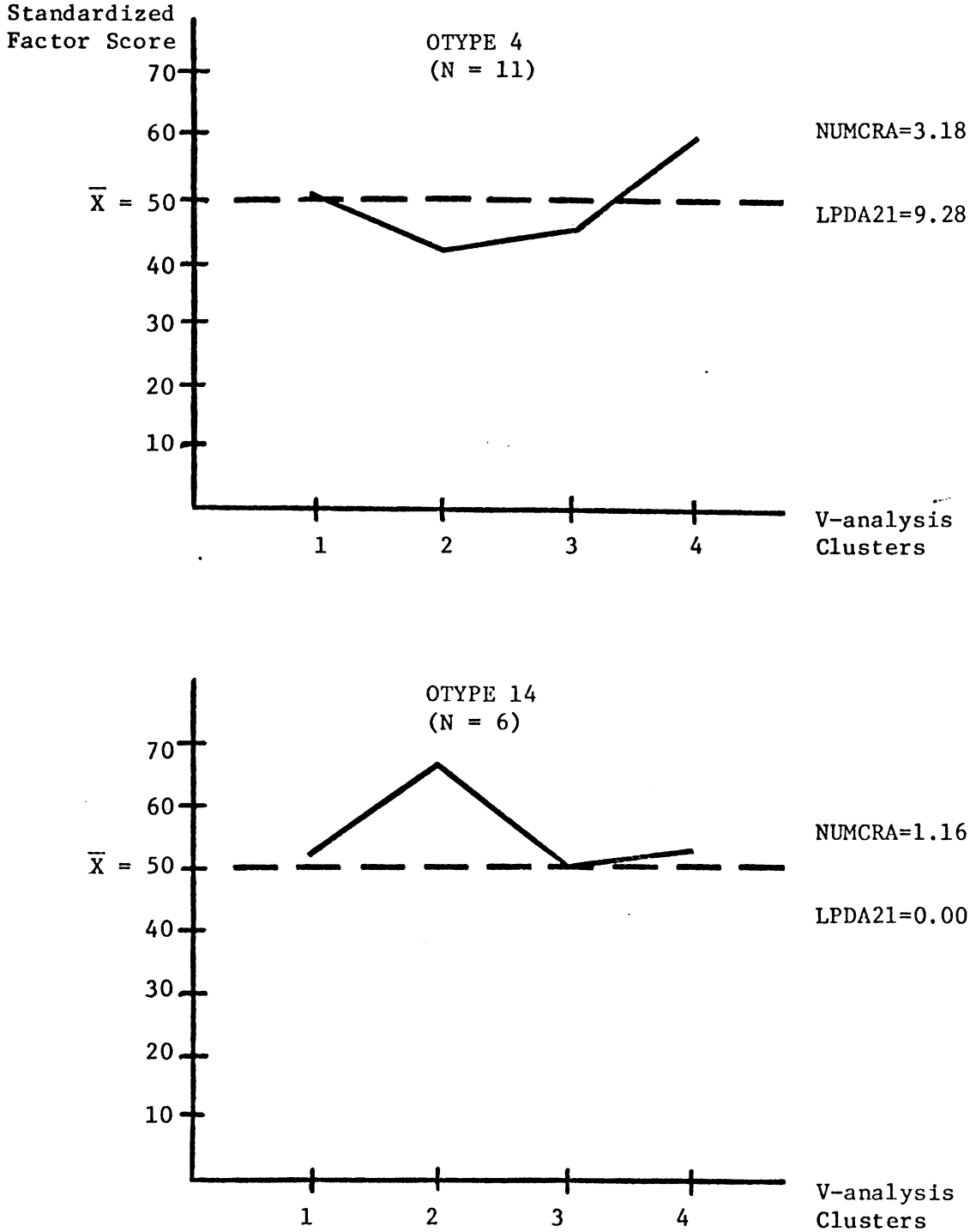
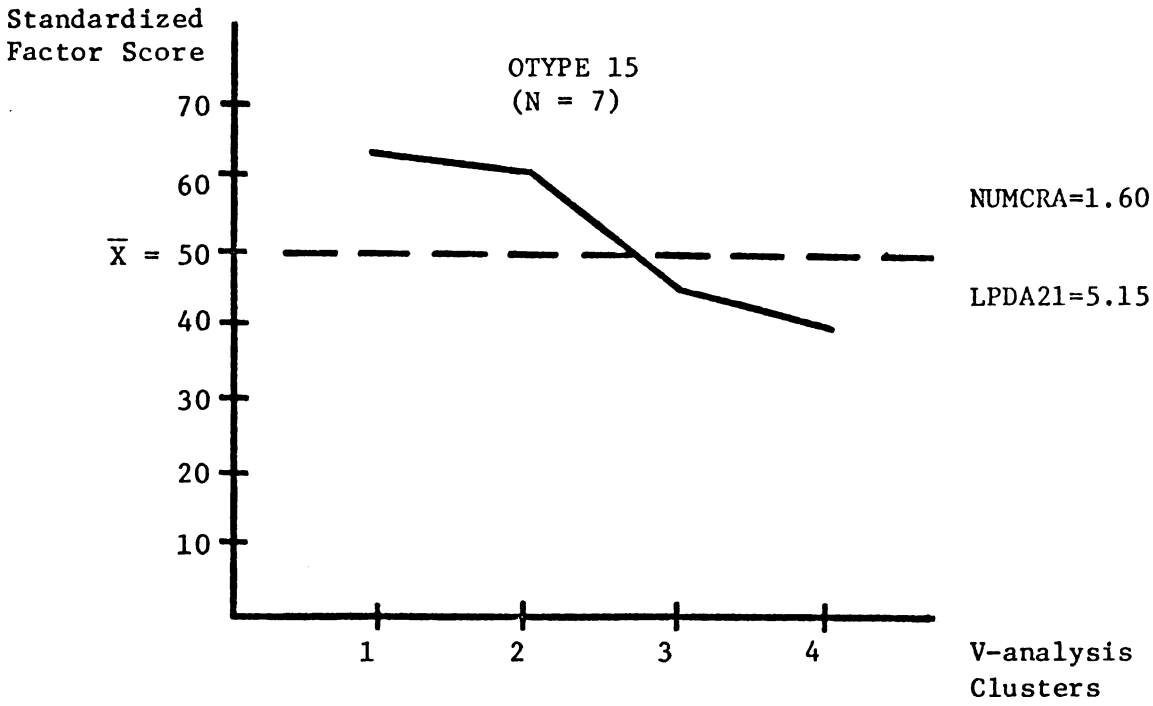


Figure 3 (cont'd.).



resources. The difference in mean scores on the two criterion measures is considerable and in the direction which argues that availability of more extensive programs and facilities has a marked impact on reducing recidivism. Mean value of police contacts is 9.00 and of property crimes index is 59.29 for O-type 7 (low treatment). For O-type 8 (high treatment) the corresponding means are 1.87 and 2.25.

A similar comparison can be made of O-types 9 and 11 which also significantly differ only in their factor scores on the treatment resource cluster. Once again the outcome measures are markedly different, and again the difference is in the "expected" direction. Cluster 9 which includes low intensity of treatment has mean scores for total police contacts and index of property offenses of 5.00 and 43.50 respectively. Means on the same outcome measures associated with the higher level of treatment resources on O-type 11 are 1.71 and 7.18.

O-types 5 and 12 also have similar profiles except for treatment cluster scores. Although the standard score difference on cluster 4 is as great as in the previous two comparisons, the difference in outcome measure mean scores is not significant, 4.88 versus 5.80 police contacts and 19.32 versus 20.50 on seriousness of property offenses although again, the differences are in the expected direction.

Multiple Regression Analysis

In order to gain further insight into factors responsible for successful or unsuccessful adjustment as community members during the two-year follow-up period, the data was analyzed using a multiple regression technique (Draper and Smith, 1966). Application of this statistical technique to time-sequenced categories of data permits a

tentative conclusion regarding the causal relationship among predictor and outcome variables. The analysis' main focus was on seeking evidence that the Camp Highfields experience significantly influenced post-release success or failure, and then on pinpointing which treatment variables, if any, were most central in affecting outcome.

The step-wise multiple correlation technique was employed in order to generate the most efficient prediction equation for selected criterion variables. The algorithm directing this analysis provides for the sequential addition of predictor variables to the prediction equation in decreasing order of their ability to account for some predetermined percentage of variance in the outcome measure. In the present instance, the criterion variables of interest were post-release committment to another correctional facility, total number of post-release police contacts, and seriousness of crimes against property during the first year of follow-up. In addition, one treatment "outcome" measure, manner of leaving Camp Highfields (RELEAS), was chosen as a dependent variable.

The variable pool from which independent variables could be drawn for the four prediction equations included twenty pre-admission offender characteristics and the nine treatment resource descriptors. The use of the crimes against property index as a dependent variable proved valueless. Pre-treatment and treatment resource variables were so tenuously correlated with that measure that the multiple correlation equation picked up only one predictor variable and the F-level or tolerance level for inclusion caused rejection of the remaining 28 variables. The one variable entered into the equation, staff-resident

ratio, accounted for only 14% of the variance of the property crimes index.

A more meaningful multiple regression equation was generated for the criterion variable of total recorded contacts with police after leaving Highfields. Once again, staff-resident ratio was entered as the most significant independent variable, although the R^2 or percentage of the variance accounted for was only approximately 9%. This was the only treatment descriptor included; the succeeding four variables were all pre-treatment resident descriptors. Beyond these five variables, additional factors would only add trivial increments to variance accounted for, but even so the five independent variables in combination left over 70% of the variance in number of police contacts unexplained. Table 11 depicts the contribution of each independent variable, singly and in combination, to explaining the variance of the dependent variable.

Table 11. Multiple Regression on Number of Post-release Police Contacts.

Step	Independent Variable	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 Added	Simple r
1	Staff-resident ratio	.296	.087	+.087	-.296
2	Delinquent peer group involvement	.402	.161	+.073	.261
3	Mother employed outside home	.461	.212	+.050	.216
4	Percent of blacks in neighborhood	.508	.258	+.046	.164
5	Pre-Highfields victimless crimes	.543	.295	+.036	.113

Post-release court assignment to another correctional facility was also employed as a measure of recidivism in a multiple correlation equation. The final equation included nine predictor variables yet only 38% of the variance of the criterion variable was explained. Each independent variable made only a minor contribution to increased accuracy of prediction. Interpretation of the regression equation is confounded as well by the direction of a number of the simple correlations. It appears the recidivism is less likely when SES is low as measured by a neighborhood with low home valuation, high density dwelling units, and higher percentage of black residents; further, reduced recidivism is associated with lower quality maternal discipline. As can be seen in the following table, however, most correlations do not reach significance at the .05 level.

Table 12. Multiple Regression on Post-release Commitment to a Correctional Facility.

Step	Independent Variable	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 Added	Simple r
1	Manner of leaving Highfields	.300	.090	+.090	.300
2	Percent high density dwellings	.364	.132	+.042	.194
3	Home valuation	.432	.186	+.054	-.259
4	Resident's race	.468	.219	+.032	-.024
5	Percent blacks on block	.525	.276	+.056	.127
6	Staff turnover rate	.549	.301	+.025	-.047
7	Staff-resident ratio	.576	.332	+.030	.186
8	Maternal discipline	.596	.355	+.023	-.144
9	Mother employed outside home	.613	.378	+.023	.164

Finally, examination of the multiple correlation with the treatment variable describing the condition under which a youth left Camp Highfields, i.e., graduation or termination, sheds some valuable light on the question of the kind of youth best served by a residential treatment center such as Highfields. Six independent variables explain 57% of the variance, leaving 43% unaccounted for. Slightly more than half of the variance is accounted for by the first variable to enter, length of time in residence at camp. Beyond that, however, the other half of the accounted for variance includes items such as entering the program later in adolescence, experiencing better paternal discipline, less serious involvement in property offenses prior to treatment, and having less involvement in a delinquent peer group before admission. Refer to Table 13 for the complete array of variables.

Table 13. Multiple Regression on Manner of Leaving Camp Highfields.

Step	Independent Variable	Multiple R	R^2	R^2 Added	Simple r
1	Tenure at camp	.548	.301	+.301	.548
2	Age at admission	.688	.474	+.173	.348
3	Paternal discipline	.706	.499	+.024	.010
4	Pre-treatment property offenses index	.730	.533	+.034	-.187
5	Staff turnover rate	.745	.555	+.021	.274
6	Delinquent peer group involvement	.756	.572	+.017	.165

DISCUSSION

Limitations of Design

A number of cautions must be raised concerning the degree of certainty with which the foregoing results can be either accepted, interpreted, or generalized. This study bore the disadvantages that a pre-experimental design imposes (Campbell and Stanley, 1963) as contrasted with quasi-experimental or true experimental research. Threats to both internal and external validity are present from a variety of sources; indeed two of them raise particular warnings vis-a-vis the present evaluation of program effectiveness.

One threat arises from the effect of history, i.e. the wide range of change-producing events that had occurred between the times that pre-test and post-test measurements were made. For instance, between 1967 and 1974 economic conditions in the large society fluctuated widely and likely influenced the law violating behavior of youths admitted to and released from Camp Highfields. A relationship between employment and delinquency was demonstrated by Fleisher (1966) who found a positive correlation between unemployment and delinquency in several larger cities over a period of years. He estimated that a 10% increase in employment could reduce delinquency by up to 20%.

In a similar vein, the "one-group pre-test/post-test" design employed here lacks control over effects of maturation as well. Thus biological and psychological processes were occurring continuously

within the study participants, and the observed differences in before and after measures may as easily have been due in part to those processes as to an external intervention like the Camp Highfields program. This rival explanation is especially plausible in the case of a psycho-social phenomenon like juvenile delinquency. A number of theorists (e.g. Vaz, 1967; Miller, 1958; Matza, 1964) have argued from varying perspectives that one part of the process of passing from adolescence to adulthood involves rebellion, acting out and so forth; the corrollary to this view is that if left alone, most youngsters would outgrow and abandon their earlier normative deviations.

The present study provides some evidence for that view. All measures of post-release delinquency declined in severity from the first to the second year of follow-up, despite the fact that the impact of the treatment program also waned over that time as evidenced by correlation statistics. More generally the fact that actual delinquent behavior by juveniles far exceeds the amount of adult crime in our society also attests to the fact that this maturational process does occur. Along this line, some critics of residential treatment centers contend that such programs function merely as holding facilities. The hypothesis that Camp Highfields also "works" by denying residents the opportunity to commit offenses in the community during some critical period of adolescence can not be refuted by the evidence accumulated here.

An additional degree of inconclusiveness in results springs from the differential effect that Camp Highfields has on varying types of youngsters. Cast in terms of the pre-experimental design problem, the inconclusiveness results from collecting absolute rather than

relative data. That is, without a control condition it is not possible to compare the effect of this program with the effects of another intervention on a comparable sample of participants. By the same token there is no information available about what influence the Highfields treatment would have on a population that systematically varied from the group involved in this analysis.

Faced with the lack of a comparison condition, the researcher must substitute his own or other experts' expectations as the criterion against which performance is measured. This was much less a problem here since a major interest was to sketch the correlational relationships among subject, treatment, and outcome variables so that causal linkages could be more rigorously investigated subsequently, rather than to pass judgment on whether Camp Highfields is a "successful" or "unsuccessful" program.

The retrospective nature of this study introduced several unsystematic biases that raise problems of data quality. The most serious obstacle arose repeatedly as the result of inadequate record-keeping. At the camp itself this manifested itself in a complete lapse of ongoing treatment notes. As a result there was no way to determine exactly what phases of the program a resident had participated in, for what length of time, or with what results. Consequently the program effectiveness evaluation depended on a listing of what treatment resources were present during a youth's tenure at Highfields, without any pretense at determining whether those resources impacted upon him at all.

At nearly every stage of the study, record review was an integral part of the data collection process. At every agency minor or major

problems were encountered as the result of disorganization, incomplete records, lack of validity, or inconsistent adherence to recording policy. In part, records which were originally designed to serve clinical or administrative ends were not readily applicable to scientific or research needs. It was necessary, however, to discard a number of variables simply because the records containing the information were so woefully inadequate that error variance would have been enormous.

Evaluation of an on-going program can focus on any one or more of four general issues (Suchman, 1967). These four categories of assessment include 1) effort evaluations whose emphasis is on the capacity for effort or actual work produced, 2) impact evaluations examining the adequacy of response to a need in terms of numbers or percentage of target population reached, 3) performance or effectiveness evaluations seeking out the results of effort as goal attainment or problem amelioration, and 4) efficiency evaluations to determine the ratio of benefits to costs, usually in economic terms. Finally there is the element of process analysis which may be linked to Fairweather's (1967) emphasis upon the necessity of recording internal program operation characteristics and events in conjunction with implementation of an experimental social innovation. Process evaluation is concerned with questions such as: What is it that has made the program succeed or fail? What changes in techniques or methods could have improved program effectiveness? Which participants in the program benefitted the most? the least?

It should be clear that the present study includes elements of both process and effectiveness evaluations. Information relating to

effectiveness was available via an examination of numerous outcome variables, their means and variances, as well as from the raw correlation matrices. Use of a stepwise multiple regression technique represented an attempt to at least tentatively specify the causal relationships among temporal categories of variables. Cluster analysis afforded a more sophisticated data reduction tool for getting at underlying dynamics and for trying to identify beneficiaries of the treatment program.

A number of outcome variables were undoubtedly inflated by an artifact of sampling to show more positive results than actually existed. Of the 99 young men in the sample it was positively determined that five did not remain in Lansing after leaving Camp Highfields, and three more left the area one year after release. Judging by the 4% response rate to the mail inquiry, by the large number of youths who did not re-enter the Lansing Public Schools or who dropped out upon turning seventeen, and bolstered by the camp staff's recollection of a fair number of post-graduation military enlistments especially in the 1960's, it seems more than reasonable to assume that more than eight ex-residents had departed the Lansing area before two years from graduation or termination had elapsed. Lacking decisive evidence to the contrary these individuals were scored as not having any contacts with police and not having been subsequently committed to a correctional facility by the court. Thus outcome variables for these persons showed an unknown number of entries scored "none" which properly should have been scored as missing data. Use of "official" records as sources of data on incidence of delinquency also depressed

the amount of law-violating behavior reflected in outcome variables. Self-report data had it been available would have presented a more accurate picture.

Outcome Measures

A comparison of the pre- and post-treatment levels of the indices of offenses committed reveals what appears to be a considerable decline; in fact this reflects the fact that follow-up data was time limited while pre-admission measures were not. The absolute level of the seriousness of victimless crimes dropped by over one-half between year 1 and year 2 of the follow-up, though even the first year mean is only equivalent to once being charged with incorrigibility. Crimes against property were the most prevalent type of offense both before and after residency at Highfields. The first year follow-up mean is the approximate equivalent of three shoplifting arrests or two arrests for larceny from a motor vehicle. During the second year the seriousness of property offenses had on the average declined by almost two-thirds to the level of one incident of forgery, for instance. Similarly the seriousness index of crimes against persons was halved between the first year of follow-up and the second, although the mean scores in both periods were extremely low. In large measure this low score represents a systematic bias that results from a camp policy to exclude admission to youths adjudicated for violent crimes. In addition Camp Highfields does not accept for treatment homosexual youths or those in need of long-term, intensive psychotherapy, so that the findings of this study are not automatically applicable to all delinquents.

To a certain extent the decline over time may be due to measurement error as ex-residents left Lansing, but it is also likely that maturation played an important role as well. Maturational reform (Matza, 1964) refers to the decline in law violations as delinquents move from adolescence to adulthood. Whether this is due to an increasing sense of responsibility, a resolution of delinquent "drift" in favor of conventional norms, or a decrease in arrests of juveniles for status offenses which are not adult crimes, age is inversely related to chances of further law-violating behavior (Glaser, 1964; Wilkins, 1969).

What is most remarkable about the measures of delinquency discussed above is that the inter-correlations are so low both among pre-treatment and post-treatment variables. This would suggest that there is not a uni-dimensional delinquency factor but rather many different processes involved in determining the particular form that expression of deviance takes. Furthermore, correlations of before and after measures of delinquent behavior within each category were quite low; the highest correlation of eighteen pairs reached only $r = .15$. Absence of any consistent relationship should caution treatment personnel not to typecast individuals as "property offender" or "status offender" and so forth because the definition doesn't hold up. More generally and more importantly, juvenile justice system personnel should avoid the mistaken impression of "once a delinquent, always a delinquent" because the evidence here argues that delinquency is a transient phenomenon.

Cluster Analysis

The V-analysis refinement and definition procedure resulted in four distinct clusters that were titled "resident socio-economic

status", "low risk offender", "pre-treatment delinquency", and "treatment resources". Cluster 1, resident SES, included both pre-treatment offender descriptors and several post-treatment delinquency variables yet the connection between them seemed paradoxical. The demographic indicators are indicative of an advantaged background, yet delinquency as reflected in post-treatment arrest data was expressed in crimes against persons.

One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that when white youths from higher SES families initially come in contact with police authorities they are reprimanded and released without being formally charged with commission of an offense. These youths' delinquent involvement then persists and escalates until it can no longer be ignored by police or dealt with informally because it includes assaultive behavior. At this point, then, arrests for crimes against persons are entered in police records. If this interpretation is correct it raises a serious caution to police in discretionary use of "station adjustments" based on social class, since here it may have backfired into more serious delinquency.

The second cluster labelled "low risk offender" essentially describes Camp Highfields residents who are less seriously delinquent when they enter the program, who are more successful in the program, and who exhibit less delinquency upon release from the program. The underlying dynamic in this cluster is the individual's lesser commitment to a deviant lifestyle. This normative orientation is reflected in the inclusion of two pre-treatment measures in particular -- less serious drug use and less involvement in a delinquent sub-culture or

reference group. This cluster suggests that despite the very low correlation between pre-admission and post-release delinquency measures, there is a personality factor contributing to the finding that "good kids do better." Thus there is some consistency between pre- and post-treatment behavior but the connection appears to be mediated by personality rather than programmatic constructs.

Three of four variables in cluster 3 are measures of pre-Highfields delinquency and all are in the direction of more serious involvement as registered in total number of police contacts, victimless crimes, and crimes against property. The fourth item refers to the mother's presence in the home as measured by her holding a full-time job outside the house. The negative factor loading indicates that the mother is less likely to be home when delinquent behavior of the son is more extensive. On the surface this might mean that youth who are not adequately supervised during the day or after school have a greater propensity or opportunity to become involved in delinquent activities. In fact, when the mother is working this also suggests a greater likelihood that there is no father present in the home at all. Lack of an adult male figure may be the factor that is so strongly related to pre-treatment delinquency rather than the mother's employment status.

Cluster four was uniquely composed of Camp Highfields treatment resources. All phases of the camp program were expanding simultaneously at similar rates and this is reflected in the high intercorrelations of these variables displayed in Table 8 (see page 47). This strong collinearity makes it more difficult for these items to appear in other clusters, although the loadings on other clusters are

not high in any case.

The O-analysis of the 99 subjects in this study generated 14 distinct typologies. This large number of O-types limits the amount of interpretation that is feasible since each typology subsumes on the average only seven individuals; only two O-types included more than 10% of the population. It was possible to draw inferences about the impact of treatment resources on recidivism by individually comparing three pairs of O-types that exhibited similar patterns and factor scores on clusters 1, 2, and 3 with high versus low scores on cluster 4, treatment resources. In two cases, greater sophistication of treatment was accompanied by greatly reduced scores on the post-treatment delinquency measures. In the third instance there was no difference in outcome variables, although these two clusters included scores on the pre-Highfields delinquency cluster that were more than one standard deviation above the mean. This distinction suggests that the Camp Highfields intervention, whether poorly or well developed, may have no impact on youths who are strongly committed to the delinquent role by the time they are assigned to the camp.

Multiple Regression Analysis

Three multiple regression equations focused on one "treatment outcome" variable, whether the youth separated from Camp Highfields via graduation or termination, and two post-treatment outcome variables, whether the youth was subsequently placed by the court in another program and the number of recorded police contacts. Two other treatment variables, age at admission and length of stay, accounted for 47% of variance in manner of leaving the camp. Four additional

variables added only 10% to accounted-for variance. According to this regression equation, availability of treatment did not influence a youth's adjustment to the camp.

Treatment variables, aside from staff-resident ratio, did not account for any significant variance in post-release police contacts either. Variance that was accounted for totals only 30%. The remaining 2/3 may be the result of other variables not assessed at all such as employment experience or post-release peer group interaction. Four pre-treatment descriptors in the equation paint a dismal picture of commission of victimless offenses, delinquent peer group involvement, living in a black (i.e. depressed) neighbornood, by youths whose mothers work (perhaps since no father is present). In essence this multiple correlation epitomizes the traditional sociological theories which emphasize the deteriorating home and neighborhood as factors in delinquency causation.

Post-release commitment to a correctional facility is a good measure of post-release delinquency since the placement would not occur in the absence of persuasive evidence. When this variable is the dependent variable a picture of social decay and familial disadvantage similar to the previous regression analysis is presented by nine independent variables. Once again also no "hard" measures of camp program are included though a more favorable staff-resident ratio and a decreased turnover rate do play minor roles in explaining the criterion variable. Even so, only 38% of the variance is accounted for, so inferences must be made cautiously.

One important caveat that obtains when interpreting the significance of the multiple correlations for the purpose of generalizing

to the population is a consequence of the fact that multiple correlation tends to be biased upwards, to be larger than the population parameter (Nunnally, 1967). This bias results from taking advantage of chance in the preselection of variables from a larger set of predictor variables; in this case five, six, and nine variables were selected from a pool containing some 34 items. Furthermore this preselection phenomenon is exaggerated by the relatively small number of persons being studied. Nunnally suggested that in the case of a 100 person sample with three variables to be selected from a group of 20, "the multiple correlation will be so spuriously high as to be worthless" (p. 163); the parameters in this study are close to his hypothetical example.

Integration of Research Findings

Rates and Types of Recidivism. An overall view of the incidence and types of post-treatment delinquency reveals that Camp Highfields can point to a recidivism rate of 33% that is not any higher than what is reported for numerous other treatment interventions whether residential or not, individual or group based, traditional or innovative. In this sample, crimes against property predominated over crimes against persons or victimless crimes both before and after residency. The predominance is more pronounced in the follow-up period, probably because status offenses such as runaway, truancy and incorrigibility are not as relevant to the older population.

Program Effectiveness. A second major focus of this study fell on determining the effect Camp Highfields had on rehabilitation or resocialization of its residents, and then on specifying what aspects

of that program accounted for the observed effect. In view of the variety of experimental and non-experimental studies cited in the first chapter which had no effect or even a detrimental effect on outcome, there was considerable skepticism that Camp Highfields would be any different. Significantly, there was evidence from a number of sources that Camp Highfields did exert a beneficial effect on youth who were assigned there.

Although conclusive proof could not be adduced given limitations imposed by the research design, it is noteworthy that correlational data, V-analysis results, and O-analysis predictions all strongly suggested that participation in the program did increase the likelihood of subsequent good adjustment to the community. The multiple regression analyses presented an opportunity to identify specific elements of the treatment process that contributed to outcome variance, but aside from two staff-pattern variables no treatment resources did account for any of the variance. These findings may mean that no individual constituents of the Highfields program were powerful enough to have an effect by themselves, that in fact there was only one "treatment" which in toto did have an impact on residents.

Characteristics of Residents. The third major research question addressed by this study dealt with what type of juvenile delinquent is best served by a facility like Camp Highfields. Several inferences may be drawn with implications for treatment and research. In particular it was seen that youths from a higher socioeconomic background, who were less likely to have been members of a delinquent peer group and to have been serious drug users, and who were involved in less

serious offenses prior to entering Highfields were most likely to exhibit a lower rate of recidivism. This might be taken to mean that Camp Highfields should engage in "creaming", i.e. preselecting residents on the basis of those desireable characteristics which would predict greatest success upon release. To its credit, Highfields has refrained from taking this easy way out and in fact the data indicate that as the facility has grown the pre-existing incorrigibility of residents has also increased. In sum it appears that Camp Highfields as a "social system" has a beneficial impact upon a distinct sub-group of residents, those adolescents not committed to a deviant lifestyle.

Recommendations to Camp Highfields

During 1973-74 Camp Highfields has undergone a period of staff instability, low morale, and physical deterioration and destruction of buildings. With appointment of a new director, assurances of support from the Board of Directors, and the hiring of enthusiastic staff the crisis seems to have passed. In particular the state certified remedial education program has made enormous strides toward meeting the valid educational needs of current camp residents. At the same time, though, other facets of Highfields' programs and procedures would benefit from scrutiny and constructive criticism.

One factor that appeared repeatedly as an element in adjustment to the Camp program and subsequent adjustment to community life was the boy's degree of identification with a delinquent peer group. This suggests that relationships with peers are a potent force in influencing an adolescent's commitment to conventional or deviant values.

Choice of the name "Highfields" for this facility alludes to the original Highfields in New Jersey where the "guided group interaction" treatment model was pioneered. The presence of four self-contained "cabins" or living units is a treatment resource which has not been fully utilized. At the Michigan Highfields the powerful therapeutic tool of shared group norms has not been utilized in the cabins except on a haphazard basis when the groups ended up largely as rap and gripe sessions. A simultaneous attempt to introduce resident self-government degenerated into power-brokering by the appointed leaders since adequate counselling and other supports were not available.

A very ambitious treatment and research project was initiated by the California Youth Authority in which residents were extensively tested at intake and placed in one of eleven diagnostic categories. Homogeneous groups were assigned to cabins in which the supervisor's personality had been selected to meet the treatment needs of his charges. The program, though complex, was highly successful, and a simplified version tailored to Camp Highfield's resources (and four cabins) might reap similar rewards.

Largely as a result of staff instability the Highfields treatment program represents an eclectic sampling of delinquency theory, oriented in general toward treating "adolescent boys who have been referred for acceptance to a treatment center to receive help with their emotional and/or educational problems" (Task Force Report, 1973). The latter objective has not been accomplished at all, at least as measured by percentage of residents completing high school; not one youth was found to have stayed in school long enough to receive a diploma. The recent

up-grading of the Highfields educational program may help remedy this poor record, but it is nonetheless probable that many ex-residents will continue to reject the student role in favor of employment. One program feature that could make a much more meaningful contribution to reducing recidivism after release is the job orientation and work experience program. Since a relatively small percentage of ex-residents return to the public schools long enough to receive job training and/or vocational education, it is incumbent upon Highfields to expand its work-study opportunities so more residents can participate. Further the didactic elements of this intervention should be strengthened so as to extend beyond the skills needed to get a job to those needed to keep it once found.

It was noted earlier that whether a youth graduates from Highfields or is terminated by the staff is strongly related to how long he has been in residence. In part this correlation may be due to the very unclear specification of criteria for graduation. Anecdotal data indicates that there exists a laissez-faire policy of gradually and unsystematically examining how each resident is dealing with authority figures, how he is getting along at home on weekend visits, and how well he is doing in the school program as the major part of assessing his readiness to graduate. This results in an average stay at Highfields of 9.7 months (standard deviation is 6.9 months). The modal tenure at the camp is 12 months! It is likely that these excessively long periods could be significantly shortened without any sacrifice in effectiveness and probably an increase in positive outcomes by making graduation from the camp a more contingent event. By specifying

overtly the treatment goals and what criteria will be used to measure their accomplishment, the camp would be shifting responsibility to the youth for his own behavior. That process can be furthered by translating treatment goals such as "reduce hostile acting out" or "increase self worth" into behavioral terms so residents can monitor their own performance and receive feedback from staff on a concrete level.

In this connection more thorough record-keeping is an absolute necessity. It is inexcusable that months of residence should be represented by no more than some identifying data, an intake interview report, and perhaps occasional contact notes written by the primary care worker or other camp personnel. More extensive psychological testing and diagnosis at intake would start to move the camp toward its avowed goal of rehabilitation and away from its retributive function as perceived by many residents. Treatment goals should be specified and periodically reviewed; progress toward achieving them should be recorded. Detailed entries should be made to chronicle each boy's involvement and participation in each phase of the camp program. Aside from the therapeutic benefits, this type of record will lend itself quite readily to future evaluations of effectiveness or efficiency.

Both the cluster analyses and multiple regression analyses indicated that familial breakdown is an element in delinquent behavior. Yet in preparing each resident for eventual return to the community and the home in most cases, Camp Highfields has neglected tackling directly (or indirectly via other social service agencies) the problems posed by an insufficient home environment. Rather, during a boy's

period of residence most of the worker's efforts are devoted to helping the boy accept the inadequacies of the home.

In this same vein, a camp social worker reported his impression that "loners" are more successful at Highfields and this is borne out by the correlations of the peer group variable in the multiple regression equations and the correlations of this variable with clusters 2 and 3 from the V-analysis. Yet when planning for release, only limited concern is evinced for the problem of providing non-delinquent linkages in the community. This factor has been singled out by present camp residents as the one most likely to result in contacts with the juvenile justice system and subsequent recidivism.

Therefore, provision of follow-up or after-care services is absolutely essential. Fully one-quarter of all graduates who are subsequently arrested by police experience their first such contact within two months of release. At least during this crucial period, close supervision and support services must be easily accessible to the youth and his family if the investment that Highfields has already made in his rehabilitation is to be protected. Systematic feedback about the successes and failures of released program participants would provide the camp with valuable information that could be directly utilized in improving the treatment program. Thus it is strongly urged that an on-going follow-up "study" be initiated. All residents could be required to participate in an anonymous survey six to twelve months after release to report on their level of adjustment. Establishing this expectation while the youth is still in camp will undoubtedly go far toward alleviating the non-response problems which plagued this study.

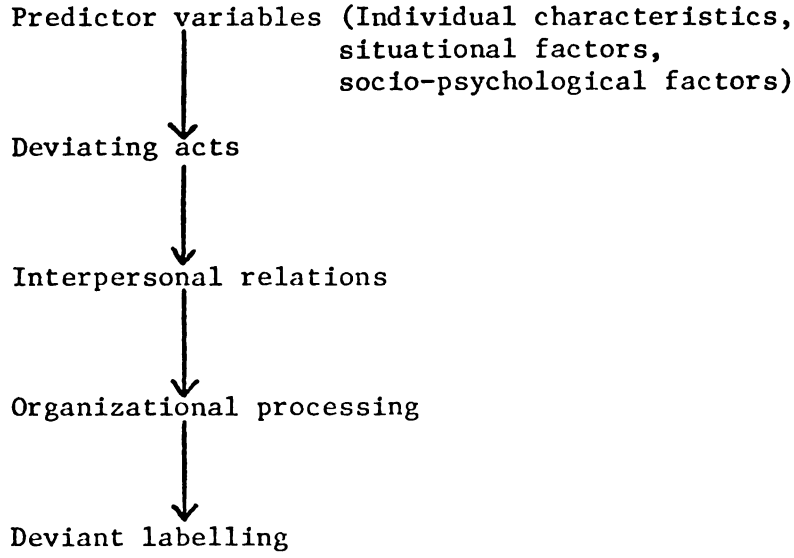
State of Delinquency Research

The absence of any significant correlations between pre-treatment and post-treatment delinquency reported in the preceding chapter raises some serious doubts as to the advisability of engaging any but the most seriously delinquent youths in the juvenile justice system. One of the often irrevocable results of that involvement is the label "delinquent" which doggedly pursues its bearer.

Critics of the juvenile court system -- largely created by social reformers who wanted to obviate the early stigmatization of youth in trouble -- have argued that features aimed at maximizing informality and flexibility while minimizing stigmatization actually serve to eliminate basic procedural safeguards and promote inequities. Examples include vague statutes on delinquency, elimination of adversary proceedings, broad discretion and indeterminate commitment periods. David Matza in Delinquency and Drift has even proposed that the informality of the juvenile proceedings as well as the apparent absence of consistency and uniformity in the disposition of specific cases may reinforce a sense of injustice and disrespect for the legal system among juvenile offenders and thereby encourage delinquent behavior.

Juvenile courts have attempted also to defuse the labelling process and subsequent stigmatization. Thus euphemisms such as "adjudication as a delinquent" for "criminal conviction", "training school" for "prison" have come into common usage, but new terminology has done little to disguise the extent to which juvenile offenders are stigmatized, punished, and potentially criminalized. Schur (1971)

characterized the labelling process as follows:



As Cohen (1966) has rightfully pointed out, however, there is a vast difference between committing a deviant act and being charged and invested with a deviant character. The label does more than identify someone who has committed a given deviant act; each label evokes characteristic imagery of someone who is normally or habitually given to certain kinds of deviance, who may be expected to behave this way.

Involvement in the juvenile justice system may often set in motion a "progressive reciprocal relationship" between the delinquent's behavior and the society's reaction. The escalation of deviance and penalty, deviance and rejection, resentment and stigmatization, leads to ultimate acceptance of deviant status and efforts to adjust on the basis of the associated role. Lemert (1951) phrased the problem in this manner:

> When a person begins to employ his deviant behavior or a role based upon it as a means of defense, attack, or adjustment to the overt and covert problems created by the consequent societal reaction to him, his deviation is secondary (p. 76).

The complication posed by the labelling process is especially salient when the "offense" involved is an act that would not be considered a crime if committed by an adult. So-called status offenses such as truancy, runaway, incorrigibility, and so on are intended to permit identification of "wayward youth" and thus secure treatment before more serious delinquency erupts. This early warning, however, may actually foster subsequent delinquency by bringing the youth into the juvenile justice system and thereby threatening to subvert his self-perception as an adherent to conforming behaviors. Decriminalization of status offenses is one oft-proposed solution to the problem of judicial response to acts that are malum prohibitum. Children involved in these offenses would then be referred to a non-judicial child-serving agency where the youth would receive treatment within the context of a worker-client relationship or would be referred to a more appropriate social service agency.

Given the present judicial response to status offenders, though, the acts subsumed under this category are especially problematical. Runaway behavior is particularly troublesome since in fact it may be a highly adaptive act, either to escape an intolerable family situation or to call for help in ameliorating the home environment. Truancies and incorrigibility petitions may be clues to similar dysfunctions, but too often the courts function according to an order model of

society in which "behavior that challenges the power of the dominant community to maintain what it has established as its boundaries is defined as anti-social or anomic" (Martin, 1970). Martin goes on to argue for a political definition of delinquency, i.e. adopting the perspective that delinquency may be (and often is) a statement made in response to perceived powerlessness by disadvantaged urban youth.

One of the most remarkable features of research in the area of juvenile delinquency is how little progress has been made either in identifying factors responsible for the problem or in devising effective treatment strategies. This state of affairs is graphically illustrated by reference to the book Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents (Pierce, 1868). The "half century" refers to the first 50 years of the nineteenth century, yet the author's observations could as easily have came from a contemporary work on the subject. Writing about the House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents, Pierce notes:

> ... the early crime is in one sense forgiven by the community on account of the youth and neglected condition of the subject, and he is placed away from temptation under suitable guardianship, where he may be trained for a useful life, and then placed in a position to begin life for himself with a fair chance of success... The family tie should not be broken without adequate cause... but there is a paramount obligation that the community owes to the young... Children have a natural and civil right to be kept from the temptations of the street, to be defended from the pernicious example of evil companions, to be secured from haunts of sin, to be taught habits of industry and the practice of virtue...

The author notes the virtue of regular labor and regular hours for school tuition as opposed to the progressive committment to criminality that results from incarceration in the adult penitentiary. The problem of recidivism due to re-association with "vicious, perverted companions" was recognized and dealt with by sending released offenders to country homes as indentured servants.

Outcomes of treatment were no more successful in 1825 than today. A follow-up in very loose terms of 513 children who passed through the House of Refuge in its first five years indicated that approximately half were "conducting themselves well." A somewhat more systematic ten year study between 1941-1851 revealed a 70% success rate with male delinquents, somewhat less for female offenders.

Despite the passage of over 100 years, much service delivery to delinquent adolescents is still characterized by the mentality expressed by Pierce in 1868. To a considerable extent the lack of significant progress in identifying the etiology of juvenile delinquency with implications that would have for treatment may be a function of attempting to answer the "wrong" question. In other words the vast proliferation of theories and correlational data has been oriented to answering the question "What are the causal antecedents of juvenile delinquency?" it may be more profitable to pose the research question as "What function does delinquency have in normal adolescent development, and what forces prevent more youths from engaging in delinquent behavior?"

It may be useful to focus on delinquency as a normal rather than an abnormal adaptation. The result might be a more thorough

understanding of adolescence instead of the present profusion of unsuccessful attempts to account for a purportedly isolated phenomenon. One ambitious project of this type was a probability sample survey of all adolescents in Illinois undertaken by the Institute for Juvenile Research (1972). 3,100 boys and girls aged 14-18 responded via anonymous self-report about involvement in a wide range of activities and various demographic descriptors. Preliminary findings indicate no differences in extent of delinquent activity between boys and girls, whites and blacks, youths from intact or broken homes, across social classes, or across urban-suburban, rural dimensions. General deviance is related only to age which likely reflects only increased exposure to opportunities for delinquent acts. Deviant behaviors, especially the less criminal ones, were widespread among the sample population. Clearly theories of delinquency causation based on official statistics will have to be revised in light of actual incidence of norm-violation among adolescents.

Suggestions for Future Study

Much work is still needed both to refine theory and develop effective treatment strategies. The limitations of survey reserach, however, put constraints on how useful that approach can be in advancing either theory or practice. Surveys, including the type which was at the base of the study conducted at Camp Highfields, can serve a very useful function as precursors to true experiments which are able to elucidate effects that are obscured in survey-type data collection.

One obvious true experiment which immediately presents itself given the results of this study is an attempt to partialize the impact of various program features in reducing delinquency. In this connection the cabin structure lends itself admirably to systematically varying and controlling the type or intensity of treatment received by camp residents who are randomly assigned to one of the four cabins. Participation of all camp residents in an anonymous follow-up study could be secured which would provide more reliable and complete data than was available to this follow-up effort.

A significant lacuna in the Highfields intervention is insufficient attention to post-release support services. This too presents an opportunity to experimentally determine how best to meet this presently unfulfilled need. A number of after-care strategies such as probation (the conventional practice), family therapy, half-way home, Lodge, foster placement, guaranteed employment, and so on could be compared and evaluated in an experimental setting. The puzzle of juvenile delinquency has yet to be unravelled, but the concerted efforts of theorists and practitioners will hopefully lead the way toward a society in which healthy deviance can be accepted and destructive deviance humanely and effectively treated.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Correspondence and Administrative Agreements

JAMES T. KALLMAN, Probate and Juvenile Judge
THOMAS L. BROWN, Probate and Juvenile Judge

NGHAM COUNTY PROBATE COURT

608 South Washington
.ansing, Michigan 48933
Telephone 485-1751

Warren A. Ritter
Director of Children's Services

Thomas C. Gormely
Probate Register

Jack C. Crandall
Court Administrator

January 8, 1973

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

RE: BRUCE H. ENTE

Mr. Ente, a graduate student in psychology at Michigan State University, has been requested by the Board of Directors of Camp Highfields, Inc. to design and carry-out a follow-up study of the boys who have been residents of Camp Highfields between 1967-1972.

I, therefore, authorize Mr. Ente to have access to any records on boys committed to Highfields during the above stated dates. Mr. Ente understands that any information compiled will be kept in strict confidence with accordance of the Ingham County Probate and Juvenile Court policy.

Any assistance you are able to offer Mr. Ente will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Warren A. Ritter

WARREN A. RITTER
Director of Children's Services

/sk

JAMES T. KALLMAN, Probate and Juvenile Judge
THOMAS L. BROWN, Probate and Juvenile Judge

IGHAM COUNTY PROBATE COURT

)8 South Washington
ısing, Michigan 48933
'elephone 485-1751

Warren A. Ritter
Director of Children's Services

Thomas C. Gormely
Probate Register

Jack C. Crandall
Court Administrator

January 8, 1973

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I would like this letter to serve as an introduction for BRUCE H. ENTE. Mr. Ente, a graduate student in psychology at Michigan State University, has been requested by the Board of Directors of Camp Highfields, Inc. to design and carry-out a follow-up study of the boys who have been residents or Camp Highfields between 1961-1972. The data from this study will later be used in an evaluation of the camp program to enable us to better serve the needs of the community and of the boys who will be at Highfields in the future.

Any cooperation and assistance you are able to show Mr. Ente will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Warren A. Ritter

WARREN A. RITTER
Camp Highfields, Inc.
Program Chairman

/sk

Appendix A3.

STATE OF MICHIGAN

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN, Governor

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

300 S. CAPITOL AVENUE, LANSING, MICHIGAN 48926

R. BERNARD HOUSTON, Director

May 30, 1973

Mr. Bruce H. Ente, Graduate Student
Department of Psychology
Olds Hall
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Mr. Ente:

Mr. Charles Foster of the Ingham County Department of Social Services has routed to me your proposal to conduct a follow-up study of youth who were residents of Camp Highfields. Your proposal is of interest to the Department and could have considerable impact on the after-care program for youth. In order to provide the Department with additional details of your study and to assure that findings and recommendations from your study are communicated to the Department, you should contact Ms. Jane Holmes (373-6987) of the Family and Youth Services Program Division.

Enclosed is a Memorandum of Agreement which you must sign and return to this office as soon as possible. The Ingham County Department has been advised that your study will be approved pending the receipt of this Memorandum.

This agreement defines your responsibilities to the Department. Specifically, confidentiality (item 2), and all research reports must be reviewed by the Department prior to dissemination (item 3).

We shall anticipate return of the Memorandum of Agreement in the near future.

Sincerely,

373-7741

Leland E. Hall, Deputy Director
Research and Program Analysis

cc/Marilyn Beery
Jane Holmes
Charles Foster (Ingham County)

LEH/eed

Enclosure

Appendix A4.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT
State of Michigan
Department of Social Services

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT executed as of the _____ day of _____ 19__, by and between the Department of Social Services of Michigan, having a mailing address of 300 South Capitol Avenue, Lansing, Michigan, 48926, (hereinafter "Department"), and Bruce H. Ente having a mailing address of Department of Psychology Olds Hall Michigan State University E. Lansing, Michigan 48823 (hereinafter "Principal Investigator") witnesseth:

WHEREAS, the Department has been designated as the state agency to administer provisions of Titles I, IV, X, XIV and XIX of the Social Security Act passed by the Congress of the United States of America, approved August 14, 1935, and any amendments thereto or supplemental thereof; and

WHEREAS, the Department is authorized and empowered to adopt any rules and regulations and enter into any agreement or agreements with local units of government as may be necessary to enable the State of Michigan, or such local units, or both, to participate in any such plan or plans as this Department may deem desirable for the welfare of the people of this state; and

WHEREAS, the Department in the administration of programs deems it reasonable and proper to utilize Research Consultants and university staff as principal investigators to carry out needed research; and

WHEREAS, the Department desires to jointly plan projects with such principal investigators subject to the supervision of the Department;

NOW THEREFORE, in consideration of the promises and mutual convenants hereinafter contained, the parties hereto agree as follows:

1. The Principal Investigator acknowledges that he is acting as a representative of the Department and is therefore required to conduct himself in a professional manner at all times in the course of his investigations.

2. The Principal Investigator acknowledges that he is required to maintain case record and interview data as privileged information and is hereby making a commitment to maintain its anonymity.

3. The Principal Investigator acknowledges that any and all research reports must be reviewed by the Department prior to dissemination and publication.

4. The Principal Investigator agrees to perform the research in accordance with his proposal, transmitted to the Department on April 17, 1973, and appended to and made part of this agreement.

Appendix A4 (cont'd.).

5. The Department reserves the right to use and authorize others to use findings resulting from this study limited only by restrictions as may be imposed by grantors for this research.

6. Termination of this agreement may be effected at any date if mutually agreed upon by both parties or upon ten (10) days written notification by one (1) of the contracting parties to the other contracting party. Violation of this agreement will be considered sufficient, but not exclusive, grounds for its termination.

It is mutually agreed by the parties hereto that no person on the ground of sex, age, race, color, or national origin shall be excluded from participating in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination in any of the activities or programs provided under this agreement.

By mutual agreement the Department liaison person will be Leland E. Hall an employee in the Research & Program Analysis Division of this Department.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Department and the Principal Investigator have caused this agreement to be executed by their respective representative duly authorized to do so.

Principal investigator agrees to provide further research details to the Family and Youth Services Program Division.

Leland Hall, Deputy Director
Research and Program Analysis
Department of Social Services

Bruce H. Ente
Principal Investigator

Date: June 14, 1973

Witnessed:

(1) Marilyn Beery
(2) Mary O Waltz

Date: June 10, 1973

Witnessed:

(1) [illegible]
(2) Robert J. Calinger Ph.D.

DSS- 1167 (5-72)

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY • EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY • OLDS HALL

June 10, 1973

Dr. Leland E. Hall, Deputy Director
Department of Social Services
Research and Program Analysis
300 South Capitol Avenue
Lansing, Michigan 48926

Dear Dr. Hall,

Enclosed please find the signed Memorandum of Agreement which provides for my access to Ingham County Department of Social Services records for ex-residents of Camp Highfields.

The question I raised with your office by phone concerned item #3, "that any and all research reports must be examined by the Department prior to dissemination and publication." In particular, I wished to clarify the meaning of "reviewed by" which I understand to mean "examined by". It is certainly my intention to make available to all concerned parties the results and conclusions of my follow-up study; I will welcome any comments or criticisms of the manuscript you may wish to make. Since the data will be included as part of my masters thesis at Michigan State University, however, the final editorial control will have to rest with me.

I fully expect we see eye-to-eye on this small point, but I felt it was wiser to verify that first. In any case I will be in touch with you when I return to Lansing late next week. Thank you for your prompt response to my request for access to your files and for the cooperation you have shown.

Sincerely,

Bruce H. Ente

Appendix A6.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY • OLDS HALL

January 28, 1974

Dr. Carl Candoli
Superindentent, Lansing School District
519 West Kalamazoo Street
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Dear Dr. Candoli,

I am a graduate student in Ecological Psychology at Michigan State University, the program in which Charles Tucker recently completed his doctoral dissertation. My thesis involves a follow-up study and program evaluation of Camp Highfields, a residential treatment center for juvenile delinquents located near Onondaga, Michigan. (I have enclosed a synopsis of the study proposal for your perusal). In connection with this work I have been in contact with Dr. Ed Remick and Mr. Ken Mead, since one of the major measures of adolescent social adjustment is behavior and performance in the public schools.

In keeping with the school system guidelines as explained by Mr. Mead, I attempted to contact the 99 youths chosen for this follow-up study in order to get their permission for review of their school records. Unfortunately at this point a serious stumbling block arose since a large percentage of the letters were returned to me by the Post Office as undeliverable, an additional number of youths were in the military, in prison, or otherwise inaccessible locations, and a considerable number of subjects failed to respond at all; in sum only 6% of the Highfields ex-residents of the past six years replied.

All youths released from Camp Highfields are 17 years of age or under so that returning to school represents one of the two ways in which a youth may re-establish himself as a positively functioning citizen, the other means being gainful employment. I am particularly anxious to include data from school records so as to counterbalance the essentially negative adjustment measured by police and probate court records I have examined already. Mr. Mead urged me to contact you regarding an exception to the usual requirement of individual concurrence to the use of school records. Of course my access to school-related data would be protected by the same guarantees of confidentiality as was my examination of police and juvenile court records i.e. no one but myself will see the information regarding any single individual, and all public presentation will be in the form of aggregate statistics such that no person or persons in the study sample could possibly be identified.

The school program at Camp Highfields represents a major part of their rehabilitation efforts. Thus their staff is especially interested in follow-up data relating to post-release academic and behavioral adjustment in the public schools. School system records concerning GPA, achievement test scores, and disciplinary suspensions would probably be most relevant

in this regard. Mr. George Bradley, Director of Camp Highfields, has indicated to me his willingness to write you directly in support of this request.

I will telephone your office within several days that we may make an appointment to discuss this problem at greater length if necessary, at which time I could explain further the structure and purpose of this study. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Bruce H. Ente

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY • OLDS HALL

February 9, 1973

Mr. Edward Remick
Director of Research and Planning
519 W. Kalamazoo Ave.
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Dear Mr. Remick:

As a major part of my work toward the M.A. degree in psychology at Michigan State University, I am designing and carrying out a follow-up study and program evaluation for Camp Highfields, the residential treatment center for adolescent boys located near Onondaga. For the past three months I have been spending several days per week at Camp Highfields, familiarizing myself with both staff and programs as well as compiling a concise social history for each Lansing youngster who has been a camp resident since 1967. I have enclosed a summation of the research plan for your inspection; in essence the project involves comparing the social adjustment of camp residents prior to and following their tenure at Highfields. It is assumed that the treatment facilities provided by the camp are the crucial mediating variable.

Since the school environment is one of the major socializing influences in a child's life, successful participation in the institution provides powerful rewards while unsuccessful involvement often induces considerable alienation. The role of school problems as a causative factor in juvenile delinquency is well known to you. Furthermore, one of the main goals of Camp Highfields is to provide remedial education so that upon graduation from the facility, most boys will be able to re-enter public school at their age-grade level. In sum the inclusion of school data such as academic performance, suspensions and expulsions, receipt of diploma will greatly increase the validity and value of this study. Of course my access to Board of Education files would be subject to the same assurance of confidentiality as my use of court records is.

I will telephone you within several days in order to make an appointment at which time I could explain the structure and purpose of this study more fully as well as answer any questions you may have.

Sincerely,

Bruce H. Ente

Bruce H. Ente
Michigan State University
graduate student

Appendix A8.

HIGHFIELDS

A YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CAMP

CAMP HIGHFIELDS, INC. ONONDAGA, MICHIGAN PHONE 517 – 628-2287

CRAIG S. SPARKS, CAMP DIRECTOR

February 5, 1973

Thomas M. O'Toole
Chief, Lansing Police Department
124 West Michigan Avenue
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Dear Chief O'Toole,

As a major part of my work toward the M.A. degree in psychology at Michigan State University, I am designing and carrying out a follow-up study and program evaluation for Camp Highfields, the residential treatment center for adolescent boys located near Onondaga. For the past three months I have been spending several days per week at Camp Highfields, familiarizing myself with both staff and programs as well as compiling a concise social history for each Lansing youngster who has been a camp resident since 1967. I have enclosed a summation of the research plan for your inspection; in essence the project involves comparing the social adjustment of camp residents prior to and following their tenure at Highfields. It is assumed that the treatment facilities provided by the camp are the crucial mediating variable.

Since many instances of unlawful behavior by juveniles are handled within the Lansing Police Department (e.g. as Reprimand and Release) and are never petitioned to Court, a complete picture of any boy's delinquent activity will be revealed only in both police department and probate and juvenile court records. Lieutenant Ryan has indicated to me that the juvenile division will cooperate fully in this project upon your approval. Of course my access to police department records would be subject to the same assurance of confidentiality as my use of court records is.

I will telehpone you within several days in order to make an appointment at which time I could explain the structure and purpose

Appendix A8 (cont'd.).

of this study more fully as well as answer any questions you may have.

Sincerely,

Bruce H. Ente
Michigan State University
Graduate Student

Appendix B

Scoring Key for the Pre-Admission Offender Profile

Appendix B. Scoring Key for the Pre-admission Offender Profile

1. Individual descriptors

   Age at admission to program (NEWAGE): Record age in months

   Race of resident (ETHNIC): Record 2 if white, 1 if non-white

2. Lifestyle descriptors

   Paid employment experience (JOBS): Record 2 if held paying job, 1 if never held paying job

   Involvement in delinquent peer group (PEERS): Record 2 if not involved in group delinquency, 1 if involved with delinquent peer group

   Use of drugs (DRUGS): Record 5 if no drug use, 4 if smokes cigarettes, 3 if drinks alcohol, 2 if smokes marijuana or sniffs glue, 1 if uses LSD, cocaine, barbiturates, amphetamines, heroin

   Verbalized goals for future (GOALS): Record 2 if expressed any goals, 1 if no expressed goals

3. Family descriptors

   Extent of nuclear family intactness (FAMILY): Record 7 if living with both natural parents, 6 if living with two adoptive parents, 5 if living with relatives who welcomed youth's presence, 4 if living with one parent and one stepparent, 3 if living with one widowed parent, 2 if living with one divorced or separated parent, 1 if lived in institutional settings

   Mother employed outside the home (MOMHOM): Record 2 if mother not employed outside home, 1 if employed

   Family socioeconomic status (SES): Record rating of father's occupation from Bogue's SEA Index

   Paternal disciplinary style (PADISC): Record 9.7 if reasonable limits and freedoms, 3.0 if harsh, rigid and punitive, 2.2 if no limits or controls, 1.8 if inconsistent, vacillating between punishment and disinterest

   Maternal disciplinary style (MADISC): Same categories and scores as above

Appendix B (cont'd.).

4. Neighborhood demographic descriptors

   Record all data as it appears in U. S. Bureau of the Census 1970 Block Statistics

5. School descriptors

   Grade point average for two years preceding admission (BGPA): Record average of all course grades entered on permanent school record.

6. Police record descriptors

   Record total of scores for each offense committed within each of three categories -- victimless crimes, crimes against property, crimes against persons. See Appendix E2 for seriousness index of each offense

   Total number of recorded police contacts (NUMCRB): Record number of entries appearing in police department juvenile files

Appendix C

Array of Father's Occupations with Socio-economic Achievement Scores

Appendix C. Array of Father's Occupations with Socio-economic Achievement Scores

Number	Occupation	SEA Index
1	Nursery worker	15
4	Janitor	18
2	Construction laborer	19
14	Factory laborer	20
1	Railroad worker	21
1	Cook	21
2	Painter	22
1	Tire builder	22
1	Carpenter	23
1	Watchman	23
1	Window washer	23
7	Truck driver	23
1	Fork-lift operator	23
1	Carpet installer	23
1	Junk dealer	23
3	Metal press operator	23
1	Bartender	24
1	Tile layer	25
2	Mechanic	25
2	Brick mason	25
1	Welder	25
1	Tinsmith	27
1	Heating/AC Installer	27

Appendix C (cont'd.).

Number	Occupation	SEA Index
1	Line repairman	29
1	Salesman	29
1	Engineering draftsman	29
1	Electrician	29
1	Post office worker	30
1	Electrical repairman	30
1	Die maker	31
1	Store manager	32
5	Plant foreman	34
1	Customer service representative	34
1	Brick contractor	38
3	Unemployed	#
2	Imprisoned	#
6	Deceased	#
13	No data	#

#: Mother's occupation was the source of SEA Index score. If neither parent was employed, index was set at 0. In 15 cases, SEA Index was zero.

Total N = 94

Mean index score = 20.37

Standard deviation = 9.59

Appendix D

Rating Form for Parental Discipline Styles

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY · OLDS HALL

January 14, 1974

To: Experts in Family Dynamics

From: Bruce Ente, Graduate student in psychology

Re: Rating of Parental Discipline

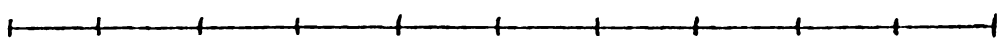
As part of my thesis concerning rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents, casework reports were rated by judges as to the type of family discipline prevalent during each youth's early adolescence. I am now interested in obtaining a consensus of expert opinion concerning the question of relative effectiveness of these several styles of parental discipline for raising healthy, well-adjusted children. Listed below are four fairly distinct types of child-rearing practices a parent could employ. Please indicate their relative value, in your opinion, for producing healthy adolescents by placing four subscripted "X's" at the appropriate points on the continuum below.

Style 1: Parent does not discipline child, sets no limits, exerts no control. (X_1)

Style 2: Parent sets reasonable limits and freedoms for child, fairly enforced. (X_2)

Style 3: Parent is rigid, abusive, inflexible, punitive toward child. (X_3)

Style 4: Parent is inconsistent, arbitrarily alternating between #1 and #3. (X_4)

Most effective, functional  Least effective, functional

Appendix E

Rating Form and Classification of Juvenile and Adult Offenses with Seriousness Scores

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY · OLDS HALL

June 11, 1973

TO: Juvenile Justice System Professionals

FROM: Bruce H. Ente, Michigan State University graduate student

RE: Classification of juvenile offenses

Dear Sir:

I am calling upon you in your capacity as an expert in one facet of the juvenile justice system to request your help in designing an accurate and contemporary classification of juvenile offenses according to their seriousness. Listed below are most of the offenses which bring a juvenile into contact with police or court authorities, divided into categories of "victimless offenses", "crimes against property", and "crimes against persons".

Within each category I would like you to indicate your assessment of the relative seriousness of each offense by placing the appropriate number in the blank to the left (1 = least serious, 2 = somewhat more serious, etc.). Please indicate ties by assigning the same rank to two or more offenses.

At your earliest convenience would you please take the few minutes necessary to fill out this form and return it in the envelope provided? I appreciate your cooperation.

Bruce H. Ente

Bruce H. Ente

VICTIMLESS CRIMES

____ Glue sniffing
____ Carrying concealed weapon
____ Run away
____ Public intoxication
____ School truancy
____ Possession of alcohol
____ Incorrigible
____ Drunk and disorderly
____ Curfew violation
____ Disorderly conduct
____ Possession of marijuana
____ Unlawful use of firearm

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY

____ Malicious destruction
____ Joyriding
____ Illegal entry
____ Arson
____ Larceny from building
____ Forgery
____ Possession of stolen property
____ Breaking and entering
____ Larceny of bicycle
____ Auto theft (UDAA)
____ Shoplifting
____ Larceny from residence
____ Trespassing
____ Uttering and publishing
____ Larceny from vehicle
____ Attempted breaking and

CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS

____ Assault
____ Larceny from person
____ Lewd behavior
____ Unarmed robbery
____ Sale of drugs
____ Assault and battery
____ Carnal knowledge of a minor
____ Armed robbery

Appendix E2. Categories of Juvenile and Adult Offenses with Seriousness Scores

Victimless Crimes

Offense	Seriousness Index
Curfew violation	2.50
School truancy	3.00
Runaway	3.75
Possession of alcohol	4.25
Incorrigible	5.25
Disorderly conduct	5.75
Public intoxication	6.25
Possession of marijuana	6.25
Drunk & disorderly	8.50
Carrying a concealed weapon	10.38
Glue sniffing	10.75
Unlawful use of a firearm	11.38

Crimes Against Property

Offense	Seriousness Index
Trespassing	2.50
Larceny of bike	3.75
Joyriding	5.00
Shoplifting	5.50
Possession of stolen property	5.75
Forgery	5.88
Malicious destruction of property	7.25
Attempted breaking and entering	7.25

Appendix E2 (cont'd.).

Crimes Against Property

Offense	Seriousness Index
Uttering and publishing	7.50
Illegal entry	8.00
Larceny from vehicle	8.63
Larceny from building	12.25
Larceny from residence	12.75
Breaking and entering	13.50
Auto theft (UDAA)	14.00
Arson	14.25

Crimes Against Persons

Offense	Seriousness Index
Lewd behavior	1.00
Larceny from person	2.50
Unarmed robbery	3.75
Sale of drugs	4.50
Unlawful carnal knowledge of minor	4.75
Assault	5.75
Assault and battery	6.50
Armed robbery	7.25

Appendix F

Camp Highfields Resources Questionnaire

Appendix F. Camp Highfields Resources Questionnaire

Please indicate the date on which each of these events occurred.

I. Physical Plant

Opening of main building _____ with _____ boys

Expansion to _____ boys on _____
Expansion to _____ boys on _____
Expansion to _____ boys on _____

Construction of cabin 1 _____
cabin 2 _____
cabin 3 _____
cabin 4 _____

Construction of shop building _____

Acquisition of farm _____

II. Staff

Caseworker(s) hired _____

Increased to ____ as of _____
Increased to ____ as of _____

Psychologist hired _____

Supervisors hired _____

Recreation therapist hired _____

Educational director hired _____

Teachers hired _____

M. S. U. volunteer program initiated _____

ROTC volunteer program initiated _____

III. Education Program

Classes begun _____

Library started _____

Job orientation classes _____

Shop instruction _____

Appendix F (cont'd.).

IV. Recreation program

Basketball court erected _____

Field mowed for baseball/football in camp _____

Use of VFW gymnasium _____

Lake put in _____

Fishing equipment acquired/lake stocked _____

Nature trail opened _____

Hunting permitted _____

V. Out-of-camp programs

Weekend home visits _____

Movies/shopping in city _____

Sports events in Lansing _____

Co-op work program _____

Farm work program _____

Friends allowed visits in camp _____

VI. Types of reward and punishment

Assignment to cabins: From _____ to _____

Paddling: From _____ to _____

Extra details: From _____ to _____

Denial of privileges: From _____ to _____

Farm-work: From _____ to _____

Running laps: From _____ to _____

Appendix G

Growth of Camp Highfields Staff and Resident Population

Appendix G. Growth of Camp Highfields Staff and Resident Population

Year	Month	Resident population	Staff size	Staff turnover rate	Staff resident ratio
1967	January	3	Missing	Data	
	February	7			
	March	7			
	April	8			
	May	11			
	June	11			
	July	14			
	August	15			
	September	20			
	October	21			
	November	22			
	December	25			
1968	January	23	Missing	Data	
	February	23			
	March	21			
	April	24			
	May	25			
	June	24			
	July	22			
	August	23			
	September	23			
	October	24			

Appendix G (cont'd.).

Year	Month	Resident population	Staff size	Staff turnover rate	Staff resident rate
1968	November	24	8	.50	.33
	December	24	10	.20	.42
1969	January	24	10	.00	.42
	February	24	10	.00	.42
	March	24	10	.00	.42
	April	32	10	.20	.31
	May	30	10	.10	.33
	June	32	9	.11	.28
	July	32	9	.00	.28
	August	32	10	.10	.31
	September	32	10	.10	.31
	October	32	12	.08	.38
	November	32	13	.08	.41
	December	32	15	.13	.47
1970	January	31	15	.00	.48
	February	32	15	.00	.47
	March	32	15	.00	.47
	April	32	15	.00	.47
	May	32	15	.00	.47
	June	32	15	.00	.47
	July	32	15	.00	.47

Appendix G (cont'd.).

Year	Month	Resident population	Staff size	Staff turnover rate	Staff resident rate
1970	August	38	15	.13	.39
	September	47	16	.06	.34
	October	47	17	.06	.36
	November	48	17	.00	.36
	December	48	16	.00	.33
1971	January	48	16	.00	.33
	February	48	16	.00	.33
	March	48	17	.12	.36
	April	48	18	.00	.38
	May	46	19	.00	.41
	June	47	19	.00	.40
	July	45	10	.15	.44
	August	42	21	.00	.50
	September	46	21	.19	.46
	October	48	21	.00	.44
	November	48	20	.05	.42
	December	43	20	.10	.47
1972	January	46	22	.09	.48
	February	48	22	.00	.46
	March	45	22	.00	.49

Appendix G (cont'd.).

Year	Month	Resident population	Staff size	Staff turnover rate	Staff resident ratio
1972	April	47	22	.00	.47
	May	48	22	.00	.46
	June	46	22	.00	.48
	July	45	24	.04	.53
	August	41	22	.09	.54
	September	43	23	.18	.53
	October	42	24	.08	.57
	November	45	23	.09	.51
	December	43	27	.11	.63

Appendix H

Scoring Key for the Post-release Follow-up Profile

Appendix H. Scoring Key for The Post-release Follow-up Profile

1. School performance

   Grade point average after release (AGPA): Record average of all course grades entered on permanent school record

2. Police record

   Record total of scores for each offense committed within each of three categories -- victimless crimes, crimes against property, crimes against persons -- for each year. See Appendix E2 for seriousness index of each offense

   Total number of recorded police contacts (NUMCRA): Record number of entries appearing in police department juvenile and adult files

3. Probate court involvement

   Subsequent assignment by court to correctional facility (PLCMNT): Record 2 if not placed in correctional facility, 1 if assigned to treatment or incarceration center

Appendix J

Letters to Camp Highfields ex-Residents with Return Postcard

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY · OLDS HALL

Dear and Parents,

This study of Camp Highfields is designed to improve the ability of the camp to serve the boys who are living there now and who will be there in the future. In order to do that I will be interviewing all Lansing residents who spent any amount of time at the camp in the last six years since your own unique experience both good and bad since leaving Highfields is an important contribution to helping the camp. Let me emphasize that all your responses will be completely confidential. Reports to Camp Highfields will consist of information on the total group of ex-residents and there will be no way that any particular individual could be identified.

As you know a large part of the Highfields program involved school classes, so we are specifically interested in comparing public school records before and after a boy was at the camp. I would like your permission to review your school grades, again with the guarantee that I will be the only person who sees them.

Camp Highfields would like to receive information about your experiences as well as your opinions in order to improve their program. Please sign and return the enclosed card as soon as posible so I can contact _____ to arrange a meeting time. If you have any questions please call me at 353-5015. I will look forward to talking with you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Bruce Ente

Appendix K2.

HIGHFIELDS

A YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CAMP

CAMP HIGHFIELDS, INC. ONONDAGA, MICHIGAN PHONE 517 – 628-2287

CRAIG S. SPARKS, CAMP DIRECTOR

To Parents and Former Residents of Camp Highfields:

Gentlemen,

During the brief six years Camp Highfields has been in operation, many facilities were added and many programs and services were applied. We are now trying to determine what works best in helping boys become responsible young men. We would appreciate your help. In the next few weeks Mr. Bruce Ente from Michigan State University will be calling your son for help in collecting some information. We want to assure you that any information from or about your son will be kept confidential.

Sincerely,

Craig S. Sparks

Craig S. Sparks, DIRECTOR

Appendix J3.

_____ I am willing to be interviewed as part of the study of Camp Highfields. I also give my permission for examination of my school record at the Lansing Board of Education.

_____
signature

_____
date

PLEASE PRINT:
Name _____

Address _____

_____

Phone number _____

Appendix K

Letters to Parents and Minor Camp Highfields ex-Residents with Return Postcard

Appendix K3.

_____ I am willing to be interviewed as part of the study of Camp Highfields. I also give my permission for review of my school record at the Lansing Board of Education.

_____
Signature

_____
Date

PLEASE PRINT: Name _____
Address _____
_____
Telephone number _____

_____ I am willing to have my son interviewed as part of the study of Camp Highfields. I also give my permission for review of his school record at the Lansing Board of Education.

_____ _____
Parent's signature Date

Appendix L

Letters to Parents of Non-respondent ex-Residents with Return Postcard

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN 48823

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY • OLDS HALL

Dear Parents,

This study of Camp Highfields is designed to improve the ability of the camp to serve the boys who are living there now and who will be there in the future. In order to do that I planned to interview all Lansing residents who spent any amount of time at Camp Highfields in the last six years, but I have been unable to get in touch with your son directly. If you know his present address or telephone number, I would appreciate your indicating them on the enclosed return postcard so that I can send him a letter explaining the purpose of the study at greater length.

As you may know, a large part of the Highfields program involved efforts to improve school skills. Therefore even if your son can not be interviewed in person I would like to compare his school record before and after he lived at the camp. I would appreciate your permission to review his school grades, with the assurance that all information will be kept completely confidential.

Please sign and return the enclosed stamped card as soon as possible. Your cooperation will help make Camp Highfields a better place for young men to grow up. If you have any questions, please call me at 353-5015. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Bruce Ente

Appendix L2.

HIGHFIELDS

A YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CAMP

CAMP HIGHFIELDS, INC. ONONDAGA, MICHIGAN PHONE 517 – 628-2287

CRAIG S. SPARKS, CAMP DIRECTOR

To Parents of Former Residents of Camp Highfields:

During the brief six years that Camp Highfields has been in operation, many facilities were added and many programs and services were applied. We are now carrying out a follow-up study in order to determine what worked best in helping boys become responsible young men. Mr. Bruce Ente from Michigan State University is conducting this study. We would request your cooperation and can assure you that any information regarding your son will be kept confidential.

Sincerely,

Craig S. Sparks

Craig S. Sparks, DIRECTOR

Appendix L3.

_____ I am willing to have my son's school record examined as part of the study of Camp Highfields.

_____
Signature

_____
Date

PLEASE PRINT:

Son's name _____

His address _____

_____

Telephone number _____

Appendix M

Telephone Interview Follow-up Protocol

Appendix M. Telephone Interview Follow-up Protocol

A. Introduction of study director; explanation of the purpose of the research project.

B. Questions pertaining to participants' readjustment to community life:

1. Have you been employed since leaving Camp Highfields? What type(s) of job(s) did you hold (skilled vs. unskilled, full vs. part-time, autonomous vs. closely supervised)? How long did you remain at (each) job? Under what circumstances did you leave your position? What were your reasons for leaving?

2. Have you served in any branch of the armed forces since leaving Camp Highfields? If so, under what circumstances did you join the service (voluntary, drafted)?

3. Where and with whom did you go to live directly after leaving Camp Highfields? Had you lived in the same neighborhood prior to your stay at Highfields?

4. Do you presently have a group of friends you spend time with on a regular basis? What did you usually do to relax or to have fun before going to Camp Highfields? Presently? What happened to the friends you used to spend most of your time with while you were at Highfields? Did things change much in your circle of friends during your absence?

5. Did you enter (or re-enter) public high school after leaving Camp Highfields? Are you currently attending or have you graduated from high school? What is (was) your grade point average?

C. Questions pertaining to participants' recollections of their Highfields' experiences:

1. When you think of Camp Highfields, what stands out in your mind most vividly?

2. What do you consider to be the one "best" thing about the Highfields program? Which part of the experience there was most meaningful or helpful to you?

3. What do you feel was the least helpful or least worthwhile part of your experience at Camp Highfields?

Appendix M (cont'd.).

4. Did you have any special relationships with Highfields' staff members? Were you involved in a formal counselling relationship at any time during your stay there? Do you feel that the counselling was worthwhile for any reason? Did your talking with a counselor help you to deal with problems differently or more easily than before?

5. Were the classes you took at Highfields relevant? How do your present (or most recent) high school grades compare to those you received before going to Camp Highfields? Do you enjoy school work or school activities more or less than you did before going to Highfields?

6. What was the purpose of the job orientation program at Highfields? Do you feel that you got anything out of the program? How useful or relevant does it now seem to you to be -- in terms of looking for or holding down a real job?

7. What advice would you offer a boy presently at Highfields? What advice would you offer Highfields' staff? Do you feel that Camp Highfields is doing the best job it can to serve boys like yourself? What in your opinion would make it a better or more helpful place to be?

Appendix N

Empirical V-analysis Key Cluster Structure

Appendix N. Empirical V-analysis Key Cluster Structure

VARIABLES	FACTOR LOADING
CLUSTER 1: Treatment Resources	
1. More extensive education program (D)	.9966
2. Larger resident population (D)	.9929
3. More extra-curricular activities (D)	.9768
4. More developed physical plant (D)	.9756
5. More extensive recreation program (D)	.9634
6. Larger camp staff	.9528
CLUSTER 2: Pre-treatment Delinquency	
1. More police contacts pre-Highfields (D)	1.0336
2. More serious property offenses pre-Highfields (D)	.8293
3. More serious victimless offenses pre-Highfields	.4036
4. Mother more likely employed outside home	.3584
CLUSTER 3: Post-treatment Delinquency	
1. More police contacts post-Highfields (D)	1.0473
2. Greater seriousness of crimes against persons during first year post-Highfields (D)	.7941
CLUSTER 4: Parental Discipline	
1. More effective maternal discipline (D)	.9984
2. More effective paternal discipline (D)	.9349
3. Higher school grade point average post-Highfields	.3846

Appendix N (cont'd.).

VARIABLES	FACTOR LOADING
CLUSTER 5: Neighborhood Demography	
1. More high density dwelling on block (D)	.9224
2. Higher percentage of block residents under 18 (D)	.7013
CLUSTER 6: Resident Socio-economic Status	
1. Lower staff-resident ratio (D)	.8666
2. Higher home value (D)	.8124
3. Larger time to first police contact post-Highfields (D)	.6888
4. Greater seriousness of crimes against persons during first year post-Highfields (D)	.6779
5. More likely to be white	.5629
6. More likely to have been employed pre-Highfields	.5268
CLUSTER 7: Low-Risk Offenders	
1. More likely to have graduated from Highfields (D)	.7865
2. Longer tenure at Highfields (D)	.7128
3. Less likely placed in correctional institution post-Highfields	.5433
4. Less involvement in delinquent peer group pre-Highfields	.4702
5. Less serious drug use pre-Highfields	.2730

Note: (D) denotes variables which are cluster definers

Appendix N (cont'd.).

Variables excluded because of communalities below .2000

1. Socio-economic status of family
2. Intactness of family structure
3. Percent of female heads of household on block
4. Percent of black residents on block
5. Seriousness of crimes against persons pre-Highfields
6. School grade point average pre-Highfields
7. Age at admission to Highfields
8. Staff turnover rate
9. Seriousness of victimless crimes during first year post-Highfields
10. Seriousness of victimless crimes during second year post-Highfields
11. Seriousness of crimes against property during second year post-Highfields
12. Seriousness of crimes against persons during second year post-Highfields

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahamson, David. The Psychology of Crime. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

Adams, S. A cost approach to the assessment of gang rehabilitation techniques. The Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 4(1), 1967, 166-182.

Andry, Robert G. Delinquency and Parental Pathology. London: Methuen, 1960.

Bartlett, M. K. and J. M. Newberger. Educational Life Enrichment Program. Kids receiving academic motivation and socialization (KRAMS). Fourth District County Court, Sioux Falls, S. D. Independent School District #1, July, 1973.

Becker, Howard S. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: Free Press, 1963.

Berleman, W. C., J. R. Seaburg and T. W. Steinburn. The delinquency prevention experiment of the Seattle Atlantic Street Center: A final evaluation. The Social Service Review, 46(3), 1972, 323-346.

Berman, Sidney. Antisocial character disorder in Ruth S. Cavan (ed.) Readings in Juvenile Delinquency. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1964.

Bogue, D. J. Principles of Demography. New York: John Wiley, 1969.

Braxton, D. Family casework and juvenile first offenders. Social Casework, February, 1966, 87-92.

Browning, Charles J. Differential impact of family disorganization on male adolescents. Social Problems, 8, 1960, 37-44.

Burgess, Ernest W. The economic factor in juvenile delinquency. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 43, 1952, 29-42.

Campbell, Donald T. and Julian C. Stanley. Experimental and Quasi-experimental Designs for Research. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963.

Cicourel, Aaron. The Social Organization of Justice. New York: John Wiley, 1968.

Clark, John P. and Eugene P. Wenninger. Socio-economic class and areas as correlates of illegal behavior among juveniles. American Sociological Review, 26, December, 1962, 826-834.

Cloward, Richard A. and Lloyd E. Ohlin. Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs. New York: The Free Press, 1960.

Cohen, Albert K. Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang. New York: The Free Press, 1955.

Cohen, Albert K. Deviance and Control. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Cole, C. W., E. R. Oetting, and R. W. Miskimins. Self-concept therapy for adolescent females. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 74(6), 1969, 642-645.

Coleman, J. S. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D. C.: Department of HEW, 1966.

Davis, James A. A partial coefficient for Goodman and Kruskal's gamma. Journal of American Statistical Association, 62, March, 1967, 189-193.

Dentler, Robert and Lawrence J. Monroe. Early adolescent theft. American Sociological Review, 26, October, 1961, 733-743.

Dinitz, Simon, Russell Dynes and Alfred C. Clarke. Deviance. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Draper, N. R. and H. Smith. Applied Regression Analysis. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

Durkheim, Emile. Suicide: A Study in Sociology. John Spaulding and George Simpson (trans.) New York: The Free Press, 1961.

Duxbury, E. Evaluation of youth service bureaus. State of California: Department of Youth Authority, 1973.

Eaton, Joseph W. and Kenneth Polk. A Study of Probation Department Referrals. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961.

Elliott, D. S. and R. LeBouef. Final report: Lincoln Youth Services System evaluation. Lincoln, Nebraska. Boulder, Colorado: Behavioral Research and Evaluation Corporation, September, 1973.

Empey, LaMar T. Delinquency theory and recent research. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 3, 1966, 28-41.

Empey, LaMar T. and Maynard L. Erickson. Hidden delinquency and social status. Social Forces, 44, June, 1966, 546-554.

Empey, LaMar T. and Maynard L. Erickson. The Provo Experiment. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972.

Empey, LaMar T. and Steven G. Lubeck. Delinquency prevention strategies. Washington, D. C.: Department of HEW, 1970.

Empey, LaMar T. and Steven G. Lubeck. The Silverlake Experiment. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971.

Empey, LaMar T. and Jerome Rabow. The Provo experiment in delinquency prevention. American Sociological Review, 26(5), October, 1961, 679-696.

Erickson, Maynard and LaMar T. Empey. Court records, undetected delinquency and decision making. Journal of Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 54, 1963, 456-469.

Fairweather, G. W. Methods for Experimental Social Innovation. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967.

Fleisher, B. The Economics of Delinquency. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966.

Forward, J. R., M. Kirby, M. Mendoza and K. Wilson. Research and evaluation of Partners, Inc.: A volunteer intervention program for court-referred youth in Denver, Colorado. Report prepared for Partners, Inc., Denver, Colorado, 1973.

Freeman, Beatrice and George Savastano. The affluent youthful offender. Crime and Delinquency, 1970, 264-272.

Fuller, Richard C. and Richard R. Myers. The natural history of a social problem. American Sociological Review, 6, June, 1941, 320-329.

Geiss, G. Juvenile gangs in President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965.

Glaser, Daniel. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964.

Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. Family Environment and Delinquency. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. Delinquents and Non-delinquents in Perspective. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Gold, Martin. Status Forces in Delinquent Boys. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1963.

Goldfarb, W. The effects of early institutional care on adolescent personality. Journal of Experimental Education, 12, 1953, 106-129.

Hackler, J. C. and E. Linden. The response of adults to delinquency prevention programs: The race factor. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 7(1), 1970, 31-45.

Hooton, Ernest. Crime and the Man. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939.

Institute for Juvenile Research. Juvenile delinquency in Illinois: Highlight of the 1972 adolescent survey. Chicago: Illinois Department of Mental Health.

Jenkins, Richard L. Motivation and frustration in delinquency. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 17, 1964, 528-537.

Klein, M. W. Gang cohesiveness, delinquency, and a street work program. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 6(2), 1969, 135-166.

Kvaraceus, William and Walter B. Miller. Delinquent Behavior. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1959.

Macoby, Eleanor, J. P. Johnson and R. M. Church. Community integration and the social concept of delinquency. Journal of Social Issues, 14, 1958, 38-51

Martin, John M. Toward a political definition of juvenile delinquency. Washington, D. C.: Department of HEW -- Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, 1970.

Matza, David. Delinquency and Drift. New York: John Wiley, 1964.

McCord, William M., Joan McCord and Irving Zola. Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Somerville - Cambridge Youth Study. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

McCorkle, Lloyd, Albert Elias and F. Lovell Bixby. The Highfields Story. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958.

McEachern, A. W., E. M. Taylor, J. R. Newman and A. E. Ashford. The juvenile probation system simulation for research and decision-making. American Behavioral Scientist, 11(3), 1968, 1-45.

Mead, George H. The psychology of punitive justice. American Journal of Sociology, 23, March, 1918, 577-602.

Merton, Robert. Social structure and anomie. American Sociological Review, 3, October, 1938, 672-682.

Meyer, J. H., E. F. Borgatta and W. C. Jones. Girls at Vocational High: An Experiment in Social Work Intervention. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965.

Miller, Walter B. Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency. Journal of Social Issues, 14(3), 1958, 5-19.

Miller, Walter B. The impact of a "total community" delinquency control project. Social Problems, 10(2), Fall 1962, 168-191.

Monahan, Thomas P. Family status and the delinquent child. Social Forces, 35, 1957, 250-258.

National Center for Social Statistics. Juvenile court statistics - 1971. Washington, D. C.: Department of HEW, 1972.

Nunnally, Jum C. Psychometric Theory. New York: McGraw Hill, 1967.

Nye, F. I. Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior. New York: John Wiley, 1968.

Nye, F. I., James F. Short, Jr. and V. J. Olsen. Socio-economic status and delinquent behavior. American Journal of Sociology, 63, January, 1958, 318-329.

Ostrom, T. M., C. M. Steele, L. T. Rosenblood and H. L. Mirels. Modification of delinquent behavior. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 1(2), April, 1971, 118-136.

Peterson, Donald R. and Wesley C. Becker. Family interaction and delinquency in Herbert C. Quat (ed.) Juvenile Delinquency. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostraand Company, 1965.

Pierce, B. K. A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquency. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868.

Piliavin, Irving and Scott Briar. Police encounters with juveniles. American Journal of Sociology, 69, September, 1964, 206-214.

Pines, M. W. and D. Ridgely. Baltimore Youth Advocate Project: Final report. Baltimore, Md.: Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources, March, 1974.

Powers, Edwin and Helen Witmer. An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency: The Cambridge - Somerville Youth Study. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: Science and Technology. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967a.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The challenge of crime in a free society. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967b.

Price, Ray R. Victimless crimes. Social Work, 19(4), July, 1974, 406-411.

Reckless, Walter C. A new theory of delinquency and crime in Rose Giallombardo (ed.) Juvenile Delinquency: A Book of Readings. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

Reiss, A. J. and A. L. Rhodes. The distribution of juvenile delinquency in social class structure. American Sociological Review, October, 1961, 720-732.

Reuthebuck, G. Evaluation of Kentucky's youth service bureaus. Kentucky Department of Child Welfare: Division of Administrative Services Research Section, October, 1971.

Robison, Sophia. Can Delinquency Be Measured? New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Rosenbaum, G., J. L. Grisell, T. Koschtial, R. Knox and K. J. Leenhouts. Community participation in probation: A tale of two cities. Proceedings of the 77th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 4, 1969, 863-864.

Scarpitti, Frank R., Ellen Murray, Simon Dinitz and Walter Reckless. The good boy in a high delinquency area in Marvin Wolfgang, Leonard Savitz, and Norman Johnston (eds.) The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency. New York: John Wiley, 1962.

Scarpitti, Frank R. and R. M. Stephenson. A study of probation effectiveness. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 59(3), 1968, 361-369.

Schur, Edwin M. Labelling Deviant Behavior. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

Shaw, Clifford R. and Henry D. McKay. Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas. Chicago: University Press, 1942.

Short, J. E. and F. L. Strodtbeck. Group Processes and Gang Delinquency. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Slocum, Walter and Carol L. Stone. Family culture patterns and delinquent-type behavior. Marriage and Family Living, 25, 1963, 202-208.

Smith, Alexander and Harriet Pollack. Crimes without victims. Saturday Review, 54, December, 1971.

Steine, Richard S. Delinquent Conduct and Broken Homes. New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1964.

Suchman, E. Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Social Action Programs. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

Sutherland, Edwin and Donald R. Cressey. Principles of Criminology. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1966.

Szymanski, L. and A. Fleming. Juvenile delinquent and an adult prisoner. A therapeutic encounter? Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 10(2), 1971, 308-320.

Tannenbaum, Frank. Crime and the Community. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Task Force Report. Strengthening program planning, budgeting, and management at Camp Ingham, Inc. Highfields. Paper presented at Camp Ingham, Inc. Board of Directors Meeting, Lansing, Michigan, January, 1973.

Thomas, E. S. Effects of experimental school counseling of delinquency-prone adolescents. Dissertation Abstracts, 28(7A), 1968, 2572.

Thrasher, Frederick. The Gang. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

Toby, J. Affluence and adolescent crime in Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Trojanowicz, Robert C. Juvenile Delinquency: Concepts and Control. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1973.

Tryon, T. C. Cluster Analysis. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1939.

Tryon, R. C. and D. E. Bailey. Cluster Analysis. New York: McGraw Hill, 1970.

Vaz, Edmund. Middle-class Juvenile Delinquency. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

Venezia, P. S. Unofficial probation: An evaluation of its effectiveness. Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 9(2), July, 1972, 149-170.

Wattenberg, William and J. J. Balistrieri. Gang membership and juvenile delinquency. American Sociological Review, 18, 1950, 631-635.

Weeks, Ashley. Offenders at Highfields. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1963.

Weeks, H. Ashley. The Highfields project in J. Teele (ed.) Juvenile Delinquency: A Reader. Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1970.

Whitney, Wilbur M., Jr. An evaluation of a community based delinquency prevention program on the basis of group and individual employment. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1974.

Wilkins, Leslie T. Evaluation of Penal Measures. New York: Random House, 1969.

Wirth, L. Urbanism as a way of life in R. L. Warren (ed.) Perspectives on the American Community. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.