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AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU DIVERSION CONCEPT: A STUDY OF LABELING THEORY AS RELATED TO JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM PENETRATION

By

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ABSTRACT

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU DIVERSION CONCEPT: A STUDY OF LABELING THEORY AS RELATED TO JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM PENETRATION

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Ronald L. Quincy

This study evaluated the effectiveness of the Youth Service Bureau diversion concept and its relationship to labeling theory and Juvenile Justice System penetration, or the degree of Juvenile Justice System involvement. Criminal justice researchers have determined that most young people who commit crimes against property and against persons have prior criminal case histories or have been previously involved with local criminal justice agencies.

Labeling theorists argue that interaction with criminals and juvenile justice system agencies frequently drives youths with minor violations into deeper involvement with the legal system. It is concluded that their self-concept is affected by societal reaction in that these youths become further alienated from conventional society.

This research project was a sub-part of a larger study sponsored by the State Office of Criminal Justice Programs and the U. S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The study explored essentially three research questions:

(1) Do youth service bureaus prevent and reduce youth crime and delinquency?

(2) Does exposure (diversion) to the Youth Service Bureau (YSB) prevent the development of the negative attitudes and negative self-concept discussed in labeling theory?

(3) Is there a relationship between self-concept, as it is viewed by labeling theorists, and the extent to which a youth penetrates into the Juvenile Justice System?

This study was structured according to an experimental treatment/control group pre-post test design. Ninety subjects, fifty-nine experimental and thirty-one control group individuals were involved over a period of six months. A final police/court contact review was conducted during the ninth month of the study. In evaluating the three research hypotheses, two measures were employed. Structured interviews of YSB clients were conducted using the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and Jesness Inventory, and data on self-reported delinquency were also obtained from each person in the study. The second measure was descriptive cross sectional information extracted from the files of the juvenile court and police department.

The first hypothesis was that diversion of youth to the YSB had the effect of reducing or retarding the degree of future deviant behavior. This hypothesis appears to have been validated, based on analysis of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and Jesness Inventory Scores. Youths not in the program displayed less personality integration (as measured by the self-criticism variable) and higher

variability tendencies at the termination of the study. Both of these variables are indicative of future deviant behavior.

The second hypothesis was that youth diverted to the YSB would experience lower levels of penetration into the Juvenile Justice System. The data includes the number of police arrests, the seriousness of offenses, and the number of court petitions. However, the experimental group (N=59) and the control group (N=31) were significantly different at the point of intake. The experimental group was involved in significantly more trouble for far more serious crimes at the point of intake.

These pre-existing differences were statistically controlled for conducting an analysis of co-variance on the post YSB data while using the pre-YSB data as the co-variant. This statistical operation controlled for the pre-test group differences, resulting in making the post scores of the experimental and control groups equivalent. While the experimental group self-reported fewer offenses during the time period when the control group received YSB services, no strong inference can be made that the YSB had a significant impact on the youth's subsequent delinquent behavior.

The third hypothesis was that youth diverted to the YSB would have a self-image which either improved or remained intact. Data from the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale demonstrates this hypothesis to be confirmed, since the self-criticism scores for the experimental group tended to remain constant during the duration of the program, while

several sub-groups of the control group experiened lower Self-Concept scores at termination.

There are several factors in this study which must be taken into consideration when interpreting data. These factors serve as limitations upon interpreting the statistical results. There is always the possibility that subjects are not giving honest answers, or that mistakes are made in marking score sheets. Since the subjects being tested are already part of the Juvenile Justice System, and have already been identified as that part of the population exhibiting deviant behaviorial tendencies, then this source of variance cannot be completely dismissed.

Another limitation involved sample size. In some of the subgroup comparisons, sample sizes as small as nine subjects were involved. Using a larger sample would perhaps give stronger statistical results. However, the most relevant limitation of this study were the pre-differences between the experimental and control groups. It would appear that the random assignment of YSB clients to experimental and control groups was seriously compromised.

This research was partially supported by Grant No. 77-N199-0095 from the Office of Criminal Justice Training and Education, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Projects undertaken with the support of such government funding are encouraged to freely express viewpoints. Such opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the policy of the U. S. Justice Department.

The work of this dissertation is dedicated to my beloved parents, Dorothy and James Quincy, who have provided emotional support throughout my educational experience. They, more than anyone else, are responsible for any success that I have attained.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Juvenile crime in America continues to pose a national problem. It is particularly relevant to this study that most young people who commit crimes against property and against persons have prior criminal case histories or have been previously involved with local criminal justice agencies. For example, a 1973 study of delinquency among a cohort of males born in 1945, who resided in Philadelphia from age ten to eighteen, concluded that youths with prior juvenile criminal records were more likely to commit more serious offenses and to penetrate further into the judicial system.[1]

Labeling theorists take the position that interaction with more hardened criminals, law enforcement agencies, and the courts frequently drives youths with minor violations into deeper involvement with the legal system. Youths' self-concepts are affected by societal reactions and they become further alienated from conventional society. This effect in turn often results in further involvement with the juvenile justice system.

This "interactionist" approach of the labeling theorists supports the current strong stance among some criminologists who advocate diverting certain youths from the courts.

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[1] Marvin E. Wolfgang and T. Sellin, The Measurement of Delinquency (New York: Wiley, 1964).

Advocates of labeling theory believe that various forms of nonintervention are necessary in order to provide differential treatment for youths (who have penetrated into the juvenile justice system at different levels). In interpreting juvenile recidivism, for example, some labeling theorists argue that if the goal of the juvenile justice system truly is to prevent repetition of less serious delinquent acts, the best policy in many cases may be simply to refrain from taking any formal action. Thus Edwin Schur recommends that, "...the basic injunction for public policy becomes: leave kids alone whenever possible."[2]

Taking guidance from this trend in contemporary sociology of deviance, the President's Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime proposed that juveniles avoid contact with court processes where possible. Consequently, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement (1967) recommended the establishment of Youth Service Bureaus (YSBs) as a means of informal, differential treatment for juvenile offenders. The rationale of the Task Force was to minimize the undesirable stigmatization which resulted from juvenile adjudication. The Task Force reasoned that a juvenile offender is likely to adjust from the conduct that brought him the label, but that one who acquires the status of a deviant in his youth faces possible life-long stigmatization.

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[2] Edwin M. Schur, Radical Non-Intervention - Rethinking the Delinquency Problem (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973).

It is argued that official youth action may help to perpetuate delinquency in a child, through a process in which the individual begins to think of himself as a delinquent and behaves accordingly. That process itself is further reinforced by the effect of labeling on the child's family, neighbors, teachers, and peers, whose reactions communicate to the child in subtle ways a kind of expectation of delinquent conduct. The Commission's position is supported by surveys conducted for the Department of Labor which revealed that an arrest record for a juvenile was an absolute bar to employment in almost fifty percent of all state and local agencies (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1973). The President's Task Force provided general guidelines for the type of services to be offered by Youth Service Bureaus:

> A primary function of the Youth Service Bureau would be individually tailored work (emphasis added) with trouble-making youths. The work might include group and individual counseling, placement in group foster homes, work and recreational programs, employment counseling, and special education.[3]

Central to the Youth Service Bureau is the concept of the mobilization of citizens, youth, and professionals, both at the neighborhood level and within the formal authority structure, in order to develop new ways to reduce the incidence of juvenile delinquency and youth crime. These interrelated functions of a Youth Service Bureau would necessarily

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[3] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

be determined to a great extent by the particular needs of the community it serves. This concept is taken up in considerable detail in Chapter II of this study.

Research Questions

This study explores three general research questions:

(1) Do Youth Service Bureaus prevent and reduce youth crime and delinquency?

(2) Does exposure (diversion) to the Youth Service Bureau prevent the development of the negative attitudes and negative self-concept discussed in labeling theory?

(3) Is there a relationship between self-concept, as it is viewed by labeling theorists, and the extent to which a youth penetrates into the juvenile justice system?

In addition, a series of specific research hypotheses relating to the evaluation of the effectiveness of the program of the Youth Service Bureau diversion concept will be discussed.

Significance of the Research

This research has several implications for the effective delivery of youth services. First, it tests the tenets of labeling and secondary deviance as they pertain to juvenile penetration into the juvenile justice system. This research study is believed to be one of the very few to test labeling

theory within the Youth Service Bureau context. Within the framework of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement, the Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime has strongly supported the Youth Service Bureau concept, and research which tests its effectiveness is highly desirable.

Second, this study is designed to permit further longitudinal follow-up of subjects. Replication of this study is possible by other researchers due to the well established relationships between police, court, and Youth Service Bureau staff and administrators. Finally, the research provides additional empirical evidence in support of interactionist theoretical interpretations of juvenile delinquency.

Study Site

This document reports on an empirical evaluation of the Berrien County Youth Service and Assistance Bureau in Benton Harbor, Michigan. This project was part of a larger statewide evaluation program sponsored by the state Office of Criminal Justice Programs (OCJP). The entire research project was funded by a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Grant (LEAA) for the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of the Youth Service Bureau (YSB) programs through the state. The Berrien County Youth Service and Assistance Bureau began operation in 1973. It was funded initially by matching dollars from the LEAA and OCJP. The project is now fully funded by Berrien County.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The central proposition of labeling theory holds that labeling, through interaction with legal processing systems, produces delinquent orientations. In its most basic form, it proposes the official labeling of deviancy as the major causal factor in persistent or career deviance. Particular emphasis is placed on the process whereby individuals are defined as deviant, rather than on the pathology of behavior. Correspondingly, labeling theory argues for a focus away from concern with original causes to concern with the dimensions of societal response to deviant behavior.

The sociology of deviance during the past two decades has looked at how agencies and institutions of social control are organized to determine who is officially deviant, i.e., at the process that occurs between penetration of delinquents into the system and the adjudication which will supposedly deter individuals from further offenses against the moral order. Labeling analysts have been interested as well in studying the creation and interpretation of rules (and the "typifications") and of departure from the rules.

This new theoretical perspective has come from mixed ideologies (the interactionist perspective, social psychology, occupational sociology, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, and more recently, conflict sociology, and the "social construction of reality" perspective), all of which view social reality as interactional, i.e., as embedded in the events

occurring between specific parties in specific time frames and specific cultures. The interactionist view is essentially that

> Definitions of situations and actions are...[not assumed]...to be settled once and for all by some literal application of traditional or previously established standards. Instead one always expects that the meaning of situations and actions are dependent upon particular interpretations that are influenced by both the context of particular occasions and the participants involved in that interaction. Accordingly, meanings are...subject to reformulation on subsequent occasions.[4]

In other words, societal reactions are "dynamic factors which increase, decrease and condition the form which the initial differentiation or deviation takes."[5]

Inherent in this approach are three major themes: (1) the process as opposed to the structural (static) patterns of a society, or rejection of the idea that deviance is inherent in the quality of behavior itself; (2) the relativity of the societal reaction, or deviance as a variable factor dependent upon changing political, social, and economic climates for the society; (3) the collective construction of "reality" through the imputation of meaning, or how "meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretive process used by a person in dealing with the things he encounters."[6]

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[4] A. Daniels, "The Social Construction of Military Psychiatric Diagnoses," ed. H.P. Dreitzel, Recent Sociology No. 2: Patterns of Communicative Behavior (Toronto: Collier-MacMillan) pp. 182-205

[5] Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951) p. 22.

[6] Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism: Perspectives and Methods (Englewood Cliffs,New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969) p.2.

Since these three themes more often than not overlap in the various orientations which comprise labeling theory, no attempt will be made in the forthcoming discussion of the literature to establish them as arbitrary and mutually exclusive categories. Rather, the approach will be to point to these themes of the process of relativity, and the imputation of meanings as they are elaborated in social research.

The Early Themes of Labeling Theory

One of the earliest statements of a process theme of social deviance appeared in Edwin Sutherland's classic Principles of Criminology.[7] In fact, for over two decades the bedrock of deviance sociology was Sutherland's theory of differential association over Merton's theory of anomie.[8] Neither theory, however, "emphasized societal reactions to deviance either as a criterion of deviance, or an etiological factor."[9]

Sutherland's theory refers to the processes of making laws, of breaking laws, and of reacting toward the breaking of laws. It views these events as a unified sequential

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[7] Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Lippincott, 1939).

[8] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957).

[9] Jack P. Gibbs and Maynard L. Erickson, "Major Developments in the Sociological Study of Deviance," Annual Review of Sociology 1:21-42.

interaction which constitutes the essential "object matter" of criminology. Sutherland's statement was an important one, considering that he was working within the framework of the traditional positivist sociology of deviance and corrections, in which the focus was on the motivational and behavioral causes of deviance--a tradition which supports an "assumption of discontinuity"[10] in the sense that the original deviant act is exclusively pathologic. In the "interactionist", or labeling perspective, a deviant label is seen as dependent upon the interaction of "parties", composed of the labeled individual and the agencies of social control.

Most discernibly, the proponents of labeling theory emerged out of the interactionist tradition at the University of Chicago. This interest focused on analyzing the process of society as opposed to its structural aspects.

Symbolic interactionism--in contrast with the deviance studies of the Eastern School (Merton and Sutherland), which were focused primarily on etiology--was concerned basically with the inter-subjective relationships between individuals and their social environment. Its chief early proponent in Chicago was Herbert Blumer who synthesized American pragmatist philosophy into a social psychological perspective in which the individual's conduct in and reaction to his particular social setting is seen ultimately to shape a social self. Thus, the individual combines perceptions of situational

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[10] Albert K. Cohen, "The Sociology of the Deviant Act: Anomie Theory and Beyond," American Sociological Review 30 (February 1965)pp. 5-14.

meanings with the reactions of self, and of others, including significant others, in a continuous process of interpretation, adoptions and/or rejections of self-definitions. This process is described by Blumer as "symbolic interactionism." Blumer (like George H. Mean) sees "the self as a process, and not as a structure."[11]

Frank Tannenbaum belongs to the early (pre-Chicago) labeling tradition because he broke with the classic structural interpretations of deviance. He delineates the process whereby an individual becomes delinquent or criminal as

> Tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious: it [premature stigmatization] becomes a way of stimulating...and evoking the very traits that are complained of...This persistent suggestion, with whatever good intentions, works mischief because it leads to bringing out the bad behavior that it would suppress.[12]

Tannenbaum's work is more focused on criminal history than that of actual labeling theory.

Everett Hughes' work, although it was in the discipline of occupational sociology, contributed substantially to the early, formative tradition of the Chicago interactionist theory. Hughes' contention was that negative labeling is construed by society as a "master status" which freezes the offender into a criminal frame of reference.[13] Despite the

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[11] Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead," Symbolic Interactionism, ed. Herbert Blumer (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1969) pp. 65-66.

[12] Frank Tannenbaum, Crime and the Community (Boston: Ginn, 1938) pp. 19-20.

[13] Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," American Journal of Sociology 50(March 1945)pp.353-59.

fact that the offender may have had an acceptable, legitimate occupational background, his earlier identity becomes obliterated by the new label, and remains inaccessible because of the new title. Hughes' work is in direct line with the reasoning of labeling theorists, that the labeled individual internalizes the label and adopts, or mirrors, the response imposed by the formal processing agency(ies), and thus becomes a participant in the "status degradation" ceremony.[14] What is stressed here is that, through the stigmatizing of negative labeling, the real outcome of legal processing is the creation of the deviant social roles which it is in fact committed to eradicate.

The 1940s saw the tentative beginnings of research in the process of conceptualization of deviance sociology. Wallerstein and Wyle studied the deviant behavior of individuals who were not officially labeled or penalized as deviants in order to highlight the role of labeling as a significant variable in becoming a "career" deviant.[15] Austin Porterfield carried out a comparative study of juvenile and older (college age) offenders in order to observe the differences in the degree of stigmatization among the younger offenders.[16]

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[14] Kai Erickson, "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," Social Problems 9 (1962)pp. 307-14.

[15] J.S. Wallerstein and C.J. Wyle, "Our Law-Abiding Law Breakers," Probation 35 (March-April 1947)pp. 107-12.

[16] Austin Porterfield, "Delinquency and Its Outcomes in Court and College." American Journal of Sociology 44 (November 1943)pp.109-203.

The theories and the new methodologies of the interactionist sociologists were beginning to be developed and tested. This included work in ethnic and other subcultures by urban sociologists, using the anthropolgical field techniques of (1) participant observation, (2) informants, (3) in-depth interviewing, and (4) analytic-inductive strategies. By the early fifties, these methods had produced a spate of now classic studies such as Lindesmith's 1937[17] study on becoming an opiate addict, Westley's 1951[18] study of the police and Cressey's 1952[19] study on becoming an embezzler.

The Statement of the Interactionist School

Chronologically, and in other ways as well, Edwin Lemert emerges as the seminal theorist of the new sociology of deviance. He brought it both an innovative dimension and the articulation of a framework which later became the foundation for the labeling perspective. Lemert's theory was essentially a departure from the traditional positivist orientation of sociology of deviance.

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17 Alfred Lindesmith, "The Nature of Opiate Addiction," Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago 1937.

18 W. Westley, "The Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom, and Morality," eds. E. Burgess and D. Bouge, Contributions to Urban Sociology, 1964, pp. 304-14.

19 Donald Cressey, Other People's Money: A Study in the Social Psychology of Embezzlement (Belmont, California: Wagsworth, 1971).

Like the Chicago interactionists, Lemert was concerned with the social definition of deviance ["the deviant is one to whom that label (of outsider) has been successfully applied"] (Becker 1963)[20] with deviation as a variable in time and space, but one capable of being reformulated:

> We start with the idea that persons and groups are differentiated in various ways, some of which result in social penalties, rejections, and segregation. These penalties and segregative reactions of society or the community are dynamic factors which increase, decrease, and condition the form which the initial differentiation or deviation takes...The deviant person is one whose role, status, function, and self-definition are importantly shaped by how much deviation he engages in, by the degree of its social visibility, by the particular exposure he has to the societal reaction.[21]

With regard to the theme of the relativity inherent in the process, Becker has pointed out that behavior that is a violation of rules when acted out by one individual may not be seen as such when committed by another, or, the same behavior may not be an infraction at other times. Merton, although he represents the positivist viewpoint, likewise noted the absence of a "systematic classification" of response to deviance by conforming members of society.[22]

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[20] Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 9.

[21] Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology, p. 75 cited in Donald C. Gibbons, Society Crime and Social Processes (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 197.

[22] Robert K. Merton, "Social Conformity, Deviation, and Opportunity Structures: A Comment on the Contributions of Dubin and Cloward," American Sociological Review 24 (1959)pp. 177-89.

The positivist approach is parallel to natural science in the sense that "social reality" becomes the object of study in itself. Positivist methodologies, accordingly, are those of statistical analysis or quantification (as opposed to observational or analytic skills) expressed according to the hypothetic-deductive method. Hirschi likewise notes that until ten years ago (prior to 1965) all criminology was positivistic in orientation."[23]

As we have seen, the interpretive orientation is concerned fundamentally with process and, hence, relies upon qualitative methodologies. This orientation may be paraphrased from Howard Becker's radical dicta:

> Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people. And, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender.[24]

Lemert, in point of fact, refuses to fit strictly into any school of deviance sociology, either interactionist or positivist, or, for that matter, phenomenological. He argues that differentiation, deviations from statistical norms, are in themselves normal and natural modalities of human existence. In this sense, he has one foot in the structuralist tradition, so to speak, since these deviations exist causally in the conventional positivist meaning of viological,psychological

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[23] Walter Gove and Travis Hirschi,"Who is Hospitalized: A Critical Review of Some Sociological Studies of Mental Illness," Journal of Health and Social Behavior (December 1970b) pp 294-303.

[24] Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (New York: Free Press,1963).

and cultural causes. Thus he draws the same distinctions between ascribed deviance and "objective conditions" as Merton.[25]

Lemert's shift of focus away from the structural concept of deviance was prompted by his insight that formal social control agents and the responses both of self and of significant others required a model of deviance-labeling other than the structural one:

> The original causes of deviation recede and give way to the central importance (emphasis added) of the disapproving, degradational and isolating reactions of society.[26]

His model of primary/secondary deviance was developed in order to satisfy the idea that the individual "deviant" incorporates into his self-image the societal reaction which eventually culminates in his stigmatization and transformation. What activated Lemert's model, in other words, was the acknowledgement of the reality of what is made of an act socially:

> Neither acts nor individuals are "deviant" in the sense of immutable "objective" reality without reference to processes of social definition.[27]

Lemert makes a distinction between a primary or "original" and a secondary or "effective"cause of deviance. In the

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[25] Robert Merton and Robert Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems (New York: Harcourt,Brace and World, 1971)pp.702-3.

[26] Edwin M. Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 15-16.

[27] Edwin M. Lemert, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 14.

first category, the deviations remain benign, or "symtomatic and situational as long as they are rationalized or otherwise dealt with as functions of a socially acceptable role."[28]

The characteristics or behaviors are departures from social norms, but they have not been sufficiently selected out by significant others, by control agencies, or by society in general.

> The deviations remain primary...as long as they are not rationalized or otherwise dealt with as functions of a socially acceptable role.[29]

In order for the behavior to become secondary, "the deviant individuals must react symbolically to their own behavior aberrations and fix them in their sociopsychological patterns."[30] In other words, the individual must believe he is deviant, or must actualize and adjust the components of his life around the imputed deviant definition.

It is important to point out that Lemert attaches a second meaning to primary/secondary deviance when differentiation from norms takes the form of physical disability such as blindness (an example used for the sake of a parallel to the work of Scott).[31] Here, original or primary deviation

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[28] Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology (new York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), p. 75.

[29] Ibid.,

[30] Ibid.,

[31] Robert Scott, The Making of Blind Men (New York: Russell Sage, 1968)

from normality is stigmatized from the beginning and it is only as the individual sustains and incorporates social expectations such as depression, dependency, "self-consciousness," withdrawal, etc., that his deviance takes on Lemert's meaning of secondary deviance, or internalized aberrations. Lemert's major contribution, one that appears to have been deep and lasting, is this explanation of deviance as a two-phase procession of events.

The principle underlying Lemert's model, that of a processioned analysis (as well as of the concommitant principles of relativity and the collective "construction" of "reality" through imputation of meaning cited earlier), constitutes the basis of labeling theory. It was exemplified within the so-called "Western Tradition" of deviance sociology by theorists such as Becker, Kitsuse and Cicourel, Kai Erickson and others.

Broadly speaking, during the 1960's and 1970's, the Western Tradition underlies studies of the transactional processing of deviants, both of individuals and of groups, and, correspondingly, in the organizational processing of deviants. Becker, for example, focused upon the explanation of deviance as the acquisition of a given type of behavior through "orderly" changes over time. He developed a model of "career contingency," i.e., the researcher locates the "sets" of influences which describe the deviant's passage from one identity to another. In this research, Becker uses a blend of interactionist "identity" concepts and "career" concepts

drawn from the occupational sociology prevalent in the Chicago School in order to study dance musicians and marijuana users.[32]

In addition, from 1960 to 1964, Becker, editor of the journal Social Problems, took the opportunity to provide a forum for sociologists who were "having difficulty publishing their work."[33] Such an outlet, according to Spector was a necessity "for a new theory to develop." Among those published were not only Chicago interactionist sociologists, but also Fred Davis (1961), Everett Hughes (1962), California-trained sociologists like Kitsuse(1962) and Scheff (1964) and others such as Erickson (1962), Garfinkel (1964), and Sudnow (1965). In fact, even "Lemert's brilliant Social Pathology did not make a striking impact until the success of Becker and Goffman led to his 'rediscovery'." Social Problems thus became an important vehicle for the support and dissemination of labeling theory and related research.

John Kitsuse in collaboration with Aaron Cicourel, carried out seminal work in organizational rates of deviance. These researchers argue that the issue of the validity of official statistics should be investigated by focusing on the rates of deviant behavior produced by the social control agencies, rather than the social and cultural processes and the static structures which produce the deviant behaviors.

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[32] Howard S. Becker, "Becoming a Marijuana User," American Journal of Sociology 59 (November 1953)pp.235-42.

[33] Malcolm Spector, "Labeling Theory in Social Problems: A Young Journal Launches a New Theory," Social Problems 24 (October 1976)pp. 72-73.

Interestingly, Merton also argues against the use of official statistics, but for the reason that official records, for instance on juvenile delinquency, are not shown "to be the results of efforts to identify the sources or the contexts of juvenile delinquency."[34] While from a "sociological standpoint" Merton suggests going out and collecting one's "own appropriately organized data," Kitsuse and Cicourel were motivated to study behavior rates on the basis of the principle that it is the societal control agents that define, classify, and record certain behaviors as deviant. In their view the issue was not one of "rejecting these official statistics as unreliable" because the rates they record are inaccurate." (The assumption is made that the recorded behaviors are indeed deviant, "independent of social actions which define it as deviant.") On the contrary, rates

> must be explained in terms of the deviant processing activities of organizations. Thus rates can be viewed as indices of organizational processes rather than as indices of the incidence of certain forms of behavior.[35]

In his research on reactions to deviance. Kitsuse described "retrospective interpretation" as a process by which the respondents re-interpret the individual's past behavior. The

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[34] Robert K. Merton, New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency, ed. H. Witmer and R. Kotinsky (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956) as cited in John I. Kitsuse and Aaron V. Cicourel, "A Note on the Uses of Official Statistics," Social Problems 11:133.

[35] John I. Kitsuse and Aaron V. Cicourel, "A Note on the Uses of Official Statistics," Social Problems 11 (Fall 1963) 131-39, 136-37.

respondents (reactors) were asked to describe how they have knowledge of individuals involved in homosexual activity:

> The subjects indicate that they reviewed their past interactions with the individuals in question, searching for subtle cues and nuances of behavior which might give further evidence of the alleged deviance. This retrospective reading generally provided the subjects with just such evidence to support the conclusion that "this is what was going on all the time."[36]

In a similar connection, Harold Garfinkel states:

> The work of the denunciation effects the recasting of the objective character of the perceived other: the other person becomes in the eyes of his condemners literally a different and new person. It is not that the new attributes are added to the old "nucleus." He is not changed, he is reconstituted (emphasis added). The former identity, at best, receives the accent of mere appearance... The former identity is the "basic reality." What he is now is what, "after all," he was all along.[37]

It is in this sense of singling out and tagging behaviors as deviant that labeling analysts claim that social agents maintain and even produce deviance. They do not deny the existence of deviance, rather, it is argued that the police, the courts, and other formal agents of social control are the determining factors in the "reconstitution" of the identities of individuals.

Becker, in The Outsiders, takes probably the most radical position of the labeling theorists of the early 1960's in terms of questioning the overall schema of collective

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[36] John I. Kitsuse, "Social Reactions to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory and Method," Social Problems 9 (Winter 1962) 253.

[37] Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," American Journal of Sociology 61 (March 1965)pp 42-24.

rule-making and enforcement, and the way in which they reflect the values of power groups:

> Who can, in fact, force others to accept their rules and what are the causes of their success? This is, of course, a question of political and economic power. Here it is enough to note that people are in fact forcing their rules on others, applying them more or less against the will and without the consent of those others.[38]

It seems appropriate to point out here that labeling analysts demonstrated an exceptional interest in research into organizational processing methodologies. This interest was clearly the result of the interactionist theorists' conceptualization of formal agency processing as a variable of deviance labeling, and of their concern with the "audience" of official control agents as the crucial implementors of social definitions.

Kai Erickson, a leading analyst in the interactionist movement, states that labeling someone as deviant does not reflect something

> inherent in certain forms of behavior, it [deviance] is a property conferred upon these forms by the audiences which directly or indirectly witness them. Sociologically, then, the critical variable is the social audience...since it is the audience which eventually decides whether or not any given action or actions will become a visible case of deviation.[39]

Erickson and Lewis Coser came to the interactionist perspective from the direction of conflict theory which interprets

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[38] Howard S. Becker, The Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (London: The Free Press of Glenco, 1963) pps. 9, 20.

[39] Kai T. Erickson, "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," Social Problems 9 (Spring 1962)p.302.

deviance as having a fundamental social function:

> Deviant forms of behavior, but marking the outer edges of group life, give the inner structure its special character and thus supply the framework within which the people of the group develop an orderly sense of their own cultural identity.[40]

Deviance, and the response it elicits, helps society to construct social meaning and structure. Conflict theory, like labeling theory, is focused on processes, evolving rule-making and other changing social phenomena.

These ideas recall Becker's concern with secret or undetected deviance which takes place in settings beyond the purview of legal jurisdiction or of significant others. He considers the incidence of undiscovered deviance to be much wider than it appears. Becker has also consistently pointed out that since law enforcement cannot be universal or automatic, then, by reason of the selective nature of enforcement, what is defined as deviant is in practice delineated by the particular forms of current enforcement procedures.

Major Research in the Organizational Processing of Social Control

In theory, according to Rains and Kitsuse, the issues addressed by labeling are not confined to the "workings of social control agencies," but they "do have to do with the

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[40] Kai T. Erickson, Wayward Puritans (New York: Wiley, 1966), p. 13.

crystallization of deviant behavior and the consolidation of deviant commitments." With regard, then, to the preoccupation of labeling analysts with agency processing:

> In practice...social control agencies have been especially seductive of the attention of labeling theorists for...The conceptions of arbitrary selection and treatment, and the spread of offense to character therefore lie at the core of the labeling point of view.[41]

Many labeling theorists are concerned with how agency processing systems "arbitrarily" select and handle their clients. In connection with this, Rains and Kitsuse point to Skolnick and Woodworth's 1967 study which notes that 40 percent of statutory rape complaints reported to the police agency under study were identified through the family support division via application for Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). Not only were such complaints involuntary, they had no relationship whatever to rape as a "meaningful offense." Such practices were seen as effectively cancelling the "relevance of offense to selection and treatment."[42]

It is perhaps such distortions that have prompted Schur to remark that it was "vitally necessary" to understand how social control efforts determine deviance outcomes, and that led him ultimately to conclude that agency services be minimized rather than expanded.[43]

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[41] Prudence M. Rains and John I. Kitsuse, "Comments on the Labeling Approach to Deviance," unpublished article (draft copy), pp.4-5.

[42] Ibid., p. 61

[43] Edwin M. Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 82.

This direction of investigation in the area of deviance processing by social control agencies, which seeks amelioration or alternatives to the negative outcomes of processing, is typified by Schur's advocacy of a policy of nonintervention between individuals and control agencies.[44] A similar approach was suggested by Wheeler and Cottrell.[45] Their study analyzed the decision making processes employed by three social control agencies in taking formal or informal action against juveniles. The study focused on the criteria used by the agencies. The criteria included attitudes and attributes of the deviant act, and a situational component. The researchers state that

> A variety of social theory and evidence leads to the conclusion that such agencies play a far more important role than is ordinarily ascribed to them...official response to the behavior in question may initiate processes that push the misbehaving juveniles towards further delinquent conduct and, at least, make it more difficult for them to re-enter the conventional world.[46]

Wheeler and Cottrell favor a policy of restraint in the labeling of delinquents. This is in contrast to policy approaches which hold that offenders will continue performing deviant acts (because their acts contain a "reward"

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[44] Edwin M. Schur, Crimes Without Victims (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973).

[45] Stanton Wheeler and Leonard Cottrell, Jr., The Labeling Process, (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

[46] Donald R. Cressey and David A. Ward, Delinquency, Crime, and Social Process (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), Chapter 4.

factor) unless they are apprehended and "treated" in the incipient stage.[47]

Egon Bittner's research on how the "peacekeeping" or mediating role of the police through informal understandings of a skid row community "shaped the official processing of the deviants" followed a somewhat similar vein.[48]

> David Sudnow's study of a public defender's office has highlighted the importance of informal working arrangements between appointed defense attorneys and prosecutors in determining disposition of cases before the criminal courts.[49]

Informal practices, however, have not necessarily been looked upon by interactionists as beneficial. On the contrary, there has been considerable trepidation about the arbitrary and discriminatory nature of discretionary powers in the judicial processing of cases, a problem discussed by Skolnick in Justice Without Trial[50] and by Davis in Discretionary Justice: A Preliminary Inquiry.[51]

Emerson, another advocate of "judicious" nonintervention, faults the juvenile courts for producing delinquents by

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[47] Eleanor T. Glueck, "Efforts to Identify Delinquents" Federal Probation, 24 (June 1960) pp.49-56.

[48] Edwin M. Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) p. 83.

[49] Ibid.,

[50] Kenneth C. Davis, Discretionary Justice: A Preliminary Inquiry (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana University Press, 1969).

"validating the prior judgments" of local institutions, such as schools, for example:

> The juvenile court's label represents the end product of the efforts of such institutions to deal with troublesome cases. From this perspective, the juvenile court not only labels delinquents, but it also resists labeling by refusing to validate complainants' judgments and to follow their proposed course of action. This suggests that the goal of minimizing court jurisdiction and power by holding it to a doctrine of "judicious non-intervention" but also maximizing its power and inclination to resist and change established definitions and proscriptions about delinquents and their situation.[52]

In a discussion of Gold and Youth (1967), Haney and Gold point to what appears as the overriding misdirection of American "reform machinery." The survey showed apprehended adolescents age 13-16 more likely to commit further offenses. In matched groups of unapprehended and apprehended youths, in "20 of the 35 pairs the apprehended member subsequently committed more offenses than did his unapprehended match," leading the researchers to state that:

> Whatever it is that the authorities do once they have caught a youth, it seems to be worse than doing nothing at all, worse even than never apprehending the offender. Getting caught encourages rather than deters further delinquency.[53]

By far the largest body of organizational research has been investigation which attempts to understand or to expose

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[52] Robert M. Emerson, Judging Delinquents (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

[53] William Haney and Martin Gold, "The Juvenile Delinquent Nobody Knows," Psychology Today, 7 (September 1973) p. 52.

how social control agencies shape deviance outcomes. The objectives here are first and foremost to show that the attribute of deviance is organized and maintained as much by the processes of social control as by the attributes of the offense.

Erving Goffman, a seminal writer in this area, along with Becker, Lemert and Kitsuse, employed an approach which focused on subject's feeling states, using the techniques of intensive observation and in-depth interviewing as deviants attempted to cope with the helplessness, fear and pain of exclusion and dehumanization. In Asylums,[54] a book about the "moral careers" of mental patients, and in Stigma[55] and Behavior in Public Places[56] (works about people with physical disabilities) deviancy is demonstrated as progressing in stages or in "sets" of deviant behavior.

With regard to organizational deviance processing, Goffman, like Garfinkel, uses the restrospective interpretation of labeling procedure. Thus, in Asylums, the mental institutions' case history of a client was seen to be used not simply in its medical or diagnostic function but as the basis of the "formal" definition of the patient as incompetent. The "case record," as will be seen in some forthcoming

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[54] Ewing Goffman, Asylums (New York: Anchor, 1961)

[55] Ewing Goffman, Stigma (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963)

[56] Ewing Goffman, Behavior in Public Places (New York: The Free Press, 1963).

studies of the procedures of the courts and other enforcing agencies, becomes the "retrospective substantiation" of the "new" character of the patient. It is of interest that in a later study, which tested the proposition that public labeling "spoiled" the identity of juveniles to the extent that it adversely affected their interpersonal relations with others, it was found that the juveniles experienced labeling as a social liability only in situations where their characters were impugned as inferred from documents or case records.[57]

It seems appropriate to place particular emphasis on Thomas Scheff's studies of mental patients because Scheff developed causal hypotheses concerning the effects of labeling and deviance, which he then supported with impirical research. In Being Mentally Ill, Scheff made the important observation that playing the role of a mental patient was the result of "the reciprocal and cumulative interrelationship between the rule-breaker's behavior and the societal reaction."[58]

Scheff proposed that the societal response of pschiatrists and the courts was the key factor in the institutionalization of patients. In theoretical terms, this took form in the statement that

> Among residual rule-breakers, labeling is the single most important cause of careers of residual deviance. (emphasis added)[59]

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57 Jack D. Foster, Simon Dinitz and Walter C. Reckless, "Preceptions of Stigma Following Public Intervention for Delinquent Behavior," Social Problems 20(Fall 1972)p.202-09.

58 Thomas J. Scheff, Being Mentally Ill (Chicago: Aldine 1966), p. 97.

59 Ibid, pp. 92-94.

Scheffs data demonstrated, moreover, that the

> ...social differentiation of the deviant from the nondeviant population appears to be materially affected by the financial, ideological, and political position of the psychiatrists who are in this instance, the key agents of social control.[60]

In another 1966 study concerned this time with patient release, Scheff observed that 43 percent or virtually half of the patients in the institution were there for reasons other than alleged "stable" mental illness:

> Their presence suggests the putative character of the societal reaction to deviance, and...for at least a near-majority of the patients, that their status is largely ascribed rather than achieved.[61]

In addition, by positing social response as the primary cause of institutionalization, Scheff advocated combining interactionist concepts with social systems concepts.

Rushing conducted a large-scale study of the records on all admissions and releases of mental patients over a nine year period in a state mental hospital. He proposes that social, community, occupational and economic status all have direct bearing upon the societal response which led to hospitalization.[62]

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[60] Thomas J. Scheff, Being Mentally Ill (Chicago: Aldine 1966), p. 154.

[61] Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[62] William A. Rushing, "Individual Resources, Societal Reaction, and Hospital Commitment," American Journal of Sociology 77 (November 1971)pp.511-25.

A number of important studies in the literature, in focusing on the use of rules and typifications, have been based on research of agency negotiation procedures and the effects of broad discretionary powers of agency officials, and their relationships to due process. Cicourel, in a study of plea-bargaining as legal procedure and the discretionary powers among social control agents, concludes with regard to a decision of leniency instead of guilty, for example, that

> 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. Finding "problems" in the home is not difficult...The transformation of the juvenile into a sick object permits all concerned to suspend the criminal imputations of her acts, even though the penal code sections are quoted each time the police report theft or burglary.
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> Having established the juvenile as "sick," the P.O. [Probation Officer]must sustain this depiction despite activities by the juvenile appearing to contradict this label. But having the label, it is easier to "explain" infractions by reference to aggravating conditions and the necessity of "more treatment."[63]

Two sociological studies deal with plea-bargaining as a process contributing to the considerations of deviant identity: Donald Newman's "Pleading for Considerations: A Study[64]

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[63] Aaron V. Cicourel, The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968), p. 121, as reprinted in Edwin M. Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper & Row, 1971),p.59.

[64] Donald J. Newman, "Pleading for Considerations: A Study of Bargain Justice," Journal of Criminal Law,Criminology and Police Science 46 (March-April 1956), pp. 780-90.

of Bargain Justice and Jerome Skolnick's Justice Without Trial.[65] The latter is an investigation of how clearance rates in two police departments conflicted with the operation of due process of law. The study focuses on how a police department's "track record hinges on the department's clearance rates," which, in turn, involved the department officials in trade-offs with offenders, such as reduction of penalties in exchange for information. The result showed that the processing procedure varies widely from individual to individual for the same crime, depending on the politics of the interaction between the individual and officials. The study emphasizes (1) the reliance of the courts on the prior processing of the police department, and (2) the way in which the goals and practices of formal agencies determine rates of deviance.

The question of an agency's bias towards its own bureaucratic goals and procedures, rather than towards its having an objective interest in the welfare of the deviant person, also arises. For example, juvenile offenders might automatically be placed in custodial "care" rather than receiving another disposition, simply because bed space is plentiful in the correctional facility--even though detention may run counter to the offender's actual needs.[66]

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[65] Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: Wiley, 1966), p. 190.

[66] Mayner N. Zald, "The Correctional Institution for Juvenile Offenders: An Analysis of Organizational 'Character'" Social Problems 8 (Summer 1960)pp.57-67.

Apparently a number of factors play a role in "selective reporting" to the courts on juvenile offenders. Nathan Goldman's findings in a multi-community study of police handling of juveniles shows significant differences in handling of offenders:

> The police base their reporting partly on the act of the offender but also on the idiosyncratic interpretation of this act and the degree of pressure applied by the community on the police.[67]

In sum, the particular needs of the social control agencies are seen by many labeling analysts to affect not only how an individual is processed, but who is processed. Thus, the agencies are seen to determine who is labeled and who is not. In Goldman's study, for example, both the ideology or "philosophy" of a police department and the response of the particular community were formative factors in the outcome of interaction between the juvenile and police officials.

Non-Offense Related Characteristics of Deviants

Lemert states that sociology of deviant behavior, aside from focusing on interactions which define deviant behavior,

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[67] Nathan Goldman, The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance (Washington, D.C.: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1963).

also organizes and activates "the application of sanctions" by individuals, groups and agencies.

> For in modern society the socially significant differentiation of deviants from non-deviants is increasingly contingent upon circumstances of situation, place, social and personal biography, and bureaucratically organized agencies of social control.[68]

In his 1966 study, Gold reported that an offender's race was a significant factor in official response and decision making. Likewise, Piliavan and Briar find that dress, public appearance, demeanor, and attitude were significant factors in the discretionary practices of police.[69]

In the same vein, Elliot and Voss conclude in their study of delinquency and dropouts in California schools that the amount of delinquency among lower class youth is higher than among middle and upper class youth in official reports, despite the fact that self-report studies do not support these differentials.[70] Studies by Goldstein and LaFave support the contention that the incidence of officially reported delinquency is higher in lower social economic status (SES) groups than in upper income groups.[71] The National

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[68] Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology, p. 25

[69] Irving Piliavan and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology 70 (September 1964), pp. 206-14.

[70] Delbert S. Elliott and Harwin C. Voss, Delinquency and Dropout, (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1974).

[71] Joseph Goldstein, "Police Discretion Not to Invoke the Criminal Process Low Visibility Decisions in the Administration of Justice," Yale Law Journal 69(1960)pp.543-94. Wayne LaFave, "The Police and Non-enforcement of the Law Part I," Wisconsin Law Review (January, 1962) pp.104-37.

Survey of Youth (1967) by Martin Gold and Jay Williams likewise indicated no strong relationship between class and delinquency.[72] However, class as well as race were shown to be distinctly significant variables in a study of the disposition of cases in the Philadelphia juvenile justice system. The legal variables (1) seriousness of offense, and (2) number of previous offenses, when held constant, showed racial and SES factors to be differentiated. That is, "blacks and low SES subjects were more likely than whites and high SES subjects to receive severe disposition."[73] In another study, demeanor was seen as a critical variable in police decisions to process juveniles.[74]

The Consequences of Official Labeling

From its beginning, interactional sociology of deviant behavior has stressed the process, relative, and phenomenological aspects of becoming deviant. John Lofland in

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[72] William Haney and Martin Gold, "The Juvenile Delinquent Nobody Knows," pp.48-55.

[73] Terence P. Thornberry, "Race, Socioeconomic Status and Sentencing in the Juvenile Justice System," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 65, No.1 (March 1973) pp. 90-98.

[74] Dennis C. Sullivan and Larry J. Siegal, "How Police Use Information to Make Decisions: An Application of Decision Games," Crime and Delinquency 18, No.3 (July 1972) pp.253-62.

Deviance and Identity elaborated and synthesized these interactionist themes of the process, the phenomenological and the proximate in behaviors. He attempts to locate and identify deviant behaviors in a space-time system of "places, hardware, others and actor himself," all of which constitute the elements in the choice of commiting a deviant act.[75]

It is easy to see how this theoretical approach has facilitated the understanding among theorists of the potential range of variables in delinquent behavior, for example, the number of delinquent friends, and the "variable acceptance of attitudes and beliefs favorable to the violation of legal codes".[76] Situational components have not, in fact, received much attention as major criteria. This is shown in Clifford Shaw's and Henry McKay's book Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas[77] and Short and Strodbeck's study Group Process and Gang Delinquency.[78]

David Matza has also been concerned with the continued explication and synthesis of interactionist theory in terms

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[75] John Lofland, Deviance and Identity (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

[76] Gary F. Jenson, "Parents, Peers, and Delinquent Action: A Test of the Differential Association Perspective," American Journal of Sociology 78, No.3 (November 1972b)p.573.

[77] Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[78] James F. Short, Jr. and Fred C. Strodbeck, Group Process and Gang Delinquency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965)

of the theme of the process. He has been concerned with deviancy less as the result of the situational background and character of offenders than of their reaction to legal institutions. The explanation of crime is focused not on the etiology of criminal activity, but on what is made of an act socially.

In terms of the preceding discussion, Matza is one of the theorists who has emphasized the arbitrary nature of legal systems, which, in specific cases, can generate feelings of injustice in the offender. Like Lemert and Cloward and Ohlin, he stresses that "individualized justice," as it is reflected in agency and court decisions, can lead to the alienation of juveniles from the community and to the further internalization of deviance. Why the deviant individual identifies with the signification of his deviance; why and how he collaborates in the labeling process if the offender for some reason does not confer with the deviance signification, he can, nonetheless, circumvent being labeled deviant, Matza concludes that:

> Exclusion...tends to focus the deviant subjects' attention on the terms of identity provided by the agent of signification during apprehension. As in most forms of exclusion, the subject needs hardly collaborate for the appropriate lesson to be drawn. All that really matters is that occasions and circles which sustain competing identities be inaccessible to him.[79]

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[79] David Matza, Becoming Deviant (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall), p. 162.

Again, the statement reflects Matza's position that society has stigmatized, in fact traumatized, the offender by conferring upon him/her a delinquent identity, in the sense of Lemert's definition of secondary deviance, that when official labeling has taken place, the deviant behavior has organized and activated the "application of sanctions by individual groups and agencies."

Matza delineates a procedural "outline" which moves in stages from its incipient form, which he signifies by the term "ban," to the level of "transparency," during which the individual becomes self-conscious and internalizes guilty and secret feelings about his/her deviant activity. Finally, the individual enters the phase of "gross" exclusion, in which he is officially involved in a functionally negative "relationship with the state." At this point in the labeling process, the "occasions and circles which sustain competing identities...(become) inaccessible to him."

Lemert feels that even if an accused person is guilty there may be "degrees of criminality" which the person has not yet reached. If he is "labeled," the person may believe he has been unjustly treated by society, and in some cases, this may precipitate secondary deviance.[80]

Cloward and Ohlin perceive alienation as a critical variable in the labeling process. Their position is that adult societal response to deviancy has "different

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[80] Edwin M. Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersy: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 67.

consequences for juveniles who doubt the legitimacy of established societal norms" than for juveniles who accept social norms:

> The consequences of adult response differ depending upon whether the invidious definitions based on minor acts of misconduct are imposed on those who already view the established order as unjust and deprivational.[81]

Elliott and Voss view such alienated juveniles as being in a prime position to incur negative outcomes from interaction with social control systems.[82] Other research showed that alienation increases delinquent orientation independent of legal processing, and that there is a type of juvenile who "comes into his first legal processing experience with some trait or set of traits that make him especially vulnerable to the negative side of labeling."[83]

On the whole, there is "a persistent tendency for those who have been officially labeled as delinquent to think of themselves and to feel thought of by others as delinquent more often than those who have not been so labeled."[84] It was also shown in Jensen's study that black adolescents were

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[81] Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1967) p.130.

[82] Delbert S. Elliott and Harwin C. Voss, Delinquency and Dropout.

[83] Suzanne S. Ageton and Delbert S. Elliott,"The Effects of Legal Processing on Delinquent Orientations," Social Problems 22 (October 1974) pp. 87-100.

[84] Gary F. Jensen, "Delinquency and Adolescent Self-conceptions: A Study of the Personal Relevence of Infraction," Social Problems 20 (Summer 1972) pp.84-103.

less likely to think of themselves or to feel thought of by others as delinquent than were white adolescents, indicating that race and class are highly significant variables which differentially influence how labeling affects a juvenile's self-evaluation. It was also determined in this study that the "less attachment to the law, the less difference official delinquency would make for self-evaluations." Overall, Jensen's study indicated that labeling does promote delinquent orientation, and that it is "conditioned" by variables of race and class, although this is not to say that deeper penetration into the judicial system does not produce lowered self-esteem.

Those who seek unskilled employment have been shown to be especially vulnerable to labeling incurred through a criminal court record. Rehabilitation notwithstanding, employment is negatively affected for job seekers with a record of conviction. Even in the case of acquittal, the label lowered the status of the job-seeker.[85]

However, in a comparative study of the school performance of a group of youths on probation and a group not on probation, Fisher concluded that the "essential differences between the two groups" might be because members of the

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[85] Richard D. Schwartz and Jerome Skolnick, "Two Studies of Legal Stigma," In The Other Side, ed. Howard Becker (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

delinquent group share certain pre-existent characteristics which become exacerbated by labeling.[86] Similar inconsistencies in the results of labeling were reported by Hackler[87] and by Thorsell and Klemke.[88]

The intention in this review of the literature has been to cover the most relevant theoretical and empirical research in labeling theory. There remain other pertinent works such as Glaser and Strauss's on grounded theory,[89] Douglas's definitions of interactionist position[90] and Duster's discussion of legal systems and morality,[91] or empirical studies such as Trice and Roman's study of delabeling in Alcoholics Anonymous.[92] These studies are oriented toward the interactionist labeling perspective and might also have been discussed in detail. However, some materials should be reviewed which are relevant specifically to the Youth Service Bureaus, the subject of the investigation (the major independent variable).

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[86] Sethard Fisher, "Stigma and Deviant Careers in Schools," Social Problems 20 (Summer 1972)pp78-83.

[87] James C. Hackler, "Boys, Blisters and Behavior: The Impact of a Work Program in an Urban Central Area," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 3 (July 1966)pp155-64.

[88] Bernard A. Thorsell and Lloyd W. Klemke, "The Labeling Process: Reinforcement and Deterrent?", Law and Society Review 6 (February 1972)pp393-403.

[89] Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1967).

[90] Jack Douglas, ed., Understanding Everyday Life, (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1970).

[91] T. Duster, The Legislation of Morality: Law, Drugs and Moral Judgment (New York: The Free Press, 1970).

[92] H. Trice and P. Roman, "The Self Reaction: A Neglected Dimension of Labelling Theory." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Meeting, 1969.

The Youth Service Bureau

By the 1970's concepts associated with the labeling perspective were being reflected in the outlook of treatment professionals and in the thinking and approach of policy-makers at all levels of government. These concepts found concrete expression in a range of community programs in areas of mental health, corrections and diversion. One of the earliest of these programs was the Youth Service Bureau (YSB) which was proposed by the 1967 President's Crime Commission Report.

Built into the concept of YSB was the idea of the non-stigmatization of youth "in jeopardy" and the prevention of entry of juveniles into the criminal justice system:

> This report, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society has shown that most criminal careers begin in youth and that therefore, programs that will reduce juvenile delinquency and keep delinquent and youthful offenders from settling into lives of crime are indispensable parts of a national strategy. It has shown that the formal criminal process, arrest-to-trial-to-punishment, seldom protects the community from offenders of certain kinds and, therefore, the criminal justice system and the community must jointly seek alternative ways of treating them.[93]

The objective of reducing juvenile delinquency must be seen as the overriding consideration of the Commission. This was

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[93] The Challenge of Crime in A Free Society, a report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., February 1967), p. 279.

the rationale behind the recommendation for the development of an informal mechanism:

> Official action might actually help to fix and perpetuate delinquency in the child through a process in which the individual begins to think of himself as delinquent and organizes his behavior accordingly.[94]

It was a prime concern of the Commission that referrals to the YSB agencies occur in lieu of court processing. The strategy therefore was that (1) programs were to be designed to meet the needs of problem youth regardless of who they were or what their individual problems might be, and in this way to circumvent the stigmatizing of children who were police and court or school referrals; (2) the YSB was defined as a voluntary public agency-- Clientele would have access through voluntary referral (parents or self), or they would be sent from the police and the courts, in which case acceptance would be mandatory; and (3) decentralization was seen as another crucial aspect of design--indigenous neighborhood centers would have the advantages of focusing on the special population characteristics of the youth in the community, or of keeping minor behavior problems in perspective, and minimizing the "spoiled" identity that occurred through association with more serious offenders in court settings. The

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[94] The Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Report on Juvenile Justice and Consultants Papers, U. S. Government Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967) p.16.

Commission viewed the neighborhood agency instead of the court as the preferred rehabilitative setting. The Commissioners saw the YSB as an opportunity to channel the "principal rehabilitative effort into community-based dispositions that occur prior to assumption of jurisdiction by the court."[95]

In principle, neighborhood control would replace reliance upon criminal law as a mechanism of control. Additionally, it was felt that the local bureau would raise the consciousness of the community concerning youth problem, and would involve community members in responsible supportive roles. In terms of preserving the informal local character of the bureaus, fears were expressed in some quarters that YSB might itself become a labeling agency,[96] for as has been shown in the review of literature, informal handling does not preclude stigmatization.

The Commission's second major purpose in creating the YSB, a purpose which is really the relevant practical aspect of diversion, concerns problems of the failure of the juvenile justice system to rehabilitate delinquent youth, to reduce or even stem "the tide of juvenile criminality," or to bring

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[95] The Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Report on Juvenile Justice and Consultants Papers, U.S. Government Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967) p.7.

[96] Margaret K. Rosenheim, "Youth Services Bureaus: A Concept in Search of Definition," Juvenile Court Judges Journal, Vol. XX, No. 2 (Summer 1969) pp.69-74.

"justice and compassion" to the child offender. The Crime Commission saw the YSB as an agency

> ...to handle many troublesome young people... because society has failed to give the juvenile courts the resources that would allow it to function as its founders hoped it would.[97]

The YSB would take from the courts the burden of handling a large volume of nonjudicial cases, providing alternatives in many cases to the official filing of petitions for delinquency, and thus reserving the juvenile court system for more serious offenders. In this context, the creation of the YSB was supportive of the national trend signaled by the Supreme Court's Gault decision, of relieving the court of its multiple role as adjudicator, counselor, parens patriae, and welfare agency, and of providing a variety of informal services. While this raises certain questions about the relationship of the bureaus to the courts, it raises more important, pragmatic questions about the structure of pre-court rehabilitation and prevention programs. Because of the nonspecificity of the Commission's recommendations, the issues revolve around the extent to which programs will coordinate existing social services in the community, or reach out into uncharted areas to provide unique new services.

The Task Force saw the YSB's chief function to be its "mandatory responsibility to develop and monitor (emphasis added) for a group now handled for the most part either

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[97] The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, a report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., February 1967), p. 1.

inappropriately or not at all except in times of crisis." Its function would be to undertake "individually tailored work with...youths."[98] In other words, the YSB was conceived as (1) a resource development agency, and (2) a coordinator of the social services of the community on behalf of the child. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Children's Bureau also supported this role for the YSB. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency, however, viewed the agency not as filling gaps in direct service, but primarily as a resource development agency and as a source of data collection, analysis and research, always keeping in focus the responsiveness of local bureaus to local needs.[99]

As it has turned out, innovative direct services appear to be the primary component in "effective" local bureaus, i.e., those bureaus whose services result in reduced delinquent behavior by client youth. Of the 1970 Youth Service Bureaus surveyed in the first national survey conducted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare through its youth development agency, the typical program is focused on

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[98] Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, Report on Juvenile Justice and Consultants Papers, 1967, p. 21.

[99] Sherwood Norman, The Youth Service Bureau (Paramus, New Jersey: N.C.C.D., 1972), pp.12-13.

"developing alternative services to fill the gaps in the community rather than facilitating access to ongoing agencies."[100]

Most local bureaus offer at least one of the standard direct services: counseling, tutoring, medical care, legal assistance, job referral, or crisis intervention. Many offer combinations of these. Bureaus also provide referral service, follow-up, individual advocacy, and service brokerage. Counseling is described as the "nucleus" of many bureaus, even though counseling has not been considered necessarily an appropriate activity for YSB.[101] The bulk of referrals come from police and juvenile court intake staff. In California, self-referral seems to have occurred chiefly in bureaus with recreational facilities and job counseling and placement services.[102] According to the 1973 HEW report, 40 percent of referrals nationally were unofficial.

The four central influences in the development of the bureaus were seen to be (1) the nature of the community, (2) the power base, (3) orientation of the staff, and

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[100] The Challenge of Youth Service Bureaus, U.S Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Washington, D.C., 1973) pp. 17-18.

[101] M. K. Rosenheim, "Youth Services Bureaus: A Concept in Search of Definition," Juvenile Court Judges Journal, Vol. XX, No. 2 (Summer 1969)p69-74.

[102] E.Suxbury, Youth Services Bureaus (Department of the Youth Authority) A First-year Report to the California Legislature, 1970 (mimeo) p. 10.

(4) sources of funding, with a committed, and sensitive staff as the key ingredient.[103] In a later study which surveyed 372 YSB agencies, it was found that pressures from the community were hindering development of innovative programs by forcing the programs into a pattern of alignment with other community agencies and institutions (schools, police, courts). As a result, there was a shift in emphasis away from coordination of services and youth development functions towards a tightening of rules, i.e., use of coercive structures. Thus, an interest emerged to have autonomous agencies. However, the separation away from more established agencies, such as schools, police, and courts, often resulted in funding problems, and the inability of the Bureau to acquire referrals for troubled youth.

Criticism of Labeling Theory

The main points in the long and energetic debate around labeling will be discussed below. The extremes of the debate may be indicated on the one hand by statements that the "era" of theories of societal reaction to deviance has come to an end[104] or, that the field has "prospered in an atmosphere of contempt for the results of careful research"[105] and, in

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[103] The Challenge of Youth Service Bureaus, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Washington, D.C.,1973) p. 25.

[104] John Hagan, "Review of the Labeling of Deviance" ed. Walter Gove, American Journal of Sociology 84 (July 1977)p.240.

[105] Walter Gove and Travis Hirschi, eds., The Labeling of of Deviance: Evaluating a Perspective (New York: Sage 1975)p179.

contrast, by Erich Goode's contention that there really is no such thing as a labeling theory, that the field is a fabrication of "observers and critics out of the raw materials of a few arresting passages, phrases and concepts [in the Literature]."[106]

The major recent criticism from the positivist point of view was published in a volume of collected papers delivered at the Third Vanderbilt Sociology Conference in 1975. The contributors en masse took the position that (1) it is "the behavior or condition of the person" that is the critical factor in causing someone to be labeled as deviant, and (2) "labeling is not the major cause of the development of stabilized deviant behavior."[107] This criticism was substantiated by eight experts in various fields: Lee Robbins (alcoholism), Walter Gove (mental illness), Robert Gordon (mental retardation), Richard Smith (physical disability), Charles Title (crime), Travis Hirschi (juvenile delinquency), William McAuliffe (heroin addiction) and Edward Sagarin and Robert Kelly (sexual deviance).

One is forced to agree with aspects of the rebuttal given by Sagarin and Montanino, viz., that Gove's book does not contain a single proponent of the labeling perspective

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[106] Erich Goode, "On Behalf of Labeling Theory," Social Problems 22 (June 1975) p 569-582.

[107] Walter Gove and Travis Hirschi, eds., The Labeling of Deviance: Evaluating a Perspective.

who states "its propositions for...others to analyze, test, accept and reject." Some of these propositions will now be reviewed for consideration with their counter-arguments.[108]

Relativism

There is at the very outset a rejection among some critics of the relativism of the labeling theory expressed in the relativists' proposition that no act is of itself criminal and that criminal behavior is actually defined by powerful groups in their own interests in order to maintain social dominance. Consequently, the "reality" of the social act of deviance stands outside the actors. Thus, Kitsuse asserts that it is not "forms" of behavior that distinguish deviants from nondeviants, but the response of "conventional and conforming members of society." Hirschi implies that this new perspective is in some sense irresponsible because there is no way to prove that such theories are tenable--a somewhat typical positivist stance.

The meaning of the assertion of this externality of the act of deviance has been to show that it is a process of collective definition. Labeling perspective wants to understand how deviance is being collectively perceived and socially defined. (The fact that labeling theorists have not sufficiently studied what is deviant will be discussed later.)

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[108] E.Sagarin and F. Montanino, "Review of Anthologies and Readers on Deviance," Contemporary Sociology 5 (May 1976) p. 259-67.

Wellford objects that the relativist approach leads to the concept of crime as a legal category, which ignores the seriousness of acts (murder, rape, burglary, aggravated assault, etc.) that are "characteristically considered important by citizens and criminologists."[109] He is rightly concerned with the defense over time of the consistent theme of criminology, which has been to encourage the control of serious violations of "property and persons by others." However, most such criticism ignores the intention behind the relativist posture of labeling theory. It is misleading to imply that labeling theory should lead to the abolition of social controls. By and large, labeling theory does not deny the social utility of the universal sanctions appled to some forms of social interaction. Lemert agrees that

> practically all societies in varying degrees... disapprove of incest, adultery, promiscuity, cruelty to children, laziness, disrespect to parents and elders, murder, rape, theft... Certain kinds of actions are to be judged deleterious in any context.[110]

Lemert next makes the extremely important point that "it is not so much that these (serious deviant behaviors) violate rules, as it is that they destroy, downgrade or jeopardize values universal in nature."(emphasis added)

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[109] Charles F. Wellford, "Labeling Theory and Criminology: An Assessment," Social Problems 22 (February, 1975) pp.332-45.

[110] Edwin M. Lemert, "Beyond Mead: The Societal Reaction to Deviance," Social Problems 21 (April 1974)pp.457-68.

Labeling theory has never made the claim that criminal behavior was in some way nonexistent in human nature. Rather, it developed out of a need to "generate a paradigmatic set of questions with which to approach the study of deviance." In this connection it has questioned the statistics and methodologies of social control agencies. It has questioned above all "how far the quantitative...procedure can take us in evaluating the pertinence of a societal reactions' perspective."[111]

The strength of the group interaction model is seen precisely as its capability to expose and examine the "shifting significance of ends and means and their costs (emphasis added) in the emergence of new patterns of social control."[112] Far from advocating some sort of rampant relativism in which the person eventually is or eventually becomes what society "tells him he is"[113] the distinctiveness of the interactionist approach "was to show how deviance was shaped and stabilized by efforts to eliminate and ameliorate it.[114]

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[111] Walter Gove and Travis Hirschi, The Labeling of Deviance, p. 285.

[112] Edwin M. Lemert, Instead of Court: Diversion in Juvenile Justice (Chevy Chase, Maryland: N.I.M.N., 1973)p.466.

[113] Travis Hirschi, "Procedural Rules and the Study of Deviant Behavior," Social Problems 21 (Fall 1973)pp.159-73.

[114] Edwin M. Lemert, Instead of Court, Diversion, p. 457.

The emphasis of Lemert and others on original versus effective causes must be seen for what it is, an attempt to develop an instrumentality for the probing of legal structures:

> The chief gain is a method for specifying the way in which human choices affect the societal reaction without generalizing the claims of others or reducing them to traditional ideas of old style structural, positivist sociology. It shows how costs of changes in social control feed back into decisions to make changes.[115]

Norms

The criticism is leveled that labeling theory does not deal sufficiently with the normative definition of deviance, and that it places greater emphasis on the processes of social response than on how they are learned, both in terms of the deviants and the reactors. Hirschi, for example, asserts that norms are of central importance in the sociology of deviant behavior, that theories of norms permit the prediction of what a society's survival needs are and what its institutional structure looks like, and that these theories thus can show what, within a particular system, is deviant. He further asserts that the "connection between behavior and its antecedents" is absent from both "scholarly and useful versions" of labeling theory.[116]

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[115] Edwin M. Lemert, Instead of Court: Diversion, p. 466

[116] Travis Hirschi, "Procedural Rules and the Study of Deviant Behavior".

Gibbs disagrees, stating that although certain variables may explain why some persons commit certain acts, they do not explain why the acts are crimes, criminal law being "spatially and temporally relative."[117] This is similar to the intention of the interactionist perspective. Labeling theory's expectation, given the context of our pluralistic society, is that norms necessarily will not attract conformity, but that,

> ...new ways of thinking can be opened up by assuming that in the absence of pressures to conform, people will...express a variety of idiosyncratic impulses in overt behavior. When this assumption is joined with...the fact that ...our society increasingly shows fluid and open structuring of situations, categorically different ideas about deviation follow. An equally flexible (emphasis added) conception of norms is required to supplement these assumptions.[118]

In accordance with the concept of the above-named societal fluidity, labeling theorists view norms as sets of probabilities under continual pressure for nonadherence. There is persuasive evidence that, if anything, labeling theorists have been deeply con-erned with the investigation of norms, with the process of how new norms evolve through

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[117] Jack P. Gibbs, "Conceptions of Deviant Behavior: The Old and the New," Pacific Sociological Review 9 (Spring 1966) pp. 9-14.

[118] Edwin M. Lemert, Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 18.

researching behavior in unstructured situations, and with how traditional norms interface with shifts in deviant behavior.

Primary Deviance

It is claimed that labeling theorists have ignored primary deviance or "original" deviant behavior which occurs in a wide variety of cultural and psychological contexts before a person has been stamped with a label that "does in fact make a difference in social relations."[119] Yet it can hardly be said that forms of "invisible" deviance, for example, have not been of interest to many interactionists (Becker, Goffman, Matza, Lofland, Garfinkel). It is more to the point that they have not confronted social environmental factors such as home and school settings and the influence of peer groups, that they have not in fact demonstrated any overriding interest in the systemic causes of deviance. The questions at issue for them have been the social typing of deviant subcultures, the emergence and consolidation of deviant identity, the effects of social exclusion on status, and so forth.

It seems fairly obvious that labeling theorists understand that primary deviance occurs in connection with factors of family situation, neighborhood, peer group, ethnic

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119 Howard S. Becker, Outsiders (new York: The Free Press, 1963).

affiliation, sex, etc. However, the labeling perspective has evolved in opposition to precisely these structuralist features in legal control systems. They have focused on certain notorious practices of social control systems to which it was felt structuralism has given rise. It was expecially the arbitrariness of establishment social control processing that was grist for the mill of labeling theorists. Blumer thus imputes the "regulatory" procedures of institutions whose implementors, "stand to benefit from the (legal) plan, (and who) restrict, bend, accommodate and variously adjust the plan in ways that were never officially intended (emphasis added)".[120] In short, the focus has been mainly on the processes of societal definition, not on the character and background of the deviants.

Macro-Social Structures

It can unquestionably be said that the labeling perspective is deficient in macro-structural levels of analysis:

> In recent years sociologists have come to see deviance and control as essentially symbiotic rather than antagonistic phenomena...While the

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[120] Herbert Blumer, "Social Problems as Collective Behavior," Social Problems 18 (Winter 1971) No. 3, p. 299.

> immediate interaction between deviants and control agencies and the etiological significance of deviance processing have received considerable attention, the historical and structural contexts within which the processing occurs have been largely ignored.[121]

Similarly, if the emphasis on the causal effects of societal response has been in part a strategy for turning attention to "new" sociological perspectives of deviance, the rule-breaker's behavior must nonetheless be merged with systems conceptions--presently lacking in labeling theory--of which more will be said later. However, proponents of some recent notable efforts in this direction are Stephen Pfohl and Andrew Scull. Pfohl conducted a study which brought to light the nature of the widespread and "invisible" deviance of child beating. "The'Discovery'of Child Abuse" helped promote the speedy and universal enactment of criminal legislation in the mid-1960's. Pfohl's study synthesizes the conflict and the labeling perspectives of a particular social-legal development, and shows among other things, that society treats "legitimized violence toward children" as an illness.[122] As part of the effort to develop a historically informed macro-sociological perspective of the "inter-relationship between deviance control structures and the wider social systems of which they are a part," Scull

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[121] Andrew T. Scull, "Madness and Segregative Control: The Rise of the Insane Asylums," Social Problems Vol. 25, No. 3 (February 1977)pp.337-51.

[122] Stephen Pfohl, "The 'Discovery' of Child Abuse," Social Problems 24 (February 1977)pp.310-323.

carried out his Marxist-oriented study of the "segregated" control of madness, i.e., a study of the emergence of the asylum as a specialized institution, in which he draws parallels between pauperism and institutionalization.[123]

Rogers and Buffalo also attempted to remedy the indictment of critics that labeling theory deals mainly with those labeled as individuals--i.e., the individual is the primary discussion unit--rather than with "collective analytical" units. The researchers developed a categorization of nine modes within which deviants "fight back" against the labeling process (acquiescence, repudiation, flight, evasion, re-interpretation and channeling).[124] The attempt being made here was to show labeling not as "evil" per se, but that it is the propensity to divide people into "heros and villains" which gives "increased salience or primacy to the deviant role itself." The intention of the research was to correct the tendency of labeling theory to stress the stigma of labels to the "neglect of systemic categorization."

Another systematically oriented development in sociological theory known as social constructionist sociology has been interested particularly in the "commonsense knowledge"

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[123] Andrew Scull, Decarceration: Community Treatment and the Deviant - A Radical View (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1977).

[124] Joseph Rogers and M.D. Buffalo, "Fighting Back: Nine Modes of Adaptation to a Deviant Label," Social Problems 22 (October 1974)pp.101-119.

of society, or knowledge between objective and subjective reality. Human reality is seen as socially constructed reality. This approach believes that the "sociologies of language and religion" cannot be considered peripheral to the sociology of knowledge.[125] The approach can be described as non-positivist in the sense that the object of positivism is understood as defining the object of the social sciences in such a way as to "legislate away their most important problems."[126]

Passivity

One of the most common criticisms of labeling theory, both from within the interactionist camp and from without, has been the charge that "the offender is almost always... portrayed as a passive non-participant in his own pre-determined fate."[127] This appears to contradict a central precept of interactionist ideology: which is that the nature of social conditions is not static, but fundamentally

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[125] P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Inc., 1967).

[126] Ibid.

[127] Prudence Rains and John I. Kitsuse, "Comments on the Labeling Approach to Deviance," presented at the 65th annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 1970.

active. From outside the interactionist camp, Hagan, for example, has declared himself to be in favor of the increased acknowledgment of the reciprocal relationship between actor and reactor.[128]

Schervish has strongly criticized the seeming contradiction between labeling theory and the precepts of symbolic interactionism. He has criticized labeling theory for being overly passive, as well as for taking those labeled instead of large-scale systemic analytical units, as the primary subject for discussion.[129] Schur's argument in response to such charges is that labelists have, if anything, stressed the principle of continuous interaction between individuals' behavior and the responses of others, and that:

> far from treating individuals as passive objects [labeling analysts] appear to challenge the tendency of other theorists to treat them as such and...in fact, recognize significant measures of "freedom" and "personal dignity." [130]

Conclusion

Finally, it seems important to point out that labeling theory is still only crudely formulated. Kitsuse regards it

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[128] John Hagan, "Labeling and Deviance: A Case Study in the 'Sociology of the Interesting'," Social Problems 20 (Spring 1973a): 447-458.

[129] Paul Schervish, "The Labeling Perspective: Its Bias and Potential in the Study of Political Deviance," The American Sociologist 8 (May 1973): 47-57.

[130] Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper & Row, 1971) p. 70.

as an "unfortunate term" because it reinforces the crude rejection or acceptance of what is really a broad and multifaceted approach. Lemert also terms it "crude sociological determinism." Schur denies that it is in fact a formal theory, while Tittle believes that the theory may have some validity at the societal level: "...The most that can be concluded is that social disadvantages may have some effect on labeling and that labeling may have some influence in producing criminal behavior."[131]

Labeling theory was designated as such in textbooks only as recently as the early 1970's. Its major objective has been to describe deviancy from "the point of view of the deviants without attempting to isolate the causes of crime and without managerial or moralistic interest in correcting or preventing the conduct in question."[132] Its impetus derived originally from the intradisciplinary opposition to narrow causal propositions, which left untouched the phenomenon of the collective labeling of behavior. "Subjectivism" with respect to labeling theorists paying attention to the underdog and their hostility to the establishment,has been one of the by-products of the labeling approach. Even from within the labeling perspective there has been criticism of the tendency to magnify "the exploitative and arbitrary features of social reaction."[133]

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[131] Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior, 1971.

[132] Malcolm Spector, "Labeling Theory in Social Problems: A Young Journal Launches a New Theory," Social Problems 24 (October 1976): 69-75.

[133] Edwin M Lemert, Instead of Court: Diversion

But such occurrences are to be expected in the course of overturning older theories and technologies.

Oversimplification is in fact a necessary characteristic of scientific procedure. It seems clear that the debate and the synthesis that is taking place concerning the theory of labeling has raised the central orientation issues for future work in the field. With respect to methodologies, there needs to be an integration of the micro and the social system models of analysis, "By allowing for explicit consideration of antithetical models the way may be cleared for a synthesis, a model which has the advantages of both and the disadvantages of neither."[134]

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[134] Thomas Scheff, Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1966).

CHAPTER 3

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Methods

This study was structured according to an experimental treament/control group pre/post test design. Negotiations for this study were initiated with the Berrien County Youth Service Bureau Director during the summer of 1976. Initial talks involved the Model Evaluation Project Co-director of Research, Dr. William Davidson III. Subsequent negotiations were the responsibility of this writer. The Berrien County Youth Service Bureau director agreed to allow the random selection of project youth before the study began. He also agreed to permit the research team to control all intake procedures and the initial processing of youth.

Under the negotiated research plan, it was understood that one-third of the youths referred would have their services delayed while those remaining would be interviewed by Bureau counselors and their cases handled under the regular Bureau procedures. Youths would not be kept out of the sample for any reason unless agreed upon by the researcher; therefore, all those referred, regardless of the reason for referral, were eligible for random assignment to sample groups, as outlined below.

Interviewers were supervised by the writer through on-site visits (two or three days weekly) and daily telephone contact. All new client-intake contacts were controlled by the research staff during the entire study period.

Final agreement on the project was reached in the fall of 1976. Research began in November 1976 with the assignment of youths to experimental and control groups. All project interviewing was concluded in June 1977. A final review of the Juvenile Court files was conducted in August 1980.

Appendix F outlines staff instruction for the steps involved in the processing of Berrien County Youth Service Bureau clients. Details of the random selection of youth clients and methods and procedures appear in the following section of this report.

Stratified Random Sample

Random Assignment to Experimental Groups of Youth Referred to Youth Service Bureau (YSB)

Youths who met Youth Service Bureau (YSB) clientele requirements were preassessed and randomly assigned to experimental (Group 1) and control (Group 2) groups for interviewing (See Figure 1). Youths were eligible for YSB Services if they were (1) residents of Berrien County, (2) seventeen years old or under, and (3) not under the formal jurisdiction of the juvenile court. Each youth referred to YSB was checked for YSB intervention requirements. Those who were not eligible were then referred by the YSB casework supervisor back to the agency that had originally referred him or her.

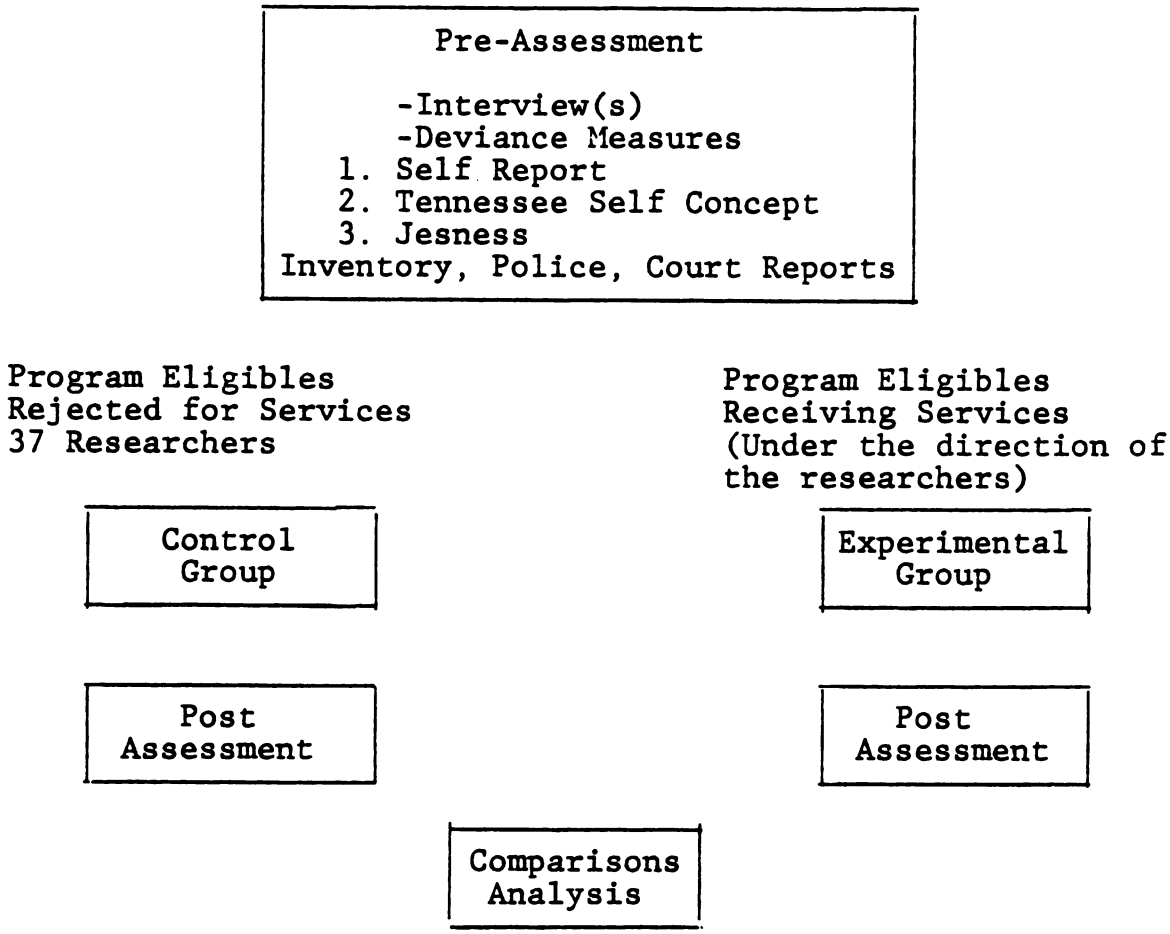

Figure 1.
Youth Service Bureau Clientele Random Assignment

The experimental group represented any youth entering the YSB who was receiving the normal YSB services. He or she was matched with a control group youth who did not receive YSB services for the six month period. The two groups were matched by age and sex, and were processed during the same period of time. When the experimentally matched pairs terminated from the YSB, the client in the control group as well as his counterpart in the experimental group received a termination interview.

The following list provides an overview of the sample process:

1. YSB referrals were screened for eligibility by the intake secretary
2. Intake secretary provided research coordinator with a copy of all referrals eligible for the YSB
3. Research coordinator received referral slips and assigned each to a research group based on age and sex
4. Research subjects were randomly assigned to one of the four categories:
   a. Males 15 years of age and over
   b. Males under 15 years of age
   c. Females 15 years of age and over
   d. Females under 15 years of age
5. Assignments were made as follows:
   a. Youths in their respective age and sex classifications were assigned on a "first come first served" basis to their research groups by pulling random assignments cards from the "blind" research envelopes by age and sex., a male over 15 would be eligible for either the experimental or the control group.
   b. Once assigned to a research group, the youth was given a research ID number
   c. The youth's name was recorded on the respective research group's assignment envelope.

Upon assignment, each youth was interviewed by one of two local research interviewers, one male and one female. Youths were then contacted by letter indicating that they had been referred to the YSB, and were introduced to the Model Evaluation Project/YSB research project. Interviews were set up at the youth's home, the YSB office, or in some cases, the youth's school. A parent was present only during the initial visit and only to sign parent/youth voluntary participation forms. Of the ninety-five youths referred to the YSB during the study, only four refused to participate in the research project and YSB activities.

Each interview also involved the use of three interviewing scales (1) Self-Report Delinquency, (2) Tennessee Self-Concept, and (3) Jesness Inventory. Each youth had an individual file containing (1) Self-Report Delinquency--intake and termination, (2) Tennessee Self-Concept--intake and termination, (3) Jesness Inventory--intake and termination, (4) YSB General Information Fact Sheet--intake and termination, (5) Juvenile Court Cross-Sectional Follow-up, (6) Police Department Cross-Sectional Follow-up. Further methods and procedures used to process youths referred to the Berrien County Youth Service Bureau are in Appendix F.

Research Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1.1 Diversion of youths to the Youth Service Bureau reduces or retards the degree of future deviant behavior.

a. Dependent Variable: Deviant Behavior (Youth Crime and Delinquency),

b. Independent Variable: Youth Service Bureau,

c. Assumption: Youths diverted to the Youth Service Bureau will experience lower levels of stigmatization than those processed through the Juvenile Justice System.

Hypothesis 1.2 Youths diverted to the Youth Service Bureau will experience lower levels of penetration into the Juvenile Justice System.

a. Dependent Variable: Police Department and Juvenile Court official contacts,

b. Independent Variable: Youth Service Bureau.

Hypothesis 1.3 Youths diverted to the Youth Service Bureau will experience an improved self-image, or one which remains intact.

a. Dependent Variable: Tennessee Self-Concept Scale,

b. Independent Variable: Youth Service Bureau services.

Operationalization and Conceptualization of the Research Hypothesis

The hypotheses were evaluated by two types of measures, (1) structured interviews of YSB clients involved in the study were conducted by the two trained on-site interviewers using

the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, the Self-Report Delinquency Card Sort, and the Jesness Inventory, (2) the Pre/post Juvenile Justice System Contact Report was the second measure from the official Juvenile Court files and Police Department files. Further description of the measures are noted below and also appear in the appendices.

Tennessee Self-Concept Scale

The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) is the most frequently used scale for the measurement of self-concept of delinquent and non-delinquent youth.[135] Fitts in collaboration with Hamner,[136] reviewed the TSCS research on delinquency, but a number of studies have been reported as cited by Fitts.[137]

The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale is published in two forms: The Clinical and Research version (Form C & R) and the Counseling Form. Each of the two forms uses the same hundred items, but form C & R employs a number of additional scores which are not derived for the Counseling Form. Data presented for this study are from the Clinical and Research Form. The TSCS provides a variety of information about the

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[135] William H. Fitts, Tennessee Self Concept Scale (Nashville: Counselor Recordings, Acklen Station, 37212) 1965.

[136] William H. Fitts and W.T. Hamner, "The Self-concept and Delinquency," Nashville Mental Health Center Monograph,1, (Nashville, 1969).

[137] William H. Fitts, "The Self-concept and Behavior: Overview and Supplement," Monograph No. VII, 1972c; "The Self-concept: A Vantage Point for Viewing the Human State," Monograph No. 1, 1973b;Dede Wallace Center Monographs (Nashville: Counselor Recordings, Acklen Station, 37212).

individual and the way he describes himself. The scale items appear in Appendix B. The major score items are the following:

A. The Self-Criticism Score (SC)

B. The Positive Scores (P)

1. Total P Score
2. Row 1 P Score
3. Row 2 Score - Self-satisfaction
4. Row 3 P Score - Behavior
5. Column A - Physical Self
6. Column B - Moral Self
7. Column C - Personal Self
8. Column D - Family Self
9. Column E - Social Self

Jesness Inventory

The Jesness Inventory Scale is a personality inventory specifically designed for youth between the ages of 8 and 18. The Jesness Inventory is a questionnaire (155 items true/false) with easily comprehended, idiomatic items yielding ten trait scores and a powerful index predictive of social tendencies.

Scales are: Social maladjustment, value orientation, immaturity, autism, alienation, manifested aggression, withdrawal, social anxiety, repression, denials and the social index. These scales and the index were developed against external criteria and by cluster analysis. Norms are based on delinquent and nondelinquent boys and girls with special

attention to the inclusion of subjects from lower middle and lower socioeconomic levels.

Archival Data Collection

The demographic, social, and psychological characteristics of YSB clients were obtained through an individual record search from the Berrien County YSB record files. Information was collected on date of birth, race, sex, previous juvenile court involvement, and previous police department contacts from the Benton Harbor, St. Joseph, and Berrien Springs police departments, as well as the Berrien County Sheriff department and the County Juvenile Court.

Information also was collected from Berrien County law enforcement agencies on the frequency, seriousness, and disposition of police contacts one year prior to referral of individual youths to the YSB program, and up to six months following referral. The Berrien County Juvenile Court provided information on delinquent offense referrals to the Juvenile Court, and the seriousness, frequency, and disposition of each. This information also contained data collected one year prior to the first YSB referral and up to six months following referral. The six month time interval was selected to maintain consistency with the average YSB client termination pattern.

Information on nineteen variables was collected to provide a detailed description of youths referred to the Berrien County YSB. The nineteen variables are as follows:

Source of Referral	Module (degree of Juvenile Justice System Involvement)
Reasons for Referral	Prior Offenses
Community Services	Seriousness of Prior Offenses
Race	Disposition of Prior Offenses
Sex	Number of Prior Petitions
Age	Petitioners
Living Arrangements	Contact with Youth
School Status	Duration of Services
School Grade	Termination Reasons
Court Status	

The following procedures were used to collect the data:

1. Collection of case-history data and records concerning the penetration into the juvenile justice system at the time of first exposure to YSB for each youth assigned to sample population. The measure of penetration involved six stages of processing of youths by the juvenile justice system.
   a. Youths referred to YSB for nondelinquent reasons,
   b. Youths who were contacted by the police regarding their reported delinquency, but who were not officially apprehended,
   c. Youths who were arrested by the police, but have not come under formal jurisdiction of the juvenile court,
   d. Youths under formal jurisdiction of the juvenile court or the State Department of Social Services because of a delinquency petition, but who have not been institutionalized,

e. Youths who were adjudicated by the court and await preliminary inquiry,

f. Youths who have reached the juvenile court preliminary inquiry state.

2. Research staff assured the maintenance of systematic longitudinal information and compilation of current case-history data on each youth population sample with information (official records) provided by schools and juvenile justice agencies; comparisons with the individual case-history data gathered at intake into the Youth Service Bureau.

3. Use was made of appropriate statistical tests to determine any significant difference between experimental and control groups in terms of juvenile justice system involvement.

Self-Reported Delinquency Card Sort

Self-reported delinquent acts were another pre/post measure. Gold developed a procedure to measure unlawful acts by youth by asking them to self-report delinquent activity for a three month time period prior to his or her referral to the YSB and for the last three months prior to termination from the program.[138] The scoring for this report is based

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[138] Martin Gold, Delinquent Behavior in an American City (Belmont, California: Brooks-Cole, 1970).

upon the frequency of offenses and seriousness of offenses using a delinquency seriousness scale developed by Sellin and Wolfgang.[139]

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[139] T. Sellin and M.E. Wolfgang, The Measurement of Delinquency (New York: Wiley, 1964).

CHAPTER 4

YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU

Diversion Program Description

J. A. Seymour discusses the diversion of juveniles from juvenile justice agencies in an article entitled "Youth Service Bureaus."[140] It is Seymour's contention that all efforts be explored to reduce the number of juveniles reaching juvenile court. He asserts that a more desirable approach to handling juvenile offenders is one in which flexible, pre-judicial processing is encouraged to cope with the wide range of problems encountered by children and youth. Seymour further maintains that juvenile courts have not rehabilitated youth who have come into contact with the juvenile justice system. He contends that the rehabilitative efforts need to be challenged and altered.

Richard D. Schwartz and Jerome H. Skolnick support Seymour's recommendation for the establishment of Youth Service Bureau agencies to serve nondelinquents and minor offenders.[141] Such an agency can better deal with the social problems of children and youth such as employment and drug abuse. Youth Service Bureaus should provide counseling

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[140] John A. Seymour, "Youth Service Bureaus," Law and Society Review 7 (1972), pp. 247-272.

[141] Richard D. Schwartz and Jerome H. Skolnick, "Two Studies of Legal Stigma," Social Problems 10 (Fall 1962) p.133-40.

special education, recreation, educational guidance, and brokerage services to involve other community social services agencies. Participation in the YSB program services should be voluntary, with local control being maintained by officials in a nonthreatening, noncoercive manner. This was the basis under which the Berrien County Youth Service Bureau was established.

Sherwood Norman[142] like Seymour, believes that one of the more difficult issues facing the YSB is deciding upon its relationship to the juvenile court and police department. Research has to be conducted in the community to ascertain what services are needed for youths, what other social services agencies exist, and what records should be maintained on youths. Seymour contends also that an evaluation of the effectiveness should be conducted periodically to review the progress and success of the YSB. Finally, Edwin M. Lemert[143] argues very strongly in favor of YSB's reducing the stigma on those youths receiving services. It is believed by many juvenile justice researchers that the negative stigma of youth having been processed by the formal juvenile justice system increases their likelihood of future involvement with the system. Seymour's concern for the escalation

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[142] Sherwood Norman, The Youth Service Bureau (New York: National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1971).

[143] Edwin M. Lemert, "Beyond Mead: The Societal Reaction to Deviance," Social Problems 21 (April 1974)p.459.

of stigma is supported by Alfred J. Kahn.[144] Jack Donald Foster, Simon Dinitz, and Walter C. Reckless argue that the identity of youth with the illegitimacy of formal justice system involvement must be reduced through alternative processing, such as referral to the YSB.[145]

Youth Service Bureaus have been viewed by some as agents to bring about change in the way in which the community addresses the problems related to juvenile delinquency. Yet, a community cannot overestimate the effectiveness of the YSB, as they can only have relatively limited impact on juvenile misbehavior problems. This contention is held by the State of Michigan which has sponsored a number of YSBs over the years.

The YSB concept was proposed first by the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The YSB serves as an umbrella or coordinating agency for the purpose of using existing social service agencies to deter delinquent youth behavior. Figure 2, the Youth Service Bureau Operation Chart, details the typical services provided by YSB programs, and Figure 3, the Youth Service Bureau Referral Flow Chart, delineates the referral sources for youth clients.

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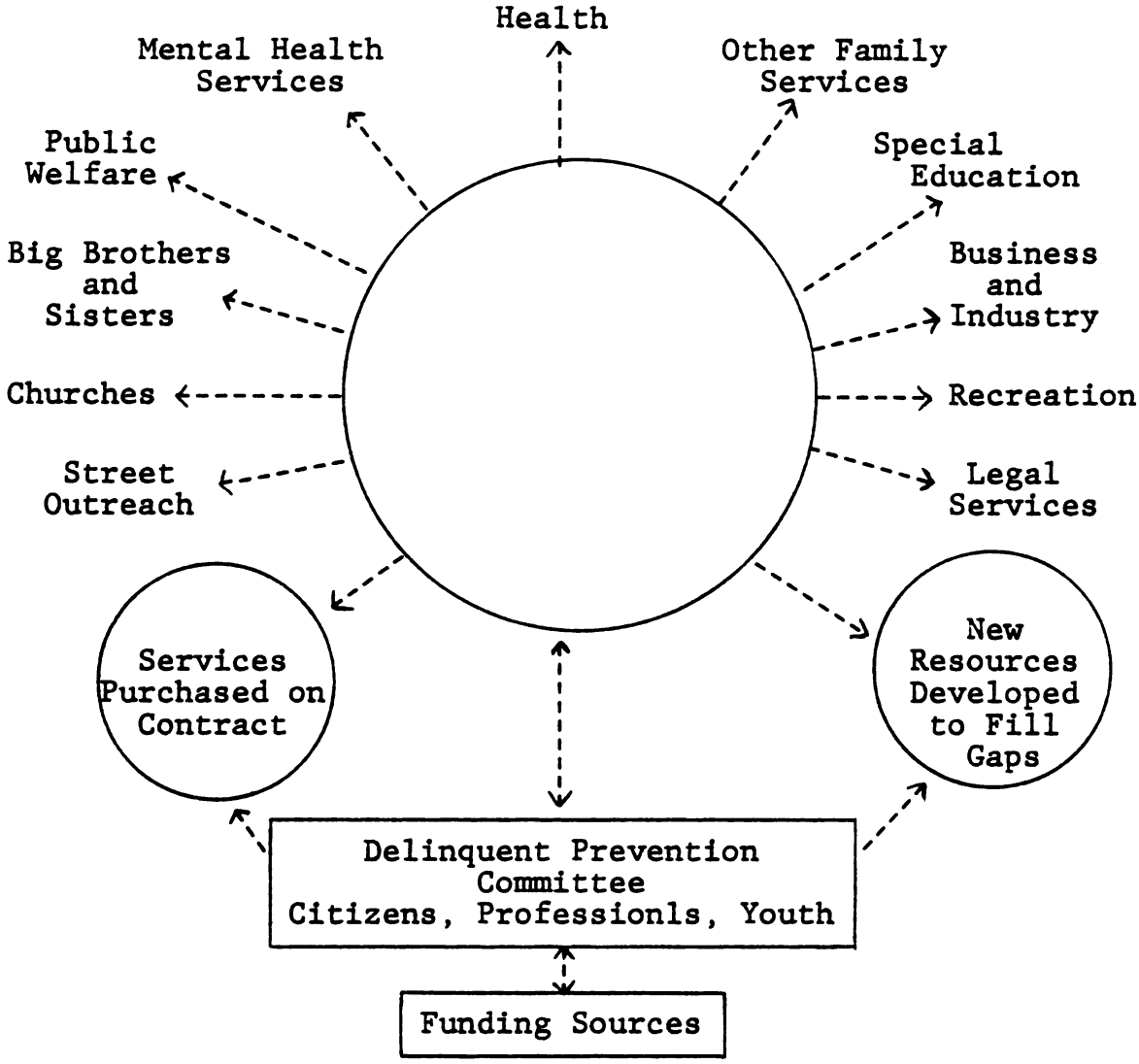
[144] Alfred J. Kahn, A Court for Children (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953) p. 59-60.

[145] Jack Donald Foster, Simon Dinitz and Walter C. Reckless, "Perceptions of Stigma Following Public Intervention for Delinquent Behavior" Social Problems 20 (1972)p.202-209.



Links youth to services

Non-coercive; operates from neighborhood centers; open door policy; Involves child, family, neighborhood, in identifying and solving problems; Coordinates services, refers and follows-through as advocate of child;

Develops new resources

Purchases urgently needed services not otherwise available; Promotes new or expanded services and facilities to fill gaps;

Modifies Systems

Constructively intervenes in delinquency breeding attitudes and practices.

Figure 2.
THE YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU OPERATION CHART
National Council on Crime and Delinquency

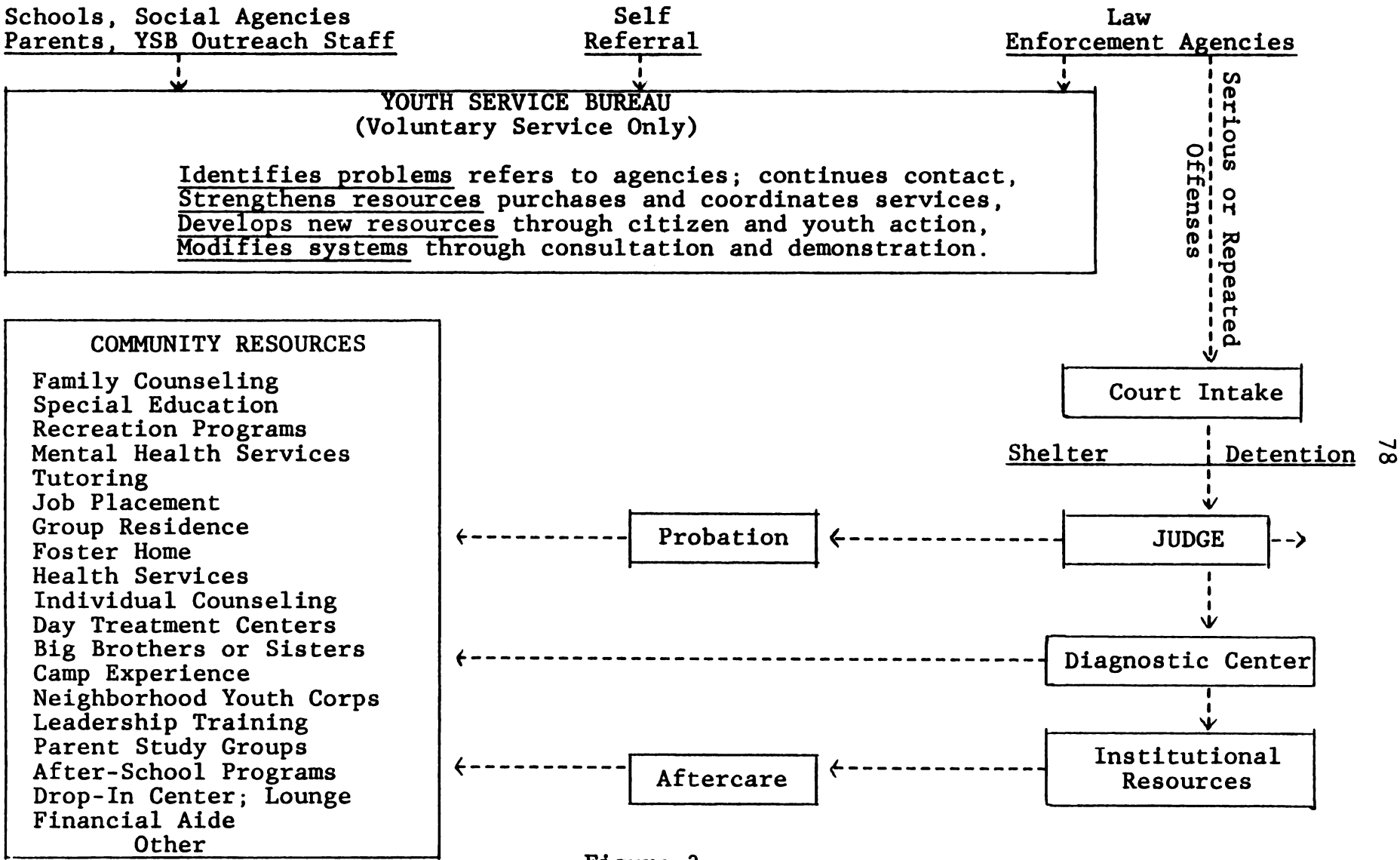


Figure 3.
THE YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU REFERRAL FLOW CHART
National Council on Crime and Delinquency

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 and the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1968 were both intended partially to design demonstration projects to develop more effective means to divert juveniles from further penetration or involvement with the criminal justice system. For those youths successfully diverted, the use of an array of social services for the youth is encouraged as a means of reducing potential acts of delinquency.

In respect to the YSB concept, the United States Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention outlines the diversion process designed to reduce the further penetration of youths into the juvenile justice system. Diversion occurs at any point from apprehension to adjudication. Diversion essentially focuses on a set of specific alternatives to processing by the juvenile justice system. The services provided to the youths attempt to assist them to adjust to personal, family, and other social problems.

The Michigan Office of Criminal Justice Programs has funded YSBs state-wide since the early 1970's. These programs were provided initial funding based on a federal, state, and local government match. Generally, programs were required to be funded in full by the local units of government by their fourth year of operation. The Berrien County Youth Services and Assistance Bureau was funded under this program.

The primary goals of the State Office of Criminal Justice Programs are as follows:

1. To reduce the number of youths adjudicated for delinquent acts,
2. To foster coordination and cooperation with other community resources involved in the diversion process.
3. To provide effective services to the client youth who are diverted to the YSB,
4. To assist in improvements in the effectiveness and efficiency of the juvenile justice system decision-making process, and
5. To increase the cost effectiveness of juvenile justice system programming.

The target population for YSBs are youths who would otherwise be subject to adjudication if the YSB services were unavailable.

A more detailed description of the State of Michigan's YSB program design appears in Appendix A.

The Berrien County Youth Services and Assistance Bureau offers many of the traditional YSB program services. The agency attempts to interrelate their activities with those of other social and youth agencies in Berrien County. Funding for the YSB was first provided by the state with federal matching grants. The program now receives its entire operating budget from sources, e. g., the county, city, and school district.

The Berrien County Youth Service Bureau offers services such as personal counseling, career counseling, and employment opportunities. In addition, the YSB serves as a referral source for crisis situations beyond the professional abilities of the YSB staff, shelter, and income maintenance.

From its beginning, the Berrien County YSB focused on minimizing a youth's penetration in the juvenile justice system. The main goals were avoidance of adjudication and institutionalization. This was achieved by demonstrating to youths the socially acceptable and meaningful roles for them to follow. By minimizing their contact with the juvenile justice system and reducing youth-adult alienation, the negative labeling associated with having been identified with the juvenile justice system was therefore reduced.

The staffing of the Berrien County YSB consisted of former juvenile court case workers, school social workers, and employment counselors. None of the YSB staff had been previous youth advocates in their former capacities and were able to gain the interest and confidence of their youth clients. The staff was racially integrated with a good balance of males and females. This also helped in the YSB's ability to relate well to its clients.

Youths were referred to the YSB from the local school district, city, township, and county law enforcement agencies, parents/guardians, and other social and community agencies. A few youths referred themselves.

Group Profile

Data on twenty-two variables used to describe youths referred to the YSB are presented in Tables 1 to 19 as percentage of youths in each category. The total number of case records sampled from the Berrien County YSB was 600, of which 563 were usable for data analyses. The twenty-two variables represent the total number which were consistently available in Youth Service Bureau case records.

Table 1 presents the referral source for the youth samples. Six specific referral sources (such as schools, parents, courts, etc.) were recorded and consistently available. An additional category of "others" was used to include referrals from ministers, mental health agencies, and relatives other than parents. The reason for referral to the YSB fell into three general areas. These were: (1) delinquency--indicating that youths were referred for committing a nonstatus offense, (2) child neglect/abuse, and (3) several specific categories of status offenses. Table 2 reports the results for eleven separate reasons for referral. Each category represents a potential need or problem area. These items were scored dichotomously for each case record indicating whether the problem was noted or not by a caseworker. The percentages listed reflect the proportion of the sample for which a "yes" response could be recorded.

The community services received by a youth, or a youth and his or her family prior to being referred to the YSB, are presented in Table 3. Examples of the services in each

Table 1.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
SOURCE OF REFERRAL

Schools	17.2%
Parent(s)	4.1
Self	2.3
Juvenile Court	17.0
Retail Stores	0.4
Law Enforcement Agencies	46.0
Others	13.1
	(*n=559.0)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 2.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
REASONS FOR REFERRAL

Alternative Education Program	----%
Delinquency (nonstatus offenses)	61.5
Child neglect/abuse	1.2
School problems	13.4
Runaway	7.1
Home incorrigibility	5.3
Curfew violation	2.3
Possession of Alcohol	2.5
Others	6.6
	(*n=561)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

category include: (1) mental health-private psychologist and psychiatrists, child guidance clinics, and mental health centers; (2) state social services--ADC, Foster Care, Protective Services; (3) special services from schools--school social workers, school psychologists, special education; (4) employment--Neighborhood Youth Corp and Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) programs; and (5) recreation--Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, sports programs, and church groups. Table 3 includes the percent of all youths in the total sample who received at least one service, as well as the percent receiving each kind of service. Obviously, a given youth can appear in more than one of these categories. The data indicated that 92.4 percent of the sample population studied had not received community services before referral to the YSB.

Table 3.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
COMMUNITY SERVICES

Mental health	1.6%
State social services	2.2
Special services through schools	1.8
Employment	0.9
Recreation	1.1
Total	7.6%
	(*n=563)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Information pertaining to the race, sex, and age for referred youth is listed in Tables 4 to 6. In terms of race, the proportion of minority clients served by the YSB was larger than the proportion of minorities in the total population of Berrien County. The Berrien County YSB also served a larger proportion of female clients than agencies elsewhere in Michigan. The variable age presented in Table 6 indicates consistency with state-wide statistics on referrals to service agencies. Specifically, the Berrien County YSB dealt with a client population that averaged approximately fourteen years of age.

Table 4.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
RACE

Black	42.5%
White	56.5
Other	1.1

(*n=471)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 5.
Berrien County Youth Services Bureau
SEX

Male	59.3%
Female	40.7

(*n=563)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 6.
Berrien County Youth Services Bureau
AGE

Younger than 8	1.1%
8	0.7
9	1.3
10	3.9
11	5.2
12	6.4
13	14.1
14	22.7
15	27.2
16	15.9
17	1.4
18	0
Older than 18	0

(*n=559)
(Mean=13.855)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

The variable living arrangement appears in Table 7. Percentages for the Berrien County YSB reflect the proportion of youths whose primary home situation throughout the duration of services from the YSB was described by a given category. Youths living with adoptive parents were included in the category "both natural parents." A youth living alone, or with friends or neighbors, appears in the category "others." Most youths sampled lived with both natural parents.

Table 7.
Berrien County Youth Services Bureau
LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

Both natural parents	44.1%
Mother only	39.3
Father only	6.3
Mother plus step-father	3.6
Father plus step-mother	1.3
Other relative	3.6
Foster home	0.4
Group home	0
Institution	0
Other	1.4

(*n=555)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Tables 8 and 9 describe the school status of clients sampled. In Table 8, the percentage of youths enrolled, suspended, expelled, or who dropped out of school at the time of the intake at the YSB is presented. Essentially, the YSB dealt with youths who were enrolled in school at the time of their referral. Table 9 indicates the last grade completed by the sample of YSB clients at the time of intake. The majority of youths were enrolled in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades.

Table 8.
Berrien County Youth Services Bureau
SCHOOL STATUS

Enrolled	94.5%
Suspended	1.1
Expelled	0.5
Dropped out	3.9

(*n=437)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 9.
Berrien County Youth Services Bureau
SCHOOL GRADE LEVEL ACHIEVED

0	1.2%
1	1.2
2	0.9
3	2.6
4	4.7
5	7.3
6	12.5
7	19.1
8	28.8
9	15.1
10	6.1
11	0.5
12	0

(*n=424)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Tables 10 through 17 present those variables which describe youths served in terms of their involvement with the juvenile justice system at intake. Tables 10 and 11 present an overview of prior involvement recorded in YSB case records. For each youth an attempt was made to record the most serious court involvement. The zero module category used in Table 11 includes those youths for whom case records did not indicate prior involvement at the Module 1 level. Modules 1 through 5 were defined as follows:

Module 1 - youths who were contacted by the police regarding their alleged delinquent behavior, but who were not yet officially apprehended; or

youths who were identified as "in danger of becoming delinquent" because they meet two of the following three criteria: (a) behavior problems documented by school records, (b) parents requesting counseling to enable them to guide and control the behavior of their children, (c) living in neighborhoods of high crime incidence.

Module 2 - youths who were arrested by the police, but who were not yet under the formal jurisdiction of juvenile court.

Module 3 - youths under formal jurisdiction of the juvenile court or the State Department of Social Services because of a delinquency petition, but who were not yet institutionalized.

Module 4 - youths under the formal jurisdiction of the juvenile court or the State Department of Social Services because of a delinquency petition, and currently in a private or public correctional institution.

Module 5 - youths under the formal jurisdiction of the juvenile court or the State Department of Social Services because of a delinquency petition and re-entering the community after a period of treatment in a private or public correctional institution.

As indicated in Tables 10 and 11, the majority of YSB cases involved youth who had no formal court status and thus would be categorized as either Module 0 or Module 1.

Table 10.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
COURT STATUS (YSB)

No court status	78.7%
Informal probation	4.0
Probation	2.2
Foster Home	0.2
Group Home	0.2
Institution	0
Other	14.7

(*n=544)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 11.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
MODULE

0	29.3%
1	19.5
2	42.1
3	9.1
4	0
5	0

(*n=563)
(Mean=1.309)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Tables 12 through 14 present information on previous offenses committed by youths. In Table 12, the percentage of youths who committed a given number of offenses within twelve months prior to referral is shown. The majority, more than 75 percent of cases dealt with by the bureau, involved youths who had no prior offenses.

The average seriousness of offenses is presented in Table 13. A weighted scale was used to compute the seriousness of previous offenses for each case. Status offenses were given a weight of 1, minor misdemeanors a weight of 2, major misdemeanors/minor felonies a weight of 3, and major felonies a weight of 4. In cases where more than one offense had been committed in the year prior to referral, an average seriousness score was computed. As indicated above, Tabel 13 reveals that the majority of youths committed no offenses. Moreover, among those who did have official records, the majority tended to be status offenders or committed minor misdemeanors.

In Table 14, the disposition of previous offenses was recorded. For the relatively small number of cases in which two or more different dispositions were made, the most serious disposition was recorded. For example, when the disposition of one offense was "warned and released" while the second offense was "petitioned to court," the latter was recorded. Again, the majority of youths had not experienced any disposition in the juvenile justice system.

Table 12.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
PRIOR OFFENSES

0	83.8%
1	14.0
2	2.0
3	0.2
4	0
5	0
6	0
Greater than 6	0

(*n=563)
(Mean=0.185)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 13.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
SERIOUSNESS OF PRIOR OFFENSES

No offenses	83.3%
1.00-1.50	3.7
1.51-2.00	9.6
2.01-2.50	0.2
2.51-3.00	2.3
3.01-3.50	0
3.51-4.00	0.4

(*n=563)
(Mean=0.321)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 14.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
DISPOSITION OF PRIOR OFFENSES

Warned and released, arrested, or parent(s) notified	0.2%
Referred to court	--
Restitution ordered	0
Referred to the YSB	13.5
Referred to other social service or mental health agency	0
Detained	0
Petitioned to court	2.3
No offenses committed	83.8

(*n=563)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Tables 15 and 16 present information gathered from court records. Table 15 lists the proportion of youths for whom offenses committed during the twelve month period prior to referral resulted in petitions. Using prior petitions as a criterion, the lack of previous official delinquency on the part of the YSB is again revealed.

Information relating to a youth's involvement with the YSB is presented in Tables 17, 18, and 19. Table 17 lists the number of youth and nonyouth contacts made by the YSB staff in each of the cases sampled, including any contact recorded in case notes, whether it was a direct individual counseling session with the youth, telephone contact, or other contacts relevant to the case in question. Table 17 alone indicates the frequency of YSB staff contacts among youths sampled.

The duration of service to youths is shown in Table 18. This variable was measured from the date of intake to the date of termination and rounded to the nearest month. The overall duration of services provided by YSB was two and one-half months. Most YSB interventions involved contacts less than once a week, as revealed by Tables 18 and 19.

Table 19 presents the reasons for termination of services. The categories range from "parents and youths refuse services" at the time of referral to "goals accomplished." Several things are striking in terms of the termination reasons listed. First, approximately half of the sample cases were terminated due to goals being accomplished. This seems to be a relatively low percentage of success. Since the success rate was judged by case workers at each site, this figure may actually be an overestimate. Second, the category "youth referred to another agency" was not a major reason for termination. This is an unexpected result in view of the stated service brokerage goals of YSBs. Finally, it should be noted that the remaining categories, which involved approximately 40 percent of cases served, indicate case terminations which are "undesirable."

Table 15.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
NUMBER OF PRIOR PETITIONS

0	96.6%
1	2.7
2	0.4
3	0.4
4	0
5	0

(*n=563)
(Mean=0.044)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 16.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
PETITIONERS**

Parent(s)	13.3%
Law Enforcement Agencies	80.0
Schools	5.3
Others	1.3

(*n=75)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

** Percent petitioned by each source is based on the number of YSB clients with petitions for time period noted in text, not the entire YSB sample.

Table 17.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
CONTACTS WITH YOUTH

0-2	76.2%
3-5	16.4
6-8	4.5
9-11	1.3
12-14	1.0
15-17	0
18-20	0.2
Greater than 20	0.4

(*n=535)
(Mean=1.3)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 18.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
DURATION OF SERVICES

0 months	10.0%
1	19.1
2	13.2
3	17.1
4	11.4
5	6.8
6	3.6
7	3.2
8	2.1
9	2.5
Greater than 9	10.9

(*n=560)
(Mean=2.50)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

Table 19.
Berrien County Youth Service Bureau
TERMINATION REASONS

Parents refused services	10.5%
Youth refused services	2.3
Both parents and youth refused services	1.2
Family refused services after services began	1.5
Youth already a client of another agency	0.9
Youth referred to another agency	4.1
Youth moved out of county	3.5
Youth passed maximum age for receiving services	0.6
Court intervened	2.6
Goals accomplished	58.0
Unable to make contact with youth	8.2
Never an official case	1.2
Caseworker discontinues services--services not effective	1.5
Family refused services after some goals accomplished	0.6
Drop out	3.5
End of School year	---

(*n=343)

* Number of cases in sample population of 600 for which data were obtained

CHAPTER 5

QUANTITATIVE DATA RESULTS

Analysis Design

The basic method of data analysis for this study is the comparison of questionnaire responses of the experimental and control group over a period of six months. Responses for each variable on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and Jesness Inventory are given by subjects of the control group and the experimental group. Questionnaire data were gathered at the beginning of the YSB program, referred to earlier as the intake scores, and the termination scores. Both the control and experimental groups were partitioned into subgroups based on race, sex and age, and comparisons made between intake and termination.

The f-statistic of the subject is used to compare scores on each variable under study. The significance of the difference between means is used for hypothesis testing purposes. The test of the null hypothesis is that the scores between the two groups will be equal. The statistical test applied must demonstrate that the difference between means is significantly different from zero. For this analysis, a ten percent significance level is set as the testing statistic criteria. This ten percent significance level was selected over a one percent or five percent significance level in view of the exploratory nature of this research. As

cited in Chapter 1, few research projects have been undertaken designed to test labeling theory and the YSB. Also, since the more commonly used five percent significance level which is often found in social research, is derived at arbitrarily, there is no compelling reason to adopt the five percent level for this exploratory study. It is anticipated by the writer that this research study will be replicated through further investigation, thus research conditions can be refined to an extent whereby more rigorous standards of measurement can be employed.

Tennessee Self-Concept Scale Results

This test consists of twenty-nine variables, with measurements taken at the program's intake and at the program's termination. Please refer to Appendix B for a complete glossary of Tennessee Self-concept Scale items.

Pre-existing differences between the experimental and control groups are detected by comparing the intake groups, control vs. experimental. These results are shown in Table 20. The following differences on the pre-test are noted:

1. Males in the intake control group had more normal Self-concept (SC) scores (at the ten percent level of significance),
2. Females in the intake control group had more normal net conflict scores (five percent level), more normal distribution scores

(mostly false) and (completely true) answers (both at one percent level), more normal defensiveness (at ten percent level), more normal personality integration scores (five percent level), and more normal net deviant signs (at ten percent level). (Note that deviant signs results were equidistant from the normal means and hence not reported as a significant difference),

3. Those aged 15-17 years in the intake control group had more normal personality integration scores (at the ten percent level),
4. Blacks in the intake control group had more normal total variability (Vt) scores (ten percent level), more normal row variability (Vr) (five percent level), more normal distribution of (completely true) answers (ten percent level), more normal distribution of (mostly false) answers (five percent level), and less normal (completely false) answer distribution (ten percent level),
5. Whites in the intake control group had more normal SC scores (one percent level), and more normal psychosis (PSY) scores (ten percent level).

Table 20.
COMPARISON OF INTAKE CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

Variable		Sex		Age		Ethnicity	
	Composite	Males	Females	8-14	15-17	Blacks	Whites
Self-criticism	0.31	2.96	0.63	0.06	0.22	4.16(7%)	8.02(1%)
True/False Ratio	0.24	0.10	1.65	0.09	0.44	0.26	0.01
Net Conflict Score	0.50	0.36	4.84(5%)	0.20	0.86	0.52	0.00
Total Conflict Score	0.00	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.27	0.04	0.00
Total	0.64	0.01	1.24	0.50	0.10	0.80	0.27
Row Score 1	0.82	0.03	2.38	0.26	0.60	0.50	0.33
Row Score 2	0.19	0.60	1.08	0.22	0.00	1.67	0.00
Row Score 3	0.48	0.14	0.34	0.60	0.00	0.01	1.25
Column Score A	0.08	0.87	1.97	0.30	0.30	1.94	0.25
Column Score B	1.61	0.93	0.70	1.36	0.33	0.00	1.96
Column Score C	0.58	0.03	1.30	1.57	0.13	2.61	0.00
Column Score D	0.49	0.58	0.06	0.00	0.90	0.30	0.94
Column Score E	0.22	0.70	2.35	0.00	0.16	0.10	0.04
Total Variability Score	0.42	0.30	0.14	1.22	0.00	3.73(10%)	1.16
Column Variability Score	0.74	1.14	0.01	1.00	0.27	2.46	0.40
Row Variability Score	0.13	0.03	0.70	1.50	0.77	4.94(5%)	2.06
	0.67	0.23	4.26(5%)	0.46	0.44	2.29	0.00
Distribution 5 Score	0.74	0.54	7.91(1%)	0.30	1.31	3.43(10%)	0.20
Distribution 4 Score	0.23	0.70	2.69(10%)	0.08	0.60	1.66	0.20
Distribution 3 Score	0.18	0.04	1.46	0.32	0.00	0.10	0.40
Distribution 2 Score	1.13	0.04	8.1(1%)	0.27	2.04	5.02(5%)	0.30
Distribution 1 Score	1.04	0.20	1.17	0.73	0.06	3.00(10%)	0.00
Defensive Positive Score	0.85	0.13	2.70(10%)	0.21	0.70	0.42	0.90
General Maladjustment Score	0.72	0.00	1.23	0.50	0.08	1.21	0.30
Psychosis Score	0.00	1.32	1.10	0.00	0.16	1.29	3.86(10%)
Personality Disorder Score	0.83	1.28	0.12	0.74	0.07	0.51	2.51
Neurosis Scale	0.15	0.14	0.82	0.00	0.40	0.13	0.15
Personality Integration Score	0.87	0.20	4.94(5%)	0.13	2.33(10%)	2.43	0.03
Number of Deviant Signs Score	0.00	2.36	2.71(10%)	0.30	1.31	0.42	0.03

f-ratios are given [significance in (-)]

Similar comparisons are made for the termination groups (Table 21.). The following results are noted:

1. The composite control group had more normal distribution of (mostly true) answers (ten percent level), more normal (mostly false) (at five percent level), and more normal personality integration (at ten percent level),
2. Males in the control termination group had more deviant column variability (ten percent level).
3. Females in the control termination group had more normal (mostly true) and (mostly false) answers (both at three percent level), more normal personality integration scores (three percent level), and more normal number of deviant signs (ten percent level),
4. Those aged 8-14 in the control experimental group had more normal (mostly true) distributions (ten percent level),
5. Those aged 15-17 in the control experimental group had less normal (mostly false) distribution (three percent level), and more normal personality integration scores (five percent level).
6. Blacks in the control termination group had more normal (mostly false) and (mostly true) distributions (both at three percent level).

Those differences which occur in both sets of tests (both intake and termination) are regarded as pre-existing differences between the experimental and control subjects:

> Females in the control group had more normal distribution scores (mostly false) (at three percent) and personality integration scores (five percent level). Those aged 15-17 in the control group had more normal personality integration scores (ten percent level). Blacks in the control group had more normal distribution two scores (five percent level).

Results of the YSB program should show up as changes in the experimental group from intake to termination that do not also show up as changes in the control group. The comparisons (f-ratio) are shown in Table 22.

In the experimental group, those aged 8-14 had more normal total variability, and less normal column variability scores at termination (both at ten percent level).

Similarly, in the control group, the results show differences from intake to termination:

1. The composite control group had more normal Self-concept (SC) scores at intake (ten percent level),
2. Males had more normal Self-concept at intake and more normal psychosis (PSY) at intake (both at ten percent level),

Table 21
COMPARISON OF TERMINATION CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

		Sex		Age		Ethnicity	
Variable	Composite	Males	Females	8-14	15-17	Blacks	Whites
Self-criticism	0.56	0.05	0.60	0.63	0.02	1.63	0.30
True/False Ratio	0.10	0.09	1.00	0.65	1.77	0.00	0.14
Net Conflict Score	0.50	0.04	2.41	0.63	1.11	0.20	0.48
Total Conflict Score	0.10	0.05	0.06	0.00	0.50	0.20	0.00
Total	0.30	0.03	0.90	0.67	0.07	0.10	0.10
Row Schore 1	0.60	0.22	0.34	0.42	0.00	0.07	0.60
Row Score 2	0.00	1.43	1.65	0.25	0.40	0.00	0.07
Row Score 3	0.40	0.00	0.74	0.49	0.00	0.10	0.16
Column Score A	0.55	0.10	1.80	2.03	0.82	0.80	0.04
Column Socre B	0.55	0.14	1.70	0.30	0.17	0.06	0.30
Column Score C	0.15	0.00	0.28	0.90	1.29	0.00	0.07
Column Score D	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.15
Column Score E	0.55	0.00	0.96	0.53	0.02	0.30	0.07
Total Variability Score	1.55	2.05	0.12	0.48	1.00	1.31	1.80
Column Variability Score	0.91	3.67(10%)	0.00	0.12	2.49	1.20	1.90
Row Variability Score	0.30	0.00	0.30	0.70	0.03	0.50	0.60
	0.94	0.00	2.37	0.56	0.62	1.07	0.10
Distribution 5 Score	1.22	0.01	3.64(10%)	0.40	1.70	1.88	0.08
Distribution 4 Score	3.06(10%)	0.04	6.43(3%)	3.01(10%)	1.38	5.86(3%)	0.40
Distribution 3 Score	0.01	0.00	0.10	0.16	0.11	0.02	0.00
Distribution 2 Score	4.11(5%)	0.22	7.71(3%)	1.22	5.65(3%)	5.30(3%)	0.60
Distribution 1 Score	1.43	0.08	2.10	0.82	1.00	1.99	0.10
Defensive Positive Score	0.20	0.00	0.82	0.17	0.07	0.06	0.90
General Maladmustment Score	0.40	0.10	0.30	1.16	0.41	0.00	0.30
Psychosis Score	0.20	0.15	0.04	0.18	0.01	0.17	0.90
Personality Disorder Score	0.00	0.60	0.25	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.01
Neurosis Scale	0.50	0.01	0.79	1.13	0.11	0.30	0.30
Personality Integration Score	2.64(10%)	0.03	6.19(3%)	0.53	4.77(5%)	2.16	1.23
Number of Deviant Signs Score	1.86	0.08	3.28(10%)	1.28	1.33	1.91	0.80

f-ratios are given [Significances in (-)]

Table 22.
COMPARISON OF INTAKE VS. TERMINATION SCORES EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

		Sex		Age		Ethnicity	
Variable	Composite	Males	Females	8-14	15-17	Blacks	Whites
Self-Criticism	0.27	0.44	0.24	0.54	0.00	2.00	0.10
True/False Ratio	1.18	0.23	1.38	2.46	0.00	2.44	0.02
Net Conflict Score	0.54	0.03	0.99	1.11	0.00	1.35	0.14
Total Conflict Score	0.16	0.05	0.11	0.56	0.00	0.80	0.00
Total	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.15	0.06	0.00	0.00
Row Score 1	0.13	0.17	0.01	0.07	0.06	0.40	0.00
Row Score 2	0.23	0.19	0.12	0.13	0.21	0.00	0.00
Row Score 3	0.14	0.01	0.32	0.16	0.01	0.00	0.00
Column Score A	0.30	0.12	0.19	0.90	0.15	0.00	0.00
Column Score B	0.13	0.00	0.14	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00
Column Score C	0.00	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.05	0.46	0.00
Column Score D	0.00	0.54	0.39	0.08	0.11	0.48	0.00
Column Score E	0.01	0.04	0.00	0.29	0.16	0.00	0.00
Total Variability Score	0.16	0.45	0.00	3.01(10%)	2.34	0.00	0.30
Column Variability Score	0.18	0.34	0.00	3.76(10%)	2.48	0.20	0.70
Row Variability Score	0.15	0.44	0.01	1.67	1.29	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.06	0.18	0.14	0.07	0.70	0.00
Distribution 5 Score	0.30	0.01	0.52	0.37	0.01	0.70	0.00
Distribution 4 Score	0.73	0.64	0.18	0.85	0.10	0.90	0.00
Distribution 3 Score	0.72	0.52	0.19	0.44	0.29	1.31	0.10
Distribution 2 Score	0.01	0.23	0.66	0.00	0.01	0.70	0.13
Distribution 1 Score	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.70	0.00
Defensive Positive Score	0.00	0.09	0.06	0.18	0.18	0.50	0.00
General Maladjustment Score	0.23	0.24	0.04	0.75	0.07	0.30	0.17
Psychosis Score	0.05	0.22	0.01	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00
Personality Disorder Score	0.08	0.00	0.12	0.14	0.00	0.90	0.00
Neurosis Scale	0.01	0.07	0.01	0.27	0.56	0.00	0.00
Personality Integration Score	0.05	0.02	0.30	0.05	0.00	0.09	0.00
Number of Deviant Signs Score	0.07	0.13	0.56	0.01	0.07	0.07	0.00

f-ratios are given [Significances in (-)]

3. Those aged 8-14 had more normal Self-concept at intake (ten percent level),
4. Whites had more normal Self-concept at intake, more normal row variability (VR) at intake, more normal Psychosis (PSY) scores at intake and less normal personality disorder (PD) scores at intake (all at ten percent level).

These changes in the control group could possibly indicate changes that should have also occurred in the experimental group. The absence of changes in the experimental group would then indicate an effect of the program, but further testing would be needed to verify this as these control group changes were only marginally significant (ten percent level).

Although the Tennessee Self-concept Scale yields several differences in characteristics between the control and experimental groups, no differences which could be directly attributed to the effect of the program more significant than the ten percent level are noted in the experimental group.

When scores on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale for the experimental group are compared (Table 23.), there was only one variable exhibiting significantly different means between intake and termination. The column variability (Vc) score was higher in the intake group of 8-14 year olds (at the ten percent level of significance).

Table 23.
Tennessee Self-concept Scale
COMPARISON OF EXPERIMENTAL SUBGROUPS--INTAKE AND TERMINATION

Variable	n	mean	mean variance	df	t	Significance
V_c 8-14 yr olds						
intake	18	51.9	5.33			
termination	18	45.2	5.78	34	1.94	0.063

The variability scores on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale are indicative of the consistency of self-perception from one area to another. High scores indicate a large measure of variability between areas such as "personal self," "moral self," "social self," "family self," and "physical self." Persons with little unity or integration of personality will exhibit high variability (V) scores, whereas well-integrated people generally score below the mean.

The 8-14 year olds in the experimental group had variability column (Vc) scores slightly above the norm at intake, and significantly below the norm at termination. This would point to the development of a more integrated view of self in relation to the areas designated by the columns. An examination of the actual test profiles indicates a high column score in all categories except that of "moral-ethical self." This particular variable is a measure of how much a person perceives themselves to be morally "good." The 8-14 year olds in the control group experienced a similar change in Vc scores (change in total score mean

from 48.5 at intake to 43.9 at termination) although the difference is not significant.

Blacks in the control group had a significantly higher Vr score at termination (means of total test increased from 46.2 to 54.0, see Table 24.). This points to a less integrated view of self, and a tendency to group or compartmentalize certain aspects of self as being different from the rest. Blacks in the experimental group underwent only a small, insignificant change in Vr scores (the mean changes from 57.0 to 56.8).

The entire (composite) control group experienced a significant change in Self-criticism scores from intake to termination. This item on the test consists of a series of mildly self-critical statements that are true for most members of the population. Persons with a high SC score will generally have a normal capacity for self-criticism, self-examination and openness. Low SC scores point to defensiveness. The change in the control group was from a mean 49.3 to 44.8, indicating that the control group subjects became more defensive and less open over the program's time interval. Similar drops in SC scores were also noted for several subgroups of the control group: males (total score mean changed from 51.4 to 45.1), those aged 8-14 (from 49.7 to 43.9), and whites (from 51.2 to 44.3). The experimental group showed a similar directionality in SC scores, with lower SC scores at termination, but the decreases were less drastic and not statistically significant.

Table 24.
Tennessee Self-concept Scale
COMPARISON OF CONTROL SUBGROUPS--INTAKE AND TERMINATION

Variable	n	mean	mean variance	df	t	Significance
Composite Group						
Self-criticism						
Intake	23	49.3	3.22			
Termination	23	44.8	2.45	44	1.86	0.073
Males						
Self-Criticism						
Intake	14	51.4	5.49			
Termination	14	45.1	4.69	26	1.88	0.083
Ages 8-14						
Self-Criticsim						
Intake	14	49.7	5.28			
Termination	14	43.9	4.13	26	1.82	0.084
Whites						
Self-Criticism						
Intake	13	51.2	6.31			
Termination	13	44.3	5.17	24	1.95	0.066
Blacks						
Row Variability						
Intake	10	46.2	8.3			
Germination	10	54.0	9.4	18	1.76	0.096
Whites						
Personality						
Disorder						
Intake	13	62.2	4.92			
Termination	13	56.7	3.15	24	1.85	0.080

Jesness Inventory Results

The Jesness Inventory test consists of eleven variables, with measurements taken at program intake and program termination. Pre-existing differences between the experimental and control groups are detected by comparing the intake

experimental group with f-ratios. The results are shown in Table 25. The following differences are noted in the intake group:

1. Females in the control group had more normal Asocial Index (AI) scores (five percent level),
2. Those aged 15-17 in the control group had more normal AI scores (ten percent level).

Similarly, in the termination groups:

1. Those aged 15-17 in the control group had more normal immaturity (IMM) scores (three percent level),
2. Males in the experimental group had more normal Withdrawal (Wd) scores (ten percent level),
3. Whites in the experimental group had more Wd scores (ten percent level).

Comparing the intake and termination scores for control vs. experimental groups yields no significant differences (see Table 26.).

Comparisons are made for Jesness Inventory scores at intake and termination, and the results are given in Table 27. For the control group, there were no significant differences noted between intake and termination. For the experiemental group, there was only one variable showing significant change over the duration of the YSB program. That change occurred in whites in the experimental group, who had higher Immaturity (IMM) scores at termination than at

Table 25.
Jesness Inventory
a) COMPARISON OF INTAKE CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

		Sex		Age		Ethnicity	
Variables	Composite	Males	Females	8-14	15-17	Blacks	Whites
Social Maladjustment	1.81	0.11	0.80	0.08	1.38	0.52	1.49
Value Orientation	0.01	0.13	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
Immaturity	0.13	0.11	0.03	1.05	0.06	0.00	0.00
Autism	0.43	0.91	0.00	0.94	0.08	0.30	2.20
Alienation	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.20	0.13
Manifested Aggression	0.11	0.04	0.06	0.66	0.33	0.40	0.10
Withdrawal	0.98	1.59	0.00	0.37	0.60	0.00	0.34
Social Anxiety	1.69	1.66	0.10	0.56	1.28	0.80	0.57
Repression	0.45	1.34	0.11	1.12	0.13	1.29	0.53
Denials	0.16	0.02	0.49	0.01	0.52	0.00	0.40
Asocial Index	2.35	0.12	5.12(5%)	0.24	3.31(10%)	0.60	1.16
b) COMPARISON OF TERMINATION CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS							
Social Maladjustment	0.26	0.02	0.40	0.02	1.41	0.60	0.03
Value Orientation	0.08	0.08	0.03	0.11	0.03	0.00	0.00
Immaturity	1.03	1.04	0.08	0.26	5.37(3%)	0.04	2.65
Autism	0.00	0.07	0.07	0.17	0.22	1.00	1.02
Alienation	0.54	0.22	0.40	0.00	1.61	0.90	0.00
Manifested Aggression	0.11	0.00	0.26	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00
Withdrawal	3.01(10%)	3.09(10%)	0.11	0.62	0.65	0.00	2.96(10%)
Social Anxiety	1.66	2.50	0.07	0.80	0.78	0.34	1.28
Repression	0.31	0.32	0.05	0.80	0.08	0.40	0.00
Denials	0.36	0.04	0.33	0.44	0.07	0.50	0.00
Asocial Index	0.09	0.03	0.35	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.30

f-ratios are given [Significances in (-)]

Table 26.
Jesness Inventory
INTAKE VS. TERMINATION SCORES COMPARISON--EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Control Group

		Sex		Age		Ethnicity	
Variables	Composite	Males	Females	8-14	15-17	Blacks	Whites
Social Maladjustment	0.77	0.18	0.02	0.35	0.01	0.02	0.82
Value Orientation	0.00	0.15	0.17	0.07	0.16	0.00	0.00
Immaturity	0.22	0.08	0.17	0.21	0.01	0.45	0.00
Autism	0.16	0.01	0.27	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.00
Alienation	0.00	0.25	0.35	0.07	0.18	0.00	0.00
Manifested Aggression	0.20	0.70	0.03	0.86	0.24	0.38	0.00
Withdrawal	0.73	0.00	0.03	0.41	0.29	0.00	1.03
Social Anxiety	0.07	0.02	0.42	0.62	0.25	0.80	0.06
Repression	0.02	0.15	0.10	0.06	0.01	0.27	0.08
Denials	0.49	0.05	0.53	0.04	0.57	0.16	0.30
Asocial Index	1.78	0.14	2.41	0.73	0.01	0.24	1.77
			Experimental Group				
Social Maladjustment	0.15	0.25	0.00	0.08	0.06	0.20	0.16
Value Orientation	0.03	0.14	0.01	0.16	0.07	0.20	0.00
Immaturity	1.00	1.51	0.00	0.00	2.48	0.05	3.17(10%)
Autism	0.84	0.32	0.54	0.13	0.05	0.72	0.28
Alienation	0.52	1.07	0.00	0.14	0.44	0.20	0.40
Manifested Aggression	0.21	0.24	0.04	0.27	0.00	0.00	0.24
Withdrawal	0.02	0.25	0.08	0.13	0.38	0.12	0.00
Social Anxiety	0.34	0.00	0.73	0.54	0.00	1.30	0.00
Repression	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.23
Denials	0.10	0.02	0.31	0.11	0.02	0.00	0.00
Asocial Index	0.02	0.18	0.09	0.07	0.01	0.30	0.00

f-ratios are given [Significances in (-)]

intake. The difference was significant at the ten percent level.

Both the experimental group and control group were divided into the following subgroups for comparison: (1) Males, (2) Females, (3) Those aged 8-14, (4) those aged 15-17, (5) Blacks, and (6) Whites. Comparison was also made for the entire (composite) experimental group from intake to termination and the entire control group from intake to termination. The population was divided into two groups: an experimental group of thirty-five youths and a control group of twenty-three youths

Table 27.
Jesness Inventory
COMPARISON OF EXPERIMENTAL SUBGROUPS--INTAKE AND TERMINATION

Variable	n	mean	mean variance	df	t	Significance
Immaturity						
Whites						
Intake	18	51.0	6.01			
Termination	18	57.3	6.01	34	1.77	0.089

Self-Report Score Results

To determine differences in self-reported instances of delinquency, the intake score means are compared to the termination score means. The results are given in Table 28.

There were no significant differences found in the incidence of offenses reported between any of the groups, indicating that the population was relatively homogeneous

(at least as far as this test is involved). Because of the large variances in the data, with standard deviations in Table 27 sometimes approaching 60% of the V-5 mean, this statistical test may not be completely reliable.

Several factors could account for uneven reporting of delinquent incidents and thus, high variances. One could result if an individual had an unclear idea of what constituted a "reportable event;" another could occur if incidents are not truthfully reported.

To determine if there are differences in reporting as a result of time, common to all subjects, comparisons (f-ratio) are made between V5 (the pre-program score) and V6 (the post-program score) for both the control and experimental groups. This comparison will also yield changes in the experimental group due to the experimental program. Results are given in Table 29.

The only significant result (at the five percent level) occurs in the control group, where females had a lower number of reported delinquent incidents after the program than before the program started. If this drop is a result of the subjects' getting older, then it should also be present in the experimental group. The absence of this factor in the experimental group would seem to indicate that females in the experimental group reported more instances of their own delinquency as a result of the program. This would need further verification from other tests.

Table 28.
Self-Report
VARIABLE 5 SCORES FOR EXPERIMENTAL VS. CONTROL GROUPS

Group	f-ratio	Significance*
Composite	1.40	none
Males	1.85	"
Females	0.00	"
8-14 years	1.25	"
15-17 years	1.70	"
Blacks	1.70	"
Whites	0.07	"

* Where no significance level is reported, the differences were not statistically significant at the ten percent level or less

Table 29.
Self-Report
V5 and V6 SCORES COMPARISON--CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

Group	f-ratio	Significance*
	Control Group	
Composite	1.25	none
Males	0.31	"
Females	4.26	5%
8-14 years	0.49	none
15-17 year	0.70	"
Blacks	0.02	"
Whites	0.68	"
	Experimental Group	
Composite	0.01	none
Males	0.28	"
Females	0.34	"
8-14 years	0.01	"
15-17 years	0.04	"
Blacks	1.50	"
Whites	0.13	"

* Where no significance level is reported, the differences were not statistically significant at the ten percent level or less

Otherwise, the experimental program had no significant effects upon the number of instances of delinquency that individuals reported about themselves.

Police/Court Records

The police/court data consists of fifteen variables, Police variables 1 through 9 (P1 through P9) and Juvenile Court variables 1 through 6 (C1 through C6), which represent the number, seriousness, and disposition of offenses and court petitions in the year prior to the program and in the first and second quarters during the program. The variables which could be usefully analyzed were the number of offenses and petitions in the year prior to the referral to YSB (P1 and C1), after the first quarter (P4 and C3) and after the second quarter (P7 and C5). In addition to comparisons of means, the data are presented as "number of offenders" and "number of nonoffenders" for each variable,

To account for pre-existing conditions and changes occurring to all subjects as a result of time, comparisons (using x^2 tests) were made between the number of year prior offenders in the experimental group compared to the control group. This P1 comparison yielded the results given in Table 30.

A similar comparison of the number of year-prior court petitions (C1) for the experimental and control groups yields the results of Table 31.

Table 30.
COMPARISON OF YEAR-PRIOR OFFENDERS
(P1) FOR CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS (X^2)

Group	X^2	Significance
Composite	1.52	None
Males	1.64	"
Females	0.18	"
8-14 yrs	0.93	"
15-17 yrs	0.43	"
Blacks	0.01	"
Whites	3.30	10%

Table 31.
COMPARISON OF YEAR-PRIOR PETITIONS
(C1) FOR CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS (X^2)

Group	X^2	Significance
Composite	0.77	None
Males	0.94	"
Females	0.06	"
8-14 yrs	0.03	"
15-17 yrs	1.16	"
Blacks	0.03	"
Whites	0.22	"

When ratio tests are conducted between the control and experimental groups for year-prior offenses and petitions, the same results are found (see Table 32).

The only pre-existing condition is that whites in the control group had a significantly higher number of year-prior offenses than whites in the experimental group. This result shows up at about the seven percent level of significance in both X^2 and f-ratio tests.

Comparisons are then made between the experimental and control groups at later points in time. First, at the end of the first quarter of the program (P4 and C3) and then at the end of the second quarter of the program (P7 and C5). Any changes due to the passage of time will affect both groups and will not have to be eliminated separately. The X^2 tests are shown in Table 33.

The only significant results were in the P4 comparison. As a composite group, the experimental group had fewer offenders (at the three percent level), with also proportionately fewer male offenders in the experimental group (ten percent level), fewer black offenders in the experimental group (three percent level), and fewer offenders aged 8-14 years in the experimental group (ten percent level).

Although it might be desirable to compare the year-prior data with the first and second quarter data, such a comparison would not yield meaningful results because the data were gathered over different lengths of time (one year and three months, respectively). It is possible to compare first and

second quarter data, as shown in Table 34. The variables compared are P4 and P7, and C3 and C5. No significant f-ratios result from these comparisons. Since all changes occurred between the year-prior measurement and the first quarter measurement, it is likely that most of the changes in the individuals came about early in the experimental program.

Table 32.
COMPARISON OF YEAR-PRIOR OFFENSES AND PETITIONS FOR CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS (f-RATIO)

Group	f-Ratio	Significance
Year-Prior Offenses (P1)		
Composite	1.86	None
Males	1.77	"
Females	0.16	"
8-14 yrs	1.20	"
15-17 yrs	0.40	"
Blacks	0.10	"
Whites	3.43	10%
Year-Prior Petitions (C1)		
Composite	1.00	None
Males	1.23	"
Females	0.05	"
8-14 yrs	0.20	"
15-17 yrs	0.80	"
Blacks	0.03	"
Whites	0.20	"

Table 33.
COMPARISON OF CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS
AT FIRST QUARTER (P4, C3) AND SECOND QUARTER (P7, C5)

Group	X^2	Significance
First Quarter Offenses (P4)		
Composite	4.75	3%
Males	3.06	10%
Females	1.79	None
8-14 yrs	2.87	10%
15-17 yrs	1.86	None
Blacks	4.51	3%
Whites	0.00	None
First Quarter Peititions (C3)		
Composite	0.94	None
Males	0.00	"
Females	1.79	"
8-14 yrs	0.00	"
15-17 yrs	1.86	"
Blacks	1.25	"
Whites	0.00	"
Second Quarter Offenses (P7)		
Composite	1.76	None
Males	1.55	"
Females	0.00	"
8-14 yrs	1.55	"
15-17 yrs	0.00	"
Blacks	1.57	"
Whites	0.00	"
Second Quarter Petitions (C5)		
Composite	0.41	None
Males	0.72	"
Females	0.00	"
8-14 yrs	0.76	"
15-17 yrs	0.00	"
Blacks	0.00	"
Whites	0.00	"

Table 34.
COMPARISON OF FIRST AND SECOND QUARTER OFFENSES AND PETITIONS IN CONTROL AND EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

Group		X^2	Significance
First Quarter Offenses to Second Quarter (P4-P7)			
Control	Composite	1.40	None
"	Males	0.70	"
"	Females	0.00	"
"	8-14 yrs	0.70	"
"	15-17 yrs	0.00	"
"	Blacks	1.53	"
"	Whites	0.00	"
Experimental	Composite	0.00	"
"	Males	0.00	"
"	Females	0.00	"
"	8-14 yrs	0.00	"
"	15-17 yrs	0.00	"
"	Blacks	0.00	"
"	Whites	0.00	"
First Quarter Petitions to Second Quarter (C3-C5)			
Control	Composite	0.35	None
"	Males	0.00	"
"	Females	0.00	"
"	8-14 yrs	0.00	"
"	15-17 yrs	0.00	"
"	Blacks	0.00	"
"	Whites	0.00	"
Experimental	Composite	1.04	"
"	Males	0.00	"
"	Females	0.00	"
"	8-14 yrs	0.00	"
"	15-17 yrs	0.00	"
"	Blacks	0.00	"
"	Whites	0.00	"

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

Differences Between the Control and Experimental Groups

Several groups within the control group were significantly closer to normal than the experimental group. Females in the control group had more normal D2 (distribution score-mostly false) and D4 (distribution score--mostly true) distributions and more normal personality integration (PI) scores on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale and more normal asocial index (AI) scores on the Jesness Inventory. Blacks in the control group had a more normal D2 distribution on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. Those aged 15-17 in the control group had more normal personality integration scores on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and more normal asocial index scores on the Jesness Inventory. Police/court records indicate that whites in the control group had more year-prior offenses.

Effects of the Program--Composite Group

Examination of the police/court records at the end of the first quarter of the program indicated a significantly lower number of offenses in the composite experimental group, with most of the reduction coming from blacks, and less significant contributions from the males and 8-14 year old group.

Results from the Tennessee Self-concept Scale were not conclusive: those aged 8-14 had more normal total variability (VT), but less normal column variability (VC) scores at the end of the program. However, the Tennessee Self-concept Scale indicates that the control group had more normal characteristics at intake than at termination (composite group had more normal self-concept scores, males more normal self-concept and psychosis scores, 8-14 year olds more normal self-concept scores, and whites more normal self-concept, row variability, and psychosis scores at intake). This would seem to indicate that the subjects would move away from the norms as a result of getting older, and since these changes were not noted in the experimental group, perhaps the program had some effect in maintaining self-concept. As discussed earlier, this would need more testing for verification.

The Jesness Inventory did not indicate any significant changes from intake to termination. As discussed previously, the self-reporting of offenses indicates only that females may have reported more instances of their own delinquency as a result of the program.

Effects of the Program--Sub-Groups

Males in the control and experimental groups were essentially similar, comparing Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, Jesness, and Self-Report scores. The police/court records

indicate that there were fewer male offenders in the experimental group than in the control group. Although only at the ten percent level of significance, the program seemed to have a measurable effect on males.

Females in the control group had more normal D2, D4, and personality integration scores on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale test and a more normal asocial index on the Jesness Inventory than the experimental group. Females in the control group had a lower number of self-reported incidences of delinquency after the program than before. The cause of this cannot reliably be attributed to effects of the program. As a group, females were not significantly affected by the experimental program.

Those aged 8-14 were essentially the same in both control and experimental groups. The program appears to have significantly affected this group, with fewer offenders at termination than intake.

Those aged 15-17 in the control group had more normal PI scores (from Tennessee Self-concept Scale) and more normal immaturity (IMM) scores (From Jesness) than the experimental group, but no significant effects on the program were noted.

Blacks in the control group had more normal D2 scores, indicating a slight difference in make-up from the experimental group. The experimental program had its greatest effect on this group, with fewer offenders at termination than at intake (significant at the three percent level).

The comparison of whites in both control and experimental groups did not yield consistent results. The control group

appeared to have more normal characteristics, even though the control group had a significantly higher number of year-prior offenders than in the experimental group. The experimental program had no noticeable effect on whites.

Findings Relevant to the Research Hypotheses

In evaluating the three research hypotheses, two measures were employed. Structured interviews of YSB clients were conducted using the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale and Jesness Inventory, and data on self-reported delinquency were also obtained from each person in the study. The second measure was from the files of the Juvenile Court and police.

The first hypothesis was that diversion of youth to the YSB had the effect of reducing or retarding the degree of future deviant behavior. This hypothesis appears to have been validated, based on analysis of the Tennessee Self-concept Scale and Jesness Inventory scores. Youths not in the program displayed less personality integration (as measure by the self-criticism variable) and higher variability tendencies at the termination of the study. Both of these variables are indicative of future deviant behavior. The same variables for those in the experimental program remained at a constant level, indicating that the program had some minimum effect of retarding future deviant behavior. When comparing the effects of YSB programs in other Michigan cities, e.g., Flint, East Detroit, and Port Huron, with that in

Berrien County, the Berrien County control group experienced fewer subsequent delinquent acts.

The second hypothesis was that youth diverted to the YSB would experience lower levels of penetration into the juvenile justice system. Data related to this hypothesis appears in the tables. The data includes the average number of police arrests, the seriousness of offenses, and the number of court petitions. The experimental (N-59) and control (N-31) were significantly different at the point of intake. The control group was involved significantly more in official trouble for far more serious crimes at the point of YSB intake.

These pre-existing differences were statistically corrected by conducting an analyses of co-variance on the post-YSB data while using the pre-YSB data as the co-variant. This statistical operation removed the group differences, resulting in making the post scores of the experimental and control groups equal.

The pre-differences as cited above with the official police and court contacts, held true for the youths who answered the self-reported delinquency card sort. While the experimental group self-reported fewer offenses during the time period when the control group received YSB services, no strong inference can be made that the YSB had a significant impact on the youths' subsequent delinquent behavior.

The third hypothesis was that youth diverted to the YSB would experience a self-image which either improved or

remained intact. Data from the Tennessee Self-concept Scale demonstrates this hypothesis to be confirmed, since the self-criticism scores for the experimental group tended to remain constant (intact) during the duration of the program, while several sub-groups of the control group experienced lower self-criticism scores at termination. The ability to be self-critical is an important part of self-image; certainly for a self-image to remain healthy, self-criticism must remain equally open.

Limitations of the Study

There are several factors in this study which must be taken into consideration when interpreting data. These factors serve as limitations upon interpreting the statistical results.

The data collected through administration of the Tennessee Self-concept Scale and Jesness Inventory involve questionnaire responses and marking of answer sheets. There is always the possibility that the subjects are not giving honest answers, or that mistakes are made in marking score sheets. Although the Tennessee Self-concept Scale has built-in checks to identify and compensate for the deliberate manipulation of answers, it cannot be regarded as foolproof. Since the subjects being tested are already part of the Juvenile Justice System, and have already been identified as that part of the population exhibiting deviant behavioral

tendencies, this source of variance cannot be completely dismissed.

Another limitation involves small sample size. In some of the sub-group comparisons populations as small as N=9 were involved. Using a larger population would perhaps give stronger statistical results.

A large degree of variance was found in the self-report score comparisons made between intake and termination. Again, the question of honesty in reporting could account for some of this variance. Some of the variance might also result from individuals having an unclear concept of what constituted a "reportable event of delinquency."

Perhaps the only way to keep variances due to dishonest answers by the clients to a minimum is to use tests, such as the Tennessee Self-concept Scale, that identify and compensate for inconsistent answers, and to assure the clients that their responses would be kept confidential and anonymous (as was done in this study).

The final limitation is the most relevant one to this study. The pre-existing differences between the experimental and control groups pose an obvious problem for analysis of the effectiveness of the YSB.

Several groups within the control group were significantly closer to normal than the experimental group. Females in the control group had more normal D2 and D4 distribution and more normal personality integration scores on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale, and more normal asocial index

scores on the Jesness Inventory. Blacks in the control group had a more normal D2 distribution on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale. Those aged 15-17 in the control group had more normal personality integration scores on the Tennessee Self-concept Scale and more normal asocial index scores on the Jesness Inventory. Police/court records indicate that Whites in the control group had more year-prior offenses.

It would appear that the random assignment of YSB clients to experimental and control groups was compromised. No other conclusion can be drawn from the results of the data. The small sample size of ninety-one youths can also account for errors in random groupings.

Conclusion

The research findings presented in this study were inconclusive and demonstrated no strong inference as to the direct effect of the YSB services and the reduction of negative labeling. Several factors may have contributed to this result. First, pre-differences in the degree of involvement with police agencies by experimental and control group youth would indicate that a possible breakdown in random groupings occured. Also, the small sample size (59 experimental and 31 control) may have affected the results as not being representative of Berrien County YSB clients. In addition, possible inconsistencies in data collection and interviewing techniques could have influenced

study results. Finally, the reliability of the self-concept measures could also be cited as an influence on study results.

The impact of YSBs on negative labeling of youth is obviously an area where much more empirical research is needed. The YSB concept as practiced in the State of Michigan offers inconsistent services in terms of variety, quality, and availability. During the course of this research effort, a great deal of information was gathered from interviews with state and local officials which clearly supports the premise that YSBs in Michigan are not comparable enough in order to test for program effectiveness and efficiency.

Another problem which confronts research of this type is the inability to separate all of the relevant variables which affect a youth's behavior. While the YSB may have impact, the school, peers, family, church, fraternal, social, recreational, and other organizations also have a direct bearing. Thus, the ability to credit the YSB for reducing youth crime is most difficult.

Labeling theory focuses on the individual and his or her personal characteristics. In this regard, this study falls far short of associating an individual's personal characteristics to his or her involvement in the juvenile justice system. For future studies, it is desirable to conduct longitudinal experimental studies investigating the

individual effects of YSB diversion on a youth's delinquent tendencies. Such research should reveal the best evaluative results.

Recommendations

In view of the information contained in Chapter 4 describing the services which are desired offerings of YSBs, and in light of the inconclusive results, a series of recommendations are provided. These recommendations are derived from a careful analysis of the services offered at the Berrien County Youth Service and Assistance Bureau.

A model YSB is one designed to offer a true alternative for referral of delinquent youths. It should offer a comprehensive array of direct services: personal counseling, job placement, educational consulting, career guidance, family counseling, and other services. For those youths who require specialized professional services, the YSBs should broker this need to existing agencies in the community with the professional capability to handle these more complex problems.

The YSB, law enforcement agencies, juvenile court, school districts and other official social control agencies in the community, should restrict the referral of youths to the YSB to those who have displayed a case history of minor delinquent violations and in cases where it is apparent that an alternative to the juvenile court is appropriate. However,

it is not desirable for the YSB to accept the referrals of status offenders and those youth who have had only minor flirtations with the juvenile justice system. Those youths' activities do not warrant YSB intervention. This contention is supported by a number of researchers. Maintaining this approach will result in better services and reduced levels of stigmatization

Organizationally, the YSB should be a separate autonomous agency. Its independence from the formal juvenile justice system is necessary in order to avoid negative labeling as a result of affiliation with the courts, or police agencies. While it is important that the YSB maintain a cooperative relationship with these agencies, this linkage should not formally restrain the YSB from being a true alternative to the formal juvenile justice system.

YSB staff should be selected specifically for this assignment, reflecting the demographic characteristics of the community and clientele it serves. Special training (in-service) should be an on-going activity of the YSB.

The funding for YSB should be provided primarily by local governments. If the local community is committed to the YSB concept, its financial support is important in order to assure its success in that community. A comprehensive monitoring and tracking system evaluating the services of the YSB should be a condition of funding. The YSB should undergo evaluation annually by professionally knowledgeable researchers.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STATE OFFICE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROGRAM (OCJP)

YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU PROGRAM:

PROGRAM PURPOSE, OUTLINE, AND EVALUATION FACTORS

APPENDIX A

State Office of Criminal Justice Program (OCJP)
Youth Service Bureau Program
Program Purpose, Outline, and Evaluation Factors

1. Reducing Juvenile Crime Potential

   A. General Goals

      The primary goal is to provide early intervention in the lives of behavior problem youth to reduce the number of youth referred to the juvenile court. Those youth who do not need the official authority of the court will be diverted into programs which provide the youth and the community with the optimum level of interventing service. Providing services on a voluntary basis to youth when they first experience behavior problems will decrease the potential of being processed through the juvenile justice system.

   B. Needs and Problems

      Most communities do not have adequate services for youth in order to prevent them from engaging in delinquent behavior. Schools tend to suspend or expel youth who experience behavior problems in the classroom. This is usually done because schools do not have sufficient programs to deal with behavior problems. Most school counselors spend their time in academic and vocational counseling. Schools do not have adequate numbers

of school social workers or behavioral counselors to impact on a youth's behavior problems. The schools should develop appropriate programs to provide students with a total educational experience including training regarding what is or is not acceptable behavior in public.

At times, parents do not understand or are unable to cope with the behavior of their children, and they need assistance in guiding the behavior of their offspring. Many communities have family service agencies and child guidance clinics. The agencies are often unavailable to the families most in need of such guidance services. Often there are waiting lists for service. Parents and children should have a service agency available to them when crisis situations occur, on a 24-hour a day basis to provide immediate intervention.

Police agencies throughout Michigan contact hundreds of youth they do not arrest but who need some type of social service. These youth are given warnings. The majority of juveniles arrested each year by police agencies are not petitioned into juvenile court. An attempt to provide voluntary services to the parents and youths should be made. Even those youth who are arrested and would normally be processed through the juvenile justice system should be

considered for voluntary services outside the court structure. Many police agencies do not have these necessary services available to them.

Juvenile courts need a service agency which can provide services to youth who do not need the formal power of the court. During the intake process the courts often notice that formal court intervention is not necessary, but it is also known there is no appropriate agency to which a juvenile can be referred.

Many youths are diverted from the juvenile court by a contacting agency. A major problem of such a system is that contacting agencies do not know how many times a youth has been contacted or diverted. To solve the problem, a central agency in each county or group of counties should have the responsibility of knowing what services are available and where the services are located.

C. Action Program - Youth Service Bureaus (YSBs)

1. Objectives - To provide appropriate intervention for youth when criminal, delinquent or nonadaptive behavior is displayed and to prevent and reduce crime and elinquency through the establishment of YSBs in counties or

groups of counties within the state. To provide a coordinating agency for juveniles that will accept referrals from law enforcement agencies, schools, courts, community agencies, parents and youth.

2. Methods and Procedures - YSBs should provide both referral and direct services on a voluntary basis to divert youth from the juvenile justice system. YSBs should be established to focus on the special problems of youth in the community. The goals may include diversion from the justice system; provision of a wide range of services for youth through direct service, brokerage and crisis intervention as needed; modification of the system through program coordination and advocacy; and youth development. YSBs should make needed services available to all young people in the community. Bureaus should make a particular effort to attract diversionary referrals from the juvenile justice system. YSBs should, when possible, utilize existing services through referral , systematic follow-up and individual advocacy. Bureaus should develop and provide services on an on-going basis only when they are unavailable in the community or are inappropriately delivered. Services

should be confidential and should immediately and skillfully respond to each youth in crisis.

There are four basic functions of the YSB: diagnosis, immediate service and referral, resource identification and coordination, resource development, and youth advocacy. There are at least five possible YSB models which may be used by applicants:

(a) A Cooperation Agency Model in which several community agencies donate full-time services of one worker to the YSB. Working with the coordinator, these workers accept indvidual referrals and involve citizens, youth and professionals in solving problems related to the anti-social behavior of youth.

(b) A Community Organization Model in which neighborhood citizens, under the direction of a coordinator, organize to form a board, develop services and meet crises in the neighborhood.

(c) A Citizen Action Model in which the YSB Citizens Committee has subcommittees for youth services; its staff receives direct referrals and uses conference techniques and community resources to resolve individual problems.

(d) A Street Outreach Model which uses storefront neighborhood services as a basis for therapeutic group activities, possibly including the administration of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

(d) A Systems Modification Model which focuses on helping schools, institutions, programs and agencies become more sensitive and responsive to the needs of youth. Demonstration projects could be used to encourage new approaches to old problems to divert offenders into positive community-based efforts.

Technical assistance in developing and implementing YSBs is available from the OCJP.

3. Evaluation Factors

(a) number of youth referred to the project by referral sources

(b) number of youth served, by the type of problem

(c) number of youth served, by school status and age

(d) number of youth served, by juvenile justice system involvement

(e) number of project youth who remained in school, returned to school, received job training, obtained full-time employment, obtained part-time employment, and re-integrated with family

(f) number of project youth who became involved with the juveniles justice system:

Arrested: juvenile status offense
delinquent offense

Referred to juvenile court:
handled informally
formally adjudicated-probation
formally adjudicated-commitment to State Department of Social Services
formally adjudicated-other

(g) number of youth referred to other agencies, by project, type of agency and service

(h) average length of time between referral and initiation of service for youth referred to other agencies

(i) average length of stay in the project

(j) number of youth terminated from project, and reason for termination

(k) average cost per client to the project: for direct services, for youth referred to other agencies

(1) average cost perclient handled by the juvenile court: for informal services, for formal adjudication

Evaluation data must continue for one year after the termination of OCJP funding.

4. Inspection Factors

(a) verify employment of project staff

(b) ascertain availability of professional services

(c) obtain subjective evaluation of project personnel

(d) obtain subjective evaluation of affected agencies

(e) obtain subjective evaluation of clients.

5. Subgrant Data

(a) Counties may contract with existing private youth serving agencies.

(b) The application must include letters of "commitment to participate" as a referral source and information exchange from local law enforcement agencies, local schools, juvenile court, and other community agencies serving young people

(c) The application must include the follwing data for the preceding year:

- number of youth in the project area, by school status and age; school status should indicate full-time or part-time students and dropouts.
- number of youth involved in the juvenile justice system according to the following categories: no involvement; contact with law enforcement, but not arrested; arrested, but not referred to juvenile court; arrested and referred to juvenile court--number handled informally, number formally adjudicated(probation), number formally adjudicated (other)
- a list of all youth serving agencies in the project area

(d) Eligible applicants are counties and (Public Act 54) Community Mental Health Boards

(e) Projects in this element are in continuation category number three, which means funding of successful projects can be continued up to three years with the third year funding at a rate not to exceed 50% federal funds. See the introduction for a further explanation of the continuation policy.

6. Relationship to Problem Analysis and Goals and Standards and Evaluation Information - This program addresses the need of the police, schools, courts, and citizens for a viable alternative to the official court process. Funding projects will serve to implement standards 15.1 through 15.8. The large number of youth processed through the juvenile court for status offenses and other minor offenses emphasizes the need for this program.

2. Evaluation

One or more of the following evaluation designs will be used in all juvenile problems prevention and treatment programs.

A. Longitudinal Measurement

The performance of all module youth served will be monitored during the period of LEAA funding. For each of the following criteria, the number and percentage of youth must be provided.

1. Client contact with the police including information on the types and frequency of offenses.

2. Client contact with the school including disciplinary action such as suspensions or expulsions, or lack of contact as a result of dropping out.
3. Client contact with the court including information on delinquency petitions filed and delinquency petitions accepted, and the nature and frequency of offenses resulting in court action.
4. Client contact with employers including information on the length of employment and the employer's evaluation of work performance.
5. Client contact with the State Department of Social Services including re-entry to a treatment program from which the youth was previously released, or assignment to another program because of unsatisfactory adjustment to a living situation or treatment program.

B. Experimental-Control Assessment

The performance of all module youth served by the project will be compared during the period of LEAA funding. The same five criteria as designated for longitudinal measurement will be used in this design (see A, 1-5 above). If a random selection process is used to establish experimental and control groups, both the control group and the experimental group must each contain at least 100 youths. If a matched

group procedure is followed, the control group may be reduced in size, but most include a minimum of fifty youths. The matching procedure must take into account salient variables in the lives of the module youth during the two preceding years. The selection methodology must be described in sufficient detail to permit a valid re-application of the selection process.

C. Cost-Benefit Analysis

Cost benefit measurements will be required during the period of LEAA funding. The following guidelines should be used:

1. A census of youth served per module is required.
2. At the end of each quarter, the project must report the cost per youth per module based on total project costs including federal and matching funds expended from the effective date of the program through the quarter for which the report is made. The cost per youth will be computed by dividing total costs by the total number of youth served. Where services vary by module, cost differences by module should be reported.

APPENDIX B

TENNESSEE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

APPENDIX B

Tennessee Self-Concept Scale

INSTRUCTIONS

On the top line of the separate answer sheet, fill in your name and the other information except for the time information in the last three boxes. You will fill these boxes in later. Write only on the answer sheet. Do not put any marks in this booklet.

The statements in this booklet are to help you describe yourself as you see yourself. Please respond to them as if you were describing yourself to yourself. Do not omit any items! Read each statement carefully, then select one of the five responses listed below. On your answer sheet, put a circle around the response you chose. If you want to change an answer after you have circled it, do not erase it but put an X mark through the response and then circle the response you want.

When you are ready to start, find the box on your answer sheet marked time started and record the time. When you are finished, record the time finished in the box on your answer sheet marked time finished.

As you start, be sure that your answer sheet and this booklet are lined up evenly so that the item numbers match each other.

Remember, put a circle around the response number you have chosen for each statement.

Responses:

Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
1	2	3	4	5

You will find these response numbers repeated at the bottom of each page to help you remember them.

°William H. Fitts, 1964

	Item No.
1. I have a healthy body	1
3. I am an attractive person	3
5. I consider myself a sloppy person	5
19. I am a decent sort of person	19
21. I am an honest person	21
23. I am a bad person	23
37. I am a cheerful person	37
39. I am a calm and easy going person	39
41. I am a nobody	41
55. I have a family that would always help me in any kind of trouble	55
57. I am a member of a happy family	57
59. My friends have no confidence in me	59
73. I am a friendly person	73
75. I am popular with men	75
77. I am not interested in what other people do	77
91. I do not always tell the truth	91
93. I get angry sometimes	93

Responses-	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

Item No.

2. I like to look nice and neat all the time..... [redacted]

4. I am full of aches and pains..... [redacted]

6. I am a sick person..... [redacted]

20. I am a religious person..... [redacted]

22. I am a moral failure..... [redacted]

24. I am a morally weak person..... [redacted]

38. I have a lot of self-control..... [redacted]

40. I am a hateful person..... [redacted]

42. I am losing my mind..... [redacted]

56. I am an important person to my friends and family..... [redacted]

58. I am not loved by my family..... [redacted]

60. I feel that my family doesn't trust me..... [redacted]

74. I am popular with women..... [redacted]

76. I am mad at the whole world..... [redacted]

78. I am hard to be friendly with..... [redacted]

92. Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about..... [redacted]

94. Sometimes, when I am not feeling well, I am cross..... [redacted]

Responses-	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

	Item No.
7. I am neither too fat nor too thin	7
9. I like my looks just the way they are	9
11. I would like to change some parts of my body	11
25. I am satisfied with my moral behavior	25
27. I am satisfied with my relationship to God	27
29. I ought to go to church more	29
43. I am satisfied to be just what I am	43
45. I am just as nice as I should be	45
47. I despise myself	47
61. I am satisfied with my family relationships	61
63. I understand my family as well as I should	63
65. I should trust my family more	65
79. I am as sociable as I want to be	79
81. I try to please others, but I don't overdo it	81
83. I am no good at all from a social standpoint	83
95. I do not like everyone I know	95
97. Once in a while, I laugh at a dirty joke	97

Responses-	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

Item No.

8. I am neither too tall nor too short.....

10. I don't feel as well as I should.....

12. I should have more sex appeal.....

26. I am as religious as I want to be.....

28. I wish I could be more trustworthy.....

30. I shouldn't tell so many lies.....

44. I am as smart as I want to be.....

46. I am not the person I would like to be.....

48. I wish I didn't give up as easily as I do.....

62. I treat my parents as well as I should (Use past tense if parents are not living)

64. I am too sensitive to things my family say.....

66. I should love my family more.....

80. I am satisfied with the way I treat other people.....

82. I should be more polite to others.....

84. I ought to get along better with other people.....

96. I gossip a little at times.....

98. At times I feel like swearing.....

Responses -	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

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		Item No.
13.	I take good care of myself physically	13
15.	I try to be careful about my appearance	15
17.	I often act like I am "all thumbs"	17
31.	I am true to my religion in my everyday life	31
33.	I try to change when I know I'm doing things that are wrong	33
35.	I sometimes do very bad things	35
49.	I can always take care of myself in any situation	49
51.	I take the blame for things without getting mad	51
53.	I do things without thinking about them first	53
67.	I try to play fair with my friends and family	67
69.	I take a real interest in my family	69
71.	I give in to my parents. (Use past tense if parents are not living)	71
85.	I try to understand the other fellow's point of view	85
87.	I get along well with other people	87
89.	I do not forgive others easily	89
99.	I would rather win than lose in a game	99

Responses -	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

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		Item No.
14.	I feel good most of the time	
16.	I do poorly in sports and games	
18.	I am a poor sleeper	
32.	I do what is right most of the time	
34.	I sometimes use unfair means to get ahead	
36.	I have trouble doing the things that are right	
50.	I solve my problems quite easily	
52.	I change my mind a lot	
54.	I try to run away from my problems	
68.	I do my share of work at home	
70.	I quarrel with my family	
72.	I do not act like my family thinks I should	
86.	I see good points in all the people I meet	
88.	I do not feel at ease with other people	
90.	I find it hard to talk with strangers	
100.	Once in a while I put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today	

Responses-	Completely false	Mostly false	Partly false and partly true	Mostly true	Completely true
	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

TENNESSEE SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCH STUDIES

APPENDIX C

Tennessee Self-concept Scale
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APPENDIX D

SELF-REPORT DELINQUENCY SCALE

APPENDIX D

Self-report Delinquency Scale

Seriousness Weight	Item
1	Skipped class when you were in school.
1	Stayed out later than your parents said you should.
2	Gone into someone's land when he didn't want you there, or you didn't have permission.
2	Gone into a house or building when you were not supposed to be there.
3	Taken something that doesn't belong to you.
3	Threatened to hurt someone.
3	Gotten something by telling a person something bad would happen to him or her if you did not get what you wanted.
1	Done something your parents told you not to do
1	Done something in a class so that other kids couldn't do their work.
1	Been told to bring your parent to school for something you did wrong.
2	Damaged or messed up something not belonging to you.
5	Hurt someone badly enough for him to need bandages or a doctor.
1	Argued or fought with your mother.
1	Told your parents a lie.
2	Taken some part of a car or some gasoline.
2	Hit your father.
2	Taken something not belonging to you worth between $2 and $50.

Seriousness Weight	Item
1	Not been allowed to go to school until the superintendent or principal or someone like that told you you could go again.
3	Gotten something by lying about who you were.
3	Gotten something by lying to a person about what you would do for him or her.
2	Taken something not belonging to you worth less than $2.
1	Smoked marijuana or taken pills.
3	Gotten something by lying about your age.
1	Drunk beer or liquor.
1	Run away from home.
1	Skipped a day of school without a real excuse.
1	Been sent to the school principal's office for bad behavior in class.
2	Bought or sold drugs.
3	Carried a gun or knife.
3	Taken something not belonging to you worth over $50.
2	Taken part in a fight in which a bunch of your friends was against another bunch of kids.
1	Not done something your parents said you were supposed to do.
1	Argued or had a fight with the teacher.
3	Set fire to someone else's property.
5	Used or threatened to use a weapon to get something from a person
2	Broken windows of a school.

Seriousness Weight	Item
2	Taken something from a store without paying for it.
1	Argued or fought with your father.
1	Smoked without your parents' knowing it or without their permission.
1	Made so much noise that people were angry.
2	Hit your mother.
3	Taken a car without permission of the owner (even if you returned it).
2	Carved or marked up school desks or woodwork, etc.
1	Gone all the way with a boy.
1	Gone all the way with a girl.
	Was elected to the Honor Society at school.
	Helped a friend with school work.
	Helped the teacher run errands.
	Got special praise for a school project.
	Was nominated for student council.
	Got straight A's last year.
	Was captain of a sports team.

APPENDIX E

JESNESS INVENTORY

APPENDEX E

THE JESNESS INVENTORY

by Carl F. Jesness, Ph.D.

This booklet contains 155 statements. Read each one. If you agree with the statement, mark True (T). If not, mark False (F). Make all the marks on the separate answer sheet: do not make marks on this booklet.

There are no right or wrong answers. It is only how you feel about the statement that is important. Mark either the T or the F for each number, even though you may not always feel perfectly sure about the statement.

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1. When you're in trouble, it's best to keep quiet about it.
2. It makes me nervous to sit still very long.
3. I get into a lot of fights.
4. I worry too much about doing the right things.
5. I always like to hang around with the same bunch of friends.
6. I am smarter than most boys I know.
7. It makes me mad that some crooks get off free.
8. My feelings get hurt easily when I am scolded or criticized.
9. Most police will try to help you.
10. Sometimes I feel like I want to beat up on somebody.
11. When somebody orders me to do something I usually feel like doing just the opposite.
12. Most people will cheat a little in order to make some money.
13. A person never knows when he will get mad, or have trouble.
14. If the police don't like you, they will try to get you for anything.
15. A person is better off if he doesn't trust people.
16. Sometimes I wish I could quit school.
17. Sometimes I feel like I don't really have a home.
18. People always seem to favor a certain boy or girl ahead of the others.
19. I never lie.
20. Most police are pretty dumb.
21. I worry about what other people think of me.
22. A person like me fights first and asks questions later.
23. I have very strange and funny thoughts in my mind.
24. It's hard to have fun unless you're with your buddies.
25. I get nervous when I ask someone to do me a favor.
26. If I could, I'd just as soon quit school right now.
27. Sometimes it's fun to steal something.
28. I notice my heart beats very fast when people keep asking me questions.
29. When I get really mad, I'll do just about anything.
30. Women seem more friendly and happy than men.
31. It is easy for me to talk to strangers.
32. Police stick their noses into a lot of things that are none of their business.
33. A lot of fathers don't seem to care if they hurt your feelings.
34. I am secretly afraid of a lot of things.
35. I hardly ever get a fair break.
36. Others seem to do things easier than I can.
37. I seem to "blow up" a lot over little things that really don't matter very much.
38. Only a baby cries when he is hurt.
39. Most adults are really very nice.
40. Winning a fight is about the best fun there is.
41. A lot of strange things happen to me.
42. I have all the friends I need.
43. I get a kick out of getting some people angry and all shook up.
44. Nowadays they make it a big crime to get into a little mischief.
45. It would be fun to work in a carnival or playland.
46. My father is too busy to worry much about me, or spend much time with me.
47. Sometimes I feel dizzy for no reason.
48. Sometimes people treat grown boys and girls like they were babies.
49. It makes me feel bad to be bawled out or criticized.
50. When things go wrong, there isn't much you can do about it.
51. If someone in your family gets into trouble it's better for you to stick together than to tell the police.
52. I can't seem to keep my mind on anything.
53. It always seems like something bad happens when I try to be good.
54. Most men are bossy and mean.
55. I don't care if people like me or not.
56. It seems like wherever I am I'd rather be somewhere else.
57. Once in a while I get angry.

58. I think that someone who is fourteen years old is old enough to smoke.
59. Most parents seem to be too strict.
60. If somebody does something mean to me, I try to get back at them.
61. You can hardly ever believe what parents tell you.
62. I have a real mean streak in me.
63. I don't think I will ever be a success or amount to much.
64. Police usually treat you dirty.
65. Most of the time I can't seem to find anything to do.
66. It's hard for me to show people how I feel about them.
67. I often feel lonesome and sad.
68. I don't mind it when I'm teased and made fun of.
69. Nothing much ever happens.
70. A lot of times I do things that my folks tell me I shouldn't do.
71. It's fun to get the police to chase you.
72. A lot of people say bad things about me behind my back.
73. I wish I wasn't so shy and bashful.
74. It seems like people keep expecting me to get into some kind of trouble.
75. I like everyone I know.
76. Other people are happier than I am.
77. If I could only have a car at home, things would be all right.
78. I really don't have very many problems to worry about.
79. Being called a sissy is about the worst thing I know.
80. When I'm alone I hear strange things.
81. If a bunch of you are in trouble, you should stick together on a story.
82. I have a lot of headaches.
83. Teachers always have favorites who can get away with anything.
84. Every day is full of things that keep me interested.
85. I would rather be alone than with others.
86. I can't seem to take much kidding or teasing.
87. I don't seem to care enough about what happens to me.
88. I never get mad at anybody.
89. I keep wishing something exciting would happen.
90. Policemen and judges will tell you one thing and do another.
91. It is hard for me to talk to my parents about my troubles.
92. I am liked by everybody who knows me.
93. It seems easier for me to act bad than to show my good feelings.
94. Too many people like to act big and tough.
95. I am always nice to everyone.
96. It takes someone pretty smart to get ahead of me.
97. Talking over your troubles with an older person seems like "kid stuff."
98. It doesn't seem wrong to steal from crooked store owners.
99. I would never back down from a fight.
100. I have a lot of bad things on my mind that people don't know about.
101. I will do a lot of crazy things if somebody dares me.
102. Having to talk in front of the class makes me afraid.
103. Parents are always nagging and picking on young people.
104. Some day I would like to drive a race car.
105. I sit and daydream more than I should.
106. I feel sick to my stomach every once in a while.
107. At home I am punished too much for things I don't do.
108. My life at home is always happy.
109. At night when I have nothing to do I like to go out and find a little excitement.
110. A lot of women seem bossy and mean.
111. Nobody seems to understand me or how I feel.
112. Most people get into trouble because of bad luck.
113. I am always kind.

114. Talking with my parents is just as easy as talking with others my own age.
115. Sometimes I don't like school.
116. If you want to get ahead, you can't worry too much about the other guy.
117. At times I feel like blowing up over little things.
118. I don't mind lying if I'm in trouble.
119. A boy who won't fight is just no good.
120. To get along all right nowadays, a person has to be pretty tough.
121. I worry most of the time.
122. If you're not in with the gang, you may be in for some real trouble.
123. I really think I'm better looking than most others my age.
124. My mind is full of bad thoughts.
125. When you're in trouble, nobody much cares to help you.
126. Sometimes when my folks tell me not to do something, I go ahead and do it anyway.
127. It's best not to think about your problems.
128. I hardly ever feel excited or thrilled.
129. When something bad happens, I almost always blame myself instead of the other person.
130. The people who run things are usually against me.
131. I have too much trouble making up my mind.
132. Most people who act so perfect are just putting on a big front.
133. When luck is against you, there isn't much you can do about it.
134. I get tired easily.
135. I think my mother should be stricter than she is about a lot of things.
136. I like to read and study.
137. I feel alone even when there are other people around me.
138. I'm good at out-smarting others.
139. I always hate it when I have to ask someone for a favor.
140. I often have trouble getting my breath.
141. I worry about how well I'm doing in school.
142. For my size, I'm really pretty tough.
143. People hardly ever give me a fair chance.
144. I like to daydream more than anything else.
145. The only way to really settle anything is to fight it out.
146. I am nervous.
147. Stealing isn't so bad if it's from a rich person.
148. My parents seem to think I might end up being a bum.
149. Things don't seem real to me.
150. I am afraid of the dark.
151. Families argue too much.
152. Sometimes it seems like I'd rather get into trouble, instead of trying to stay away from it.
153. I think there is something wrong with my mind.
154. I get angry very quickly.
155. When I get into trouble, it's usually my own fault.

APPENDIX F

STEPS INVOLVED IN PROCESSING CLIENTS TO THE BERRIEN COUNTY YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU

APPENDIX F

Steps Involved in Processing Clients to the Berrien County Youth Service Bureau

1. Delinquent act occurs in Berrien County.
2. Investigation made by local police or school administrator.
3. Investigator decides to refer youth to Youth Service and Assistance Bureau.
4. Proper referral forms are completed by investigator for schools or police.
5. Referral forms together with related records on youth are filed with the Youth Service and Assistance Bureau.

   NOTE: Steps 1-5 take an indeterminate length of time, depending on referral source (Usually within 1-2 weeks time)
6. Referral form (in triplicate) reaches the desk of the intake secretary, who stamps the data received on each of the copies of the referral.
7. Intake secretary will first check whether or not the youth is previously known to the Bureau or to the Juvenile Court.
8. The matter is then given to the intake counselor for review.
9. Upon reviewing available information the intake counselor reviews referral forms, and if necessary, additional information will be obtained from the investigator or other sources.

10. The intake counselor then makes an initial decision:
    a. to reject referral because it is out of territorial jurisdiction, or over seventeen years of age (this decision may be reviewed by the Director),
    b. to return referral to original referral source (with the exception of Juvenile Court) because of a refusal of the client to cooperate with the Youth Service and Assistance Bureau, where there is no action necessary at the present time, or the referral is inappropriate for the Youth Services and Assistance Bureau,
    c. to accept referral for service.
11. Two copies of the referral form together with intake counselor's initial decision goes back to intake secretary. The third copy will be filed in the Youth Service and Assistance Bureau's data bank so that the information will be available in the event that a subsequent referral is received involving that youth.
12. Intake secretary completes juvenile information exchange service cards, set up file folders with one copy of the referral form, and returns the final copy of the referral form to referral agency (with intake counselor's decision and comments).
13. If the decision is made to accept a referral:
    a. the intake counselor assigns the file to a youth counselor (or keeps it himself) for further screening,

b. the counselor makes an attempt to directly contact the youth or his or her parents and asks for an appointment with them at their home or in the office if the client prefers.

14. A letter is sent to the youth and his parents indicating that a referral has been received and that an appointment time has been reserved. A brief description of the Bureau's function is included in the letter and the parents are urged to call if they have any questions whatsoever about what is happening.

NOTE: Steps 6-14 should be accomplished the same day if the referral is received by Youth Service and Assistance Bureau in the a.m.

15. The youth counselor, or intake counselor, conduct the initial screening interview with the youth and his or her parents.

16. During this interview:

a. the family is told that their participation is voluntary and that they have a right to decline Bureau's service,

b. they are further advised that if they do not wish to cooperate with the Bureau, the matter will be returned to the police or school for whatever other action the referring agency may wish to take.

17. At the conclusion of this interview:
    a. the counselor may decide to dismiss the matter without further action if he is satisfied that the parents have or will be able to handle the situation without further Youth Service and Assistance Bureau assistance (this decision must be reviewed by the Director),
    b. if the decision is made to proceed further with the case, the parents are asked to sign information releases so that information may be secured from the school or any other agency with whom they may have had contact. The counselor then continues with a more or less standard social investigation.
18. A written summary of the interview and investigation is then prepared by the youth counselor for the matter to be reviewed by him or her with a Director during their scheduled conference.

    NOTE: Steps 15-18 should take no longer than one hour and thirty minutes in duration, and should occur no later than four days after receipt of the referral.

19. If decision is made for direct counseling by the youth counselor, weekly or bi-weekly counseling sessions will be conducted. Target goals and target dates will be set. The worker may involve various psychological, counseling and social work theories and techniques, and

may involve parents, family, and teachers in addition to the youth.

20. Monthly evaluations and progress reviews will be conducted by the counselor and Director.
21. The Director will determine to terminate the services:
    a. when target goals are attained,
    b. when maximum benefits have accrued,
    c. when continuation of services will serve no further useful purpose,
    d. when it appears in the best interest of the youth to refer to a more appropriate agency, case-study committee, or match with a volunteer.

    NOTE: Steps 6-21 should take no longer than sixty to seventy-five days of direct counseling service.
22. Upon termination of active service, a follow-up progress report is submitted to the Director by the counselor. This report should be done thirty days after termination date.
23. Cases filed on all Youth Service and Assistance Bureau youth will be destroyed upon the youth reaching his or her seventeenth birth date.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE · SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS CENTER
BAKER HALL · (517) 353-8603

EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Re: _____
Youth Service Bureau Case File
No. _____

This letter is to inform you that the Berrien County Youth Service and Assistance Bureau has received the referral of the above named youth.

I would also like to take this time to announce that the Michigan Office of Criminal Justice Programs (OCJP) has contracted with the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, to evaluate Youth Service Bureau projects throughout the State of Michigan.

The Berrien County Youth Service and Assistance Bureau has been included in this federally supported research evaluation. The purpose of this evaluation is to assist OCJP and Youth Service Bureau staff to improve services to youth.

In order to effectively carry out this project, we need to collect information on the experiences young people have during their relationships with the Michigan Juvenile Justice System, the Youth Service Bureau, and allied public and private social agencies.

We request your cooperation and acknowledgement that the aforenamed youth will be temporarily delayed Youth Service Bureau service activities. This delay will greatly assist our efforts to explore the cross sectional differences between youth of varied ages, previous juvenile justice system involvement and the seriousness of any family, school, and peer interrelationships, problems, etc. Only a small number of youth will have services delayed. The temporary delay will range from one week to perhaps two months, however, cases of extreme emergency will be given appropriate attention. All youth who participate with this aspect of the evaluation do so completely on a voluntary basis with parental or guardian endorsement.

Youth will be selected for participation by a lottery system as they are referred to the Bureau. Each youth will receive two interviews from the MSU Research Staff. The interviews will last approximately 4-6 hours combined and will provide an overall needs assessment of the youth's family, school and interpersonal relationships.

The information generated through this study will be kept completely confidential. Only the Michigan State University Research Staff will see records on individuals. No Juvenile Justice System official will see our individual interview results.

Enclosed is a brief description of other Youth Service Bureau related research activities being conducted under contract with OCJP.

Again, your cooperation is highly appreciated by the State of Michigan, Office of Criminal Justice Programs, and Michigan State University. If you require more details or have any questions pertaining to the Youth Service Bureau evaluation, please contact Mr. Ronald Quincy, Project Field Director at (517) 353-8603.

Sincerely,

Ralph G. Lewis, Ed.d
Research Director
Criminal Justice Systems Center

RGL/jb

Enclosure

Youth Participant Consent Form

I have completely read the attached letter and agree to participate in the State Office of Criminal Justice Programs, Michigan State University, School of Criminal Justice research study. I also agree to grant the MSU Research Team permission to review my court, police and school records.

_____ _____

(signature of participant) (Date)

I have completely read the attached letter and am willing to permit my son/daughter/ward to be included in the State Office of Criminal Justice Programs, Michigan State University, School of Criminal Justice research study. I also agree to grant the MSU Research Team permission to review the court, police and school records of my son/daughter/ward.

_____ _____

(signature of parent) (Date)

_____ _____

(witnessed by) (Date)

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE · SCHOOL OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS CENTER
BAKER HALL · (517) 353-8603

EAST LANSING · MICHIGAN · 48824

Dear Youth and Parent:

The Michigan Office of Criminal Justice Program (OCJP) has contracted with the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University to evaluate Youth Service Bureau projects throughout the State.

The _____ County Youth Service Bureau project has been included in this federally supported research evaluation. The purpose of this evaluation is to assist OCJP and Youth Service Bureau staff to improve services to youth.

In order to effectively carry out this project, we need to collect information on the experiences young people have during their relationships with the Michigan Juvenile Justice System, the Youth Service Bureau, and allied public and private social agencies.

We request you and your parent to permit us to include you in this study. In most cases, this means permitting out research staff to look at court, police, school and other records about you, or to interview you concerning your involvement with the Juvenile Justice System and your experiences with the Youth Service Bureau.

If you are selected for interviewing, your participation in the study will require only two two-hour interview sessions.

The information generated through this study will be kept completely confidential. Only the Michigan State University research staff will see records on individuals. No Juvenile Justice System official will see our individual interview results.

Please sign the consent forms attached and return them to:

_____

Ralph G. Lewis, Ed.d
Research Director
Criminal Justice Systems Center

APPENDIX G

TENNESSEE SELF-CONCEPT RESULTS

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

W. WILLIAM H. FITTS 1964

PROFILE SHEET

Tennessee Self-concept Results

Clinical and Research Form
PUBLISHED BY
COUNSELOR RECORDINGS AND TESTS
BOX 6184 ACKLEN STA
NASHVILLE TENN 37212

NAME

NATIONAL NORMS

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
90		3.00	80		450	150		150	90		90	90	90					200	65	60	75	55	60						25	80	
	50	2.75	70	80	440		150			90				99.99				195	60	55	70	50	55	95	50	80	30	30		75	90
		2.50	60	70																					55			35		70	
80		2.25			430		145	145			85			99.9	110	70	45	190	55	50	60	45	50	90	60	75	35	40		65	80
		2.00	50	60											105	65	40	185	50	45	55	40	45	85	65	70	40	45		60	
		1.90	40	55	420		140								100	60		180	45	45	50		40		70			50		55	
		1.80													95																
		1.70	30		410	145		140				85		99	90	55	35	175	40	40	45	35	45	80	75	60	50	55	20	50	
70		1.60		50			135				80				85	50		170		40			40							45	70
		1.50	20		400		130	135	85	85		85			80			165	35		35			75	80		55	60		40	
		1.40		45										95	75	45	30	160		35		30	35					65		35	
60	45	1.30	15		390	140	125	130			75		80	90	70			155	30		30			70	85	55	60	70	15	30	60
			10	40	380		120		80	80		80			65	40	25	150		35		30	25	65	90		65			25	
		1.20	5			135	115	125			70		75	80	60	35		145	25		25			60	95	50	70	80	10	20	
	40		0	35	370				75	75		70		70	55			140		30		25	30	55			75			15	
50		1.10			360	130	110	120	75			75				30	20	135	20		20			50						10	50
					350		105				65		70	50	50			130		25		20	25	60	100	45	85	85	10		
	35	1.00	-10	30		125		115		70		70						125	15		15			55						5	
					340		100		70				65	40	45			120		20		15	20	50	105	40	80	90			40
		.90	-15	25		120		110		65	60	65				25		115	15		15			45						
40	30				330		95		65				60	30	40		15	110		20		15	15	40	110	35	85	95			
		.80	-20	20	320	115	90	105		65	53	60				20		105	10		10			35						
					310		85		60				60	20	35			100		15		10	10	30	120	30	90		5		30
					300			100		60		60				15		95	5		5			25						
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20					220				45						10			50						0	140	5	115	115			20
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10					170	70			35				30	0.01					0											
	10	.10			160	65	35	55		30	20	30																		
					150	60	30																							

PROFILE LIMITS																														
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

W. WILLIAM H. FITTS 1964

PROFILE SHEET

Tennessee Self-Concept Results

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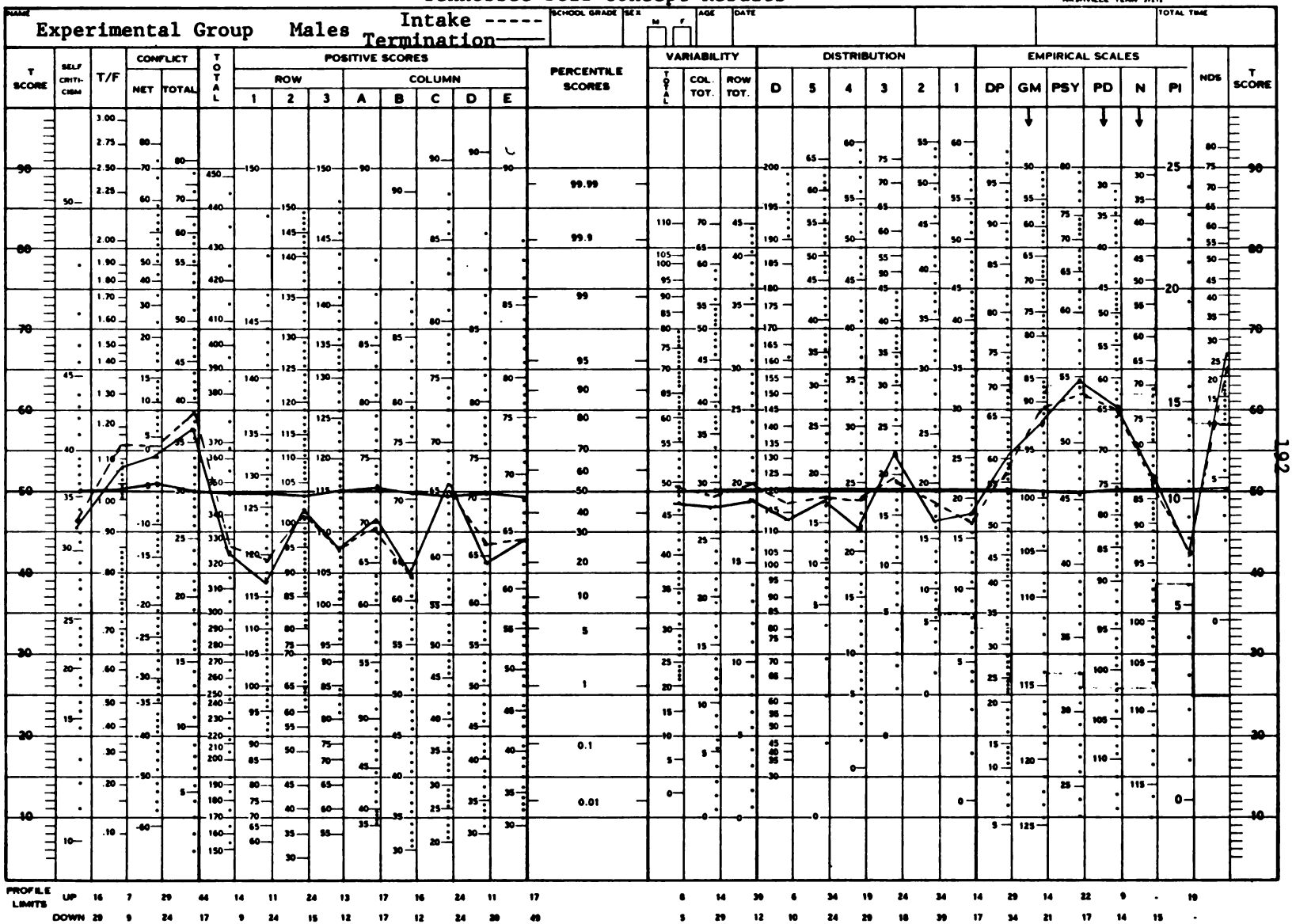
NASHVILLE TENN 37212

NAME: Experimental Group Males Intake ----- Termination——— | SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																												
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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NASHVILLE, TENN 37212

NAME: Experimental Group-Females Intake ------ Termination ——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	DISTRIBUTION 5	DISTRIBUTION 4	DISTRIBUTION 3	DISTRIBUTION 2	DISTRIBUTION 1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	EMPIRICAL SCALES GM	EMPIRICAL SCALES PSY	EMPIRICAL SCALES PD	EMPIRICAL SCALES N	EMPIRICAL SCALES PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	39	
PROFILE LIMITS DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	38	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

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NAME: Experimental Group — Ages 10-14 — Intake ------- Termination

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VAR. COL. TOT.	VAR. ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	30	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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Tennessee Self-Concept Results

NAME: Experimental Group

Intake -------
Termination———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT: NET	CONFLICT: TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES: ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY: TOTAL	VARIABILITY: COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY: ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION: D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES: DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
PROFILE LIMITS DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

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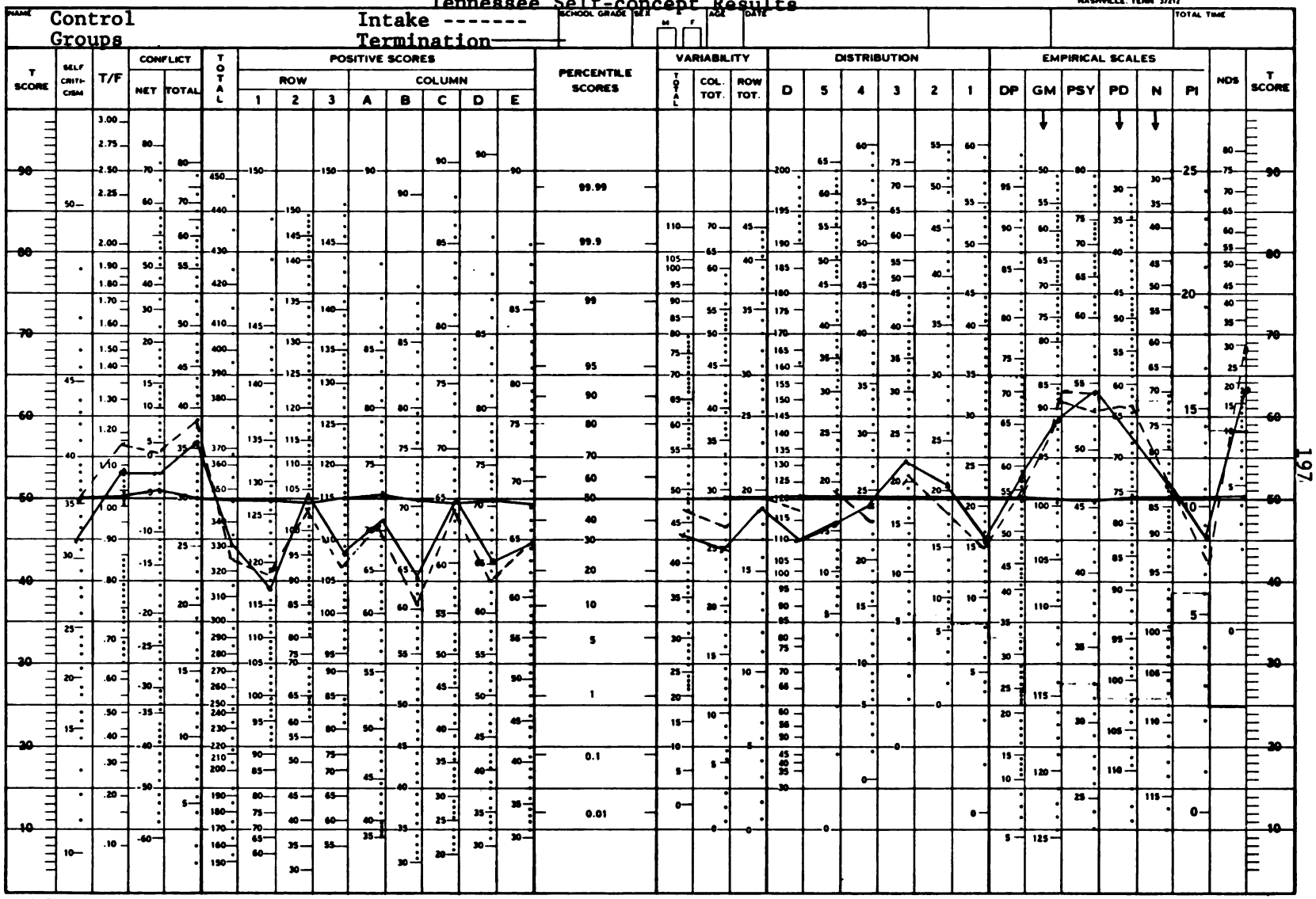
Tennessee Self-concept Results

NAME Control Groups — Intake ------- Termination ——+

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																										
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	38	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	38	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

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BOX 6184 ACKLEN STA
NASHVILLE, TENN 37212

NAME: Control Group-Males — Intake ------- Termination ———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VAR. COL. TOT.	VAR. ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
90		3.00	80			-150		-150	-90		90	90	-90	99.99				200	65	60	75	55	60	95	-50	80	30	30	25	80	90
	50	2.75			450		-150			90								195										35		75	
		2.50	70	80											110	70	45		60		70	50			55					70	
		2.25			440		145	145			90			99.9		65		190	55	55	65		55					40		65	
80		2.00	60	70											105							45				75	35			60	80
	•	1.90	50		430		140								100	60	40	185	50	50	60			85		70				55	
		1.80	40	60											95				45			40					40				
	•	1.70			420		135	140					85		90	55	35	180		45	55					65				50	
		1.60	30	50							80	85		99	85				40			35					55				
70	•	1.50			410	145			85	85					80	50		175		40	50			80		60				45	70
		1.40	20	45			130	135							75				35			30					50				
	•				400									95	70	45	30	170		40	45			75		55				40	
	45	1.30	15		390	140	125	130	80	80	75	80	80		65			165	35		35		35		80		60			35	
			10	40										90	60	40	25	160		35	40	30		70		60			15	30	
		1.20	5		380	135	115	125	75	75	70	75	75		55			155	30		30		30		85		55			25	
			0	35										80		35		150		35	35	25		65		50				20	60
60		1.10			370		110	120					70		50		20	145	25		30		25		90		70				
			-5	30		130	105							70		30		140		30	25	20		60		45			10	15	
		1.00			360			115	70	70	65	70			45		15	135	20		20		20		95		65				
			-10	25		125	100						65	60		25		130		25	15	15		55		40			5	10	
		.90			350			110	65	65	60	65			40		10	125	15		15		15		100		85				
			-15	20		120	95						60	50		20		120		20	10	10		50		35			0	5	
50		.80			340		90	105	60	60	55	60			35		5	115	10		10		10		105		80				
			-20	15		115	85						55	40		15		110		15	5	5		45		30					
		.70			330		80	100	55	55	50	55			30		0	105	5		5		5		110		75				
			-25	10		110	75						50	30		10		100		10	0	0		40		25					
40		.60			320		70	95	50	50	45	50			25			95	0		0		0		115		70				
			-30	5		105	65						45	20		5		90		5				35		20					
		.50			310		60	90	45	45	40	45			20			85							120		65				
			-35	0		100	55						40	10				80						30		15					
30		.40			300		50	85	40	40	35	40			15			75							125		60				
			-40	-5		95	45						35	5				70						25		10					
		.30			290		40	80	35	35	30	35			10			65							130		55				
			-45	-10		90	35						30					60						20		5					
		.20			280		30	75	30	30	25	30			5			55							135		50				
			-50	-15		85	25						25					50						15							
20		.10			270		20	70	25	25	20	25			0			45							140		45				
			-55	-20		80	15						20					40						10							
					260		10	65	20	20	15	20						35							145		40				
			-60	-25		75	5						15					30						5							
10					250		0	60	15	15	10	15						25							150		35				
			-65	-30		70	-5						10					20						0							
					240			55	10	10	5	10						15							155		30				
			-70	-35		65	-10						5					10													
					230			50	5	5	0	5						5							160		25				
			-75	-40		60	-15						0					0													
					220			45	0	0	-5	0													165		20				
			-80	-45		55	-20						-5																		
					210			40	-5	-5	-10	-5													170		15				
			-85	-50		50	-25						-10																		
					200			35	-10	-10	-15	-10													175		10				
			-90	-55		45	-30						-15																		
					190			30	-15	-15	-20	-15													180		5				
			-95	-60		40	-35						-20																		
					180			25	-20	-20	-25	-20													185		0				
			-100	-65		35	-40						-25																		
					170			20	-25	-25	-30	-25													190		-5				
			-105	-70		30	-45						-30																		
					160			15	-30	-30	-35	-30													195		-10				
			-110	-75		25	-50						-35																		
					150			10	-35	-35	-40	-35													200		-15				
			-115	-80		20	-55						-40																		
					140			5	-40	-40	-45	-40																				
			-120	-85		15	-60						-45																		
					130			0	-45	-45	-50	-45																				
			-125	-90		10	-65						-50																		
					120			-5	-50	-50	-55	-50																				
			-130	-95		5	-70						-55																		
					110			-10	-55	-55	-60	-55																				
			-135	-100		0	-75						-60																		
					100			-15	-60	-60	-65	-60																				
			-140	-105		-5	-80						-65																		
					90			-20	-65	-65	-70	-65																				
			-145	-110		-10	-85						-70																		
					80			-25	-70	-70	-75	-70																				
			-150	-115		-15	-90						-75																		
					70			-30	-75	-75	-80	-75																				
			-155	-120		-20	-95						-80																		
					60			-35	-80	-80	-85	-80																				
			-160	-125		-25	-100						-85																		
					50			-40	-85	-85	-90	-85																				
			-165	-130		-30	-105						-90																		
					40			-45	-90	-90	-95	-90																				
			-170	-135		-35	-110						-95																		
					30			-50	-95	-95	-100	-95																				
			-175	-140		-40	-115						-100																		
					20			-55	-100	-100	-105	-100																				
			-180	-145		-45	-120						-105																		
					10			-60	-105	-105	-110	-105																				
			-185	-150		-50	-125						-110																		
					0			-65	-110	-110	-115	-110																				
			-190	-155		-55	-130						-115																		
					-10			-70	-115	-115	-120	-115																				
			-195	-160		-60	-135						-120																		
					-20			-75	-120	-120	-125	-120																				
			-200	-165		-65	-140						-125																		
					-30			-80	-125	-125	-130	-125																				
								-85	-130	-130	-135	-130																				
								-90	-135	-135	-140	-135																				
								-95	-140	-140	-145	-140																				
								-100	-145	-145	-150	-145																				
								-105	-150	-150	-155	-150																				
								-110	-155	-155	-160	-155																				
								-115	-160	-160	-165	-160																				
								-120	-165	-165	-170	-165																				
								-125	-170	-170	-175	-170																				
								-130	-175	-175	-180	-175																				
								-135	-180	-180	-185	-180																				
								-140	-185	-185	-190	-185																				
								-145	-190	-190	-195	-190																				
								-150	-195	-195	-200	-195																				
								-155	-200	-200		-200																				
								-160																								
								-165																								
								-170																								
								-175																								
								-180																								
								-185																								
								-190																								
								-195																								
								-200																								

PROFILE LIMITS																																
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		6	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19		
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	48		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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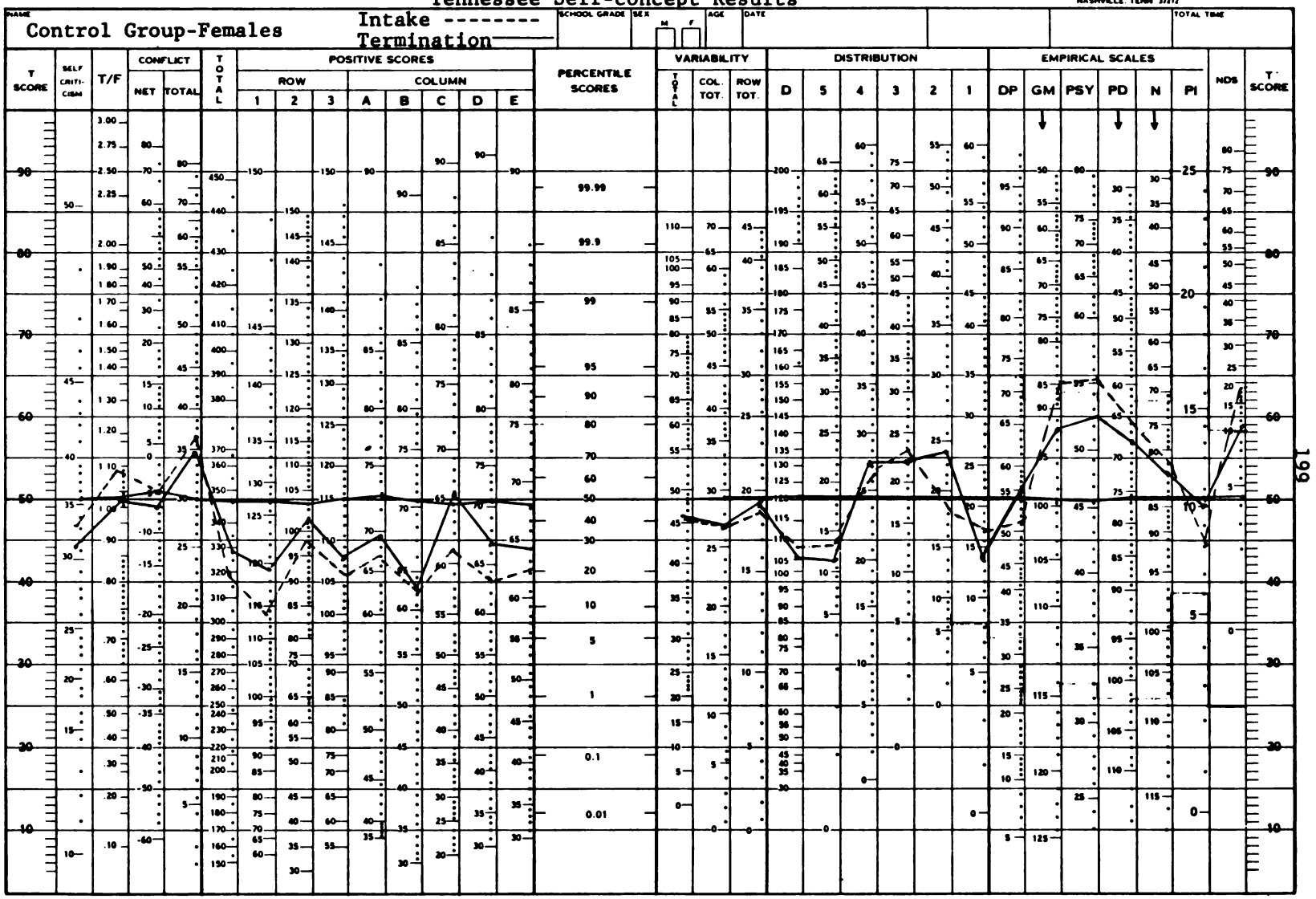
NASHVILLE, TENN 37212

NAME: Control Group-Females

Intake --------
Termination ————

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																															
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	28	14	22	9	-	19	
	DOWN	28	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	30	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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NAME: Control Group Age 10-14 Intake ------- Termination ———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VAR. COL. TOT.	VAR. ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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NAME: Control Group — Ages 15-17 — Intake ——— Termination ———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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NAME: Intake Groups

Control ---------
Experimental———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19		
DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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NAME: Intake Group-Males

Control --------
Experimental ——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	30	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	30	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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NAME: Intake Group-Females Control -------- Experimental——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP		16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN		29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	30	48		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	30	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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NAME: Intake Group Ages 10-14 Control ------- Experimental ———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE | SELF CRITICISM | T/F | CONFLICT: NET, TOTAL | TOTAL | POSITIVE SCORES: ROW 1 2 3, COLUMN A B C D E | PERCENTILE SCORES | VARIABILITY: TOTAL, COL. TOT., ROW TOT. | DISTRIBUTION: D 5 4 3 2 1 | EMPIRICAL SCALES: DP GM PSY PD N PI | NDS | T SCORE

PROFILE LIMITS

UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		
DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	29	49		

UP	8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19
DOWN	5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-

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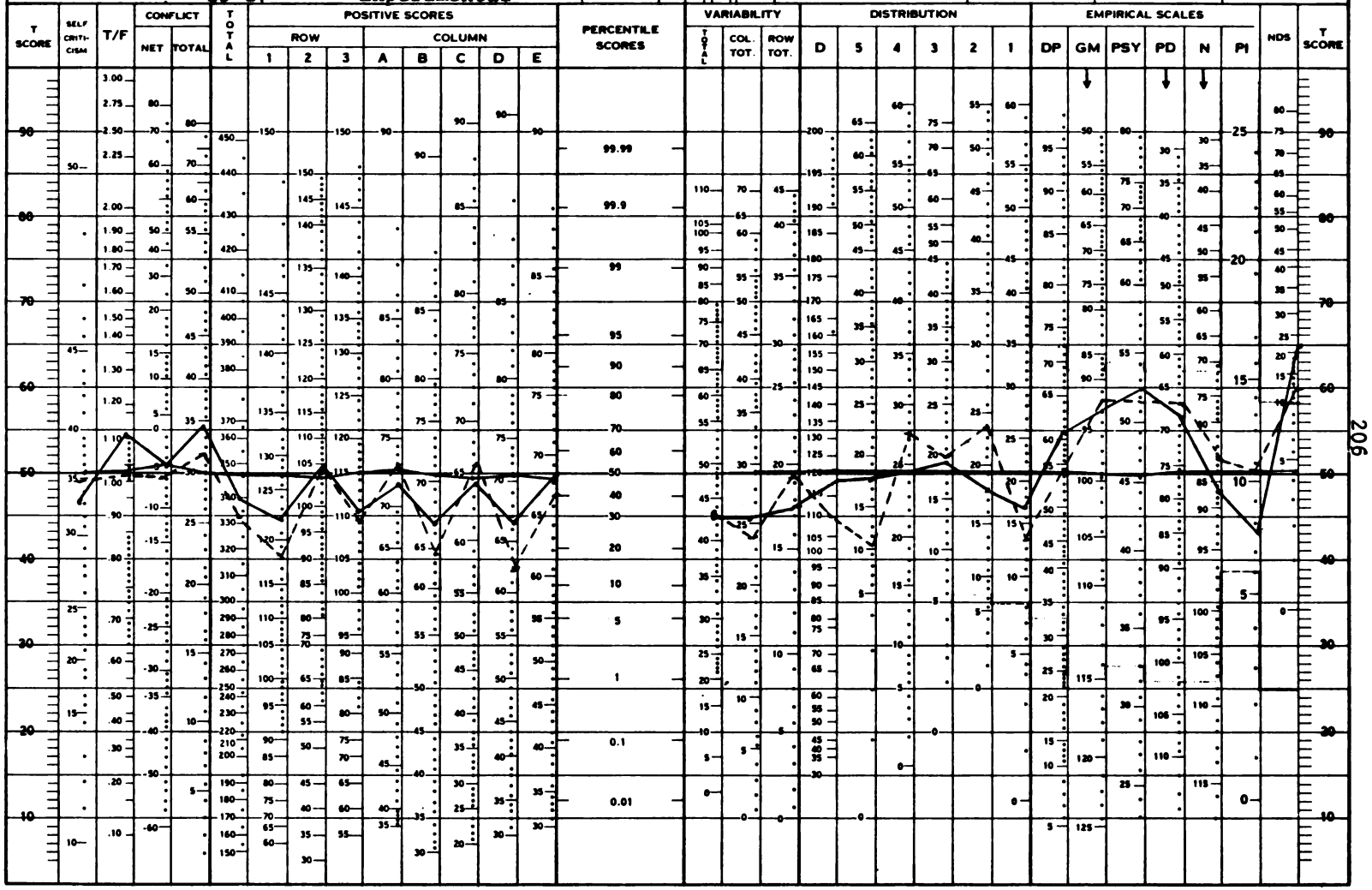
NAME: Intake Group Ages 15-17 Control ---------- Experimental——— | SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																														
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	38	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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Tennessee Self-concept Scale

NAME Termination Groups

Control -------
Experimental——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	30	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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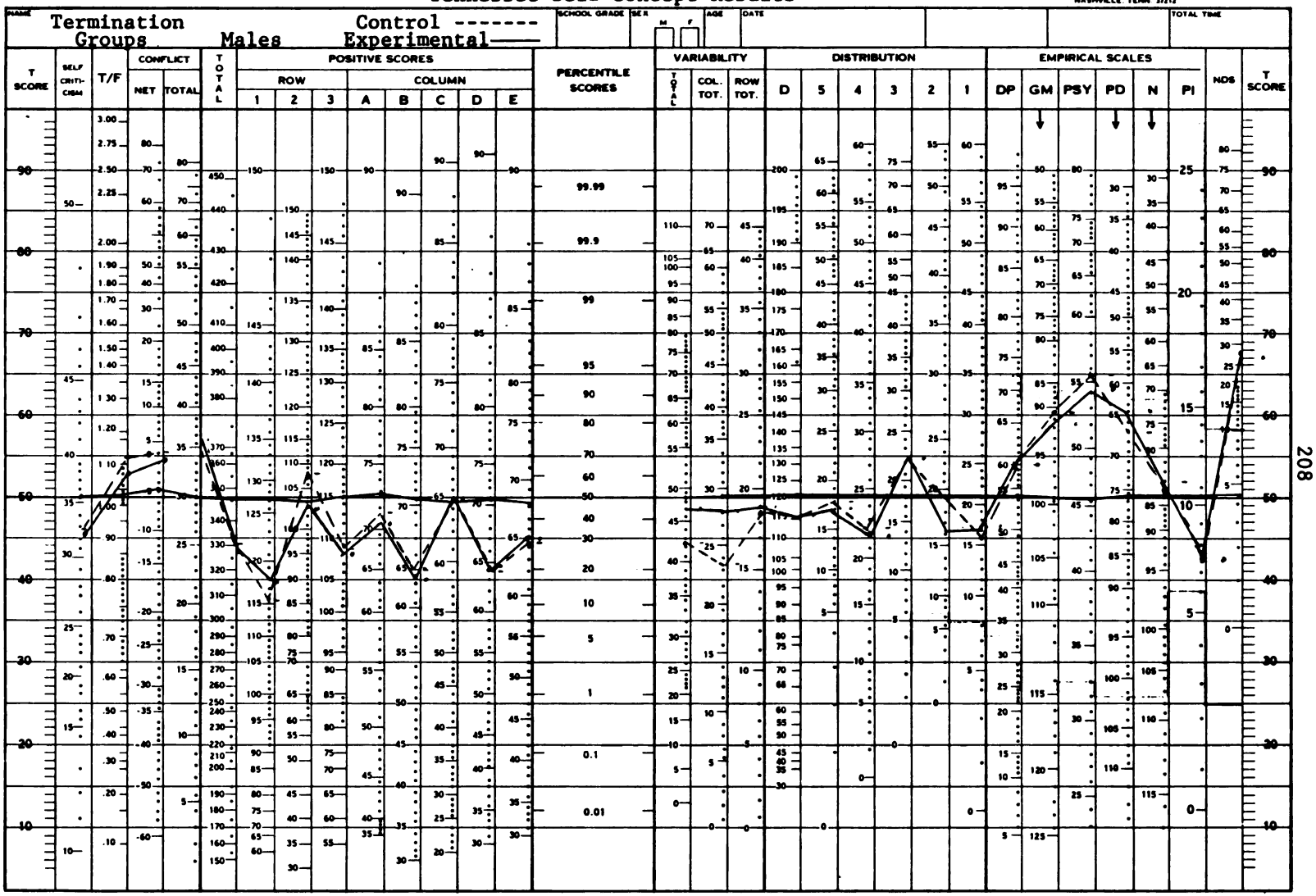
NAME: Termination Groups — Males — Control ------- Experimental——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																														
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	30	17	34	21	17	14	15	-

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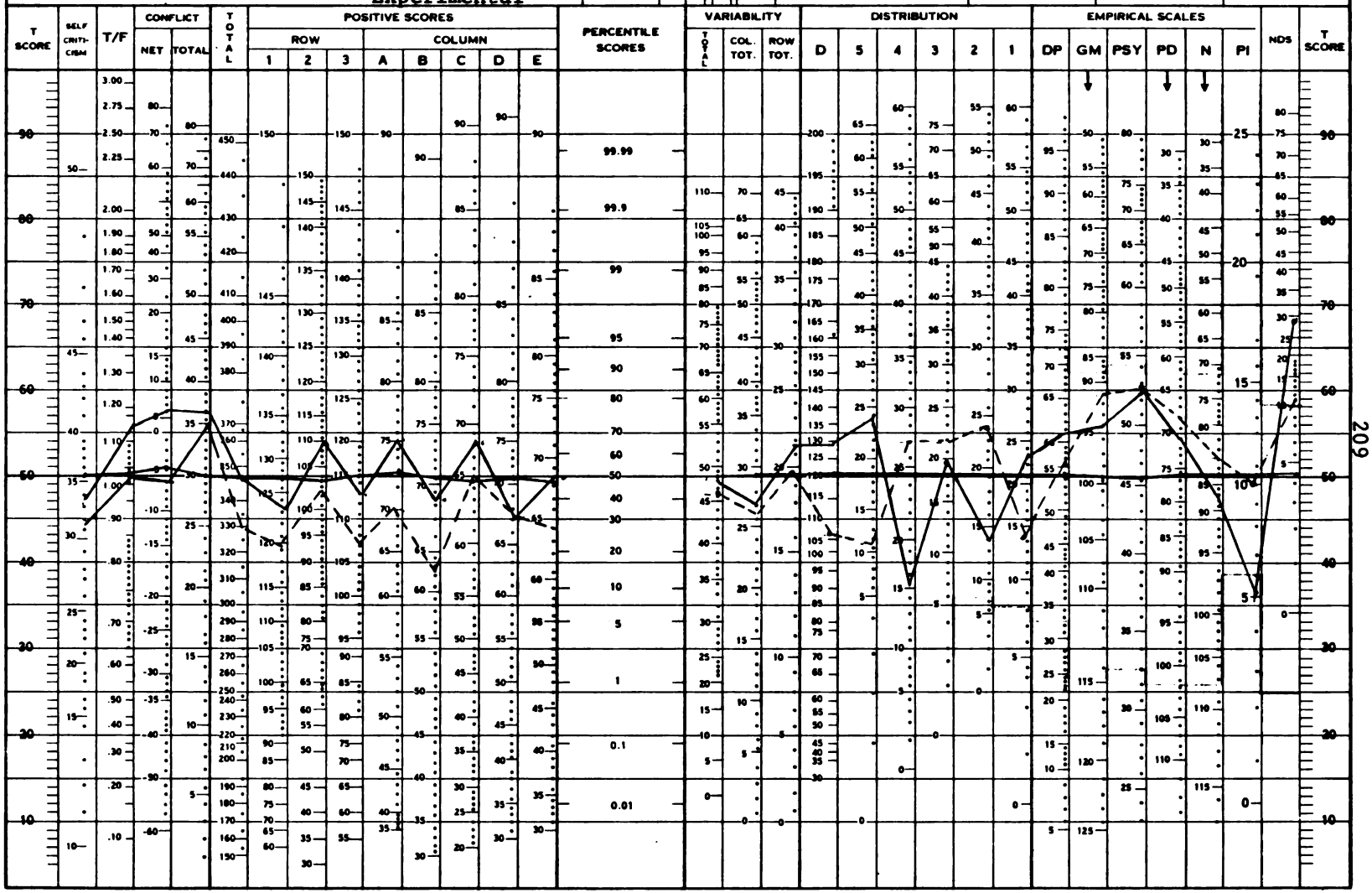
NAME: Termination Group-Females Control ------- Experimental——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																														
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	30	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	36	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

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NAME: Termination Group Age 8-14 Control ------- Experimental——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VAR. COL. TOT.	VAR. ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
90		3.00	80	80	450	150		150	90		90	90	90	99.99				200	65	60	75	55	60	95	50	80	30	30	25	80	90
		2.75																													
	50	2.50	70		440		150			90								195												75	
		2.25	60	70				145						99.9	110	70	45		60	55	70	50	55	90	55			35			
80		2.00			430		145				85				105			190	55	50	65	45	50	90	60	75	35	40		70	80
		1.90	50	55											100	65	40		50	45	60	45		85	55	70	40	45		65	
		1.80	40		420		140								95	60		185	45	45	55	40		80	65	65	45	50		60	
		1.70	30												90			180			50		45					20			
70		1.60		50	410		135	140			80		85	99	85	55	35	175	40	40	45	35	40	85	70	60	50	55		55	70
		1.50	20		400				85	85		85			80	50		170			40			80	75			60			
		1.40		45	390		130	135							75			165	35	35		30	35			80	55	65		50	
	45	1.30	15		380	140	125		80	80	75	80	80	95	70	45	30	160			35			75	65				15		
		1.20	10	40				130							65			155	30	35		30	30			85	60	70		45	
60		1.10			370	135	115		75	75	70	75	75	90	60	40	25	150			30			70	60						60
	40	1.00	5	35				125							55			145	25	30		25	25			90	55	65		40	
		.90	0		360	130	110		80	70	65	70	70	80	50	35	20	140			25			65	55				10		
	35	.80	-10	30				120							45			135	20	25		20	20			95	50	70		35	
		.70			350	125	105		75	65	60	65	65	70	40	30	15	130			20			60	50				5		50
	30	.60	-15	25				115							35			125	15	20		15	15			100	45	80		30	
		.50			340	120	100		70	60	55	60	60	60	30	25	10	120			15			55	45				0		
50		.40	-20	20				110							25			115	10	15		10	10			105	40	85		25	
	25	.30			330	115	95		65	55	50	55	55	50	20	20	5	110			10			50	40						
		.20	-25	15				105							15			105	5	10		5	5			110	35	90		20	
	20	.10			320	110	90		60	50	45	50	50	40	10	15	0	100			5			45	35						
		.00	-30	10				100							5			95			0			40	30						
	15	-.10			310	105	85		55	45	40	45	45	30	0	10	-5	90						35	25						
40		-.20	-35	5				95										85						30	20						40
		-.30			300	100	80		50	40	35	40	40	20		5	-10	80						25	15						
	10	-.40	-40					90										75						20	10						
		-.50		0	290	95	75		45	35	30	35	35	10		0	-15	70						15	5						
		-.60	-50					85										65						10	0						
		-.70		-5	280	90	70		40	30	25	30	30	0		-5	-20	60						5	-5						
		-.80	-60					80										55						0	-10						
		-.90		-10	270	85	65		35	25	20	25	25	-10		-10	-25	50						-5	-15						
		-1.00	-70					75										45						-10	-20						
		-1.10		-15	260	80	60		30	20	15	20	20	-20		-15	-30	40						-15	-25						
		-1.20	-80					70										35						-20	-30						
		-1.30		-20	250	75	55		25	15	10	15	15	-30		-20	-35	30						-25	-35						
		-1.40	-90					65										25						-30	-40						
		-1.50		-25	240	70	50		20	10	5	10	10	-40		-25	-40	20						-35	-45						
		-1.60	-100					60										15						-40	-50						
		-1.70		-30	230	65	45		15	5	0	5	5	-50		-30	-45	10						-45	-55						
		-1.80	-110					55										5						-50	-60						
		-1.90		-35	220	60	40		10	0	-5	0	0	-60		-35	-50	0						-55	-65						
		-2.00	-120					50										-5						-60	-70						
		-2.25		-40	210	55	35		5	-5	-10	-5	-5	-70		-40	-55	-10						-65	-75						
		-2.50	-130					45										-15						-70	-80						
		-2.75		-45	200	50	30		0	-10	-15	-10	-10	-80		-45	-60	-20						-75	-85						
		-3.00	-140					40										-25						-80	-90						
				-50	190	45	25		-5	-15	-20	-15	-15	-90		-50	-65	-30						-85	-95						
			-150					35										-35						-90	-100						
				-55	180	40	20		-10	-20	-25	-20	-20	-100		-55	-70	-40						-95	-105						
			-160					30										-45						-100	-110						
				-60	170	35	15		-15	-25	-30	-25	-25	-110		-60	-75	-50						-105	-115						
			-170					25										-55						-110	-120						
				-65	160	30	10		-20	-30	-35	-30	-30	-120		-65	-80	-60						-115	-125						
			-180					20										-65						-120	-130						
				-70	150	25	5		-25	-35	-40	-35	-35	-130		-70	-85	-70						-125	-135						
			-190					15										-75						-130	-140						
				-75	140	20	0		-30	-40	-45	-40	-40	-140		-75	-90	-80						-135	-145						
			-200					10										-85						-140	-150						
				-80	130	15	-5		-35	-45	-50	-45	-45	-150		-80	-95	-90						-145	-155						
			-210					5										-95						-150	-160						
				-85	120	10	-10		-40	-50	-55	-50	-50	-160		-85	-100	-100						-155	-165						
			-220					0										-105						-160	-170						
				-90	110	5	-15		-45	-55	-60	-55	-55	-170		-90	-105	-110						-165	-175						
			-230					-5										-115						-170	-180						
				-95	100	0	-20		-50	-60	-65	-60	-60	-180		-95	-110	-120						-175	-185						
			-240					-10										-125						-180	-190						
				-100	90	-5	-25		-55	-65	-70	-65	-65	-190		-100	-115	-130						-185	-195						
			-250					-15										-135						-190	-200						
				-105	80	-10	-30		-60	-70	-75	-70	-70	-200		-105	-120	-140						-195	-205						
			-260					-20										-145						-200	-210						
				-110	70	-15	-35		-65	-75	-80	-75	-75	-210		-110	-125	-150						-205	-215						
			-270					-25										-155						-210	-220						
				-115	60	-20	-40		-70	-80	-85	-80	-80	-220		-115	-130	-160						-215	-225						
			-280					-30										-165						-220	-230						
				-120	50	-25	-45		-75	-85	-90	-85	-85	-230		-120	-135	-170						-225	-235						
			-290					-35										-175						-230	-240						
				-125	40	-30	-50		-80	-90	-95	-90	-90	-240		-125	-140	-180						-235	-245						
			-300					-40										-185						-240	-250						
				-130	30	-35	-55		-85	-95	-100	-95	-95	-250		-130	-145	-190						-245	-255						
			-310					-45										-195						-250	-260						
				-135	20	-40	-60		-90	-100	-105	-100	-100	-260		-135	-150	-200						-255	-265						
			-320					-50										-205						-260	-270						
				-140	10	-45	-65		-95	-105	-110	-105	-105	-270		-140	-155	-210						-265	-275						
			-330					-55										-215						-270	-280						
				-145	0	-50	-70		-100	-110	-115	-110	-110	-280		-145	-160	-220						-275	-285						
			-340					-60										-225						-280	-290						
				-150		-55	-75		-105	-115	-120	-115	-115	-290		-150	-165	-230						-285	-295						
			-350					-65										-235						-290	-300						
				-155		-60	-80		-110	-120	-125	-120	-120	-300		-155	-170	-240						-295	-305						
			-360					-70										-245						-300	-310						
				-160		-65	-85		-115	-125	-130	-125	-125	-310		-160	-175	-250						-305	-315						
			-370					-75										-255						-310	-320						
				-165		-70	-90		-120	-130	-135	-130	-130	-320		-165	-180	-260						-315	-325						
			-380					-80										-265						-320	-330						
				-170		-75	-95		-125	-135	-140	-135	-135	-330		-170	-185	-270						-325	-335						
			-390					-85										-275						-330	-340						
				-175		-80	-100		-130	-140	-145	-140	-140	-340		-175	-190	-280						-335	-345						
			-400					-90										-285						-340	-350						
				-180		-85	-105		-135	-145	-150	-145	-145	-350		-180	-195	-290						-345	-355						
			-410					-95										-295						-350	-360						
				-185		-90	-110		-140	-150	-155	-150	-150	-360		-185	-200	-300						-355	-365						
			-420					-100										-305						-360	-370						
				-190		-95	-115		-145	-155	-160	-155	-155	-370		-190	-205	-310						-365	-375						
			-430					-105										-315						-370	-380						
				-195		-100	-120		-150	-160	-165	-160	-160	-380		-195	-210	-320						-375	-385						
			-440					-110										-325						-380	-390						
				-200		-105	-125		-155	-165	-170	-165	-165	-390		-200	-215	-330						-385	-395						
			-450					-115										-335						-390	-400						

PROFILE LIMITS																															
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	18	
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	40		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

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PROFILE SHEET

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BOX 6184 ACKLEN STA
NASHVILLE, TENN 37212

NAME: Termination Groups Aged 15-16 Control ---- Experim. ——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE | SELF CRITICISM | T/F | CONFLICT: NET, TOTAL | TOTAL | POSITIVE SCORES: ROW 1 2 3; COLUMN A B C D E | PERCENTILE SCORES | VARIABILITY: TOTAL, COL. TOT., ROW TOT. | DISTRIBUTION: D 5 4 3 2 1 | EMPIRICAL SCALES: DP GM PSY PD N PI | NDS | T SCORE

PERCENTILE SCORES: 99.99, 99.9, 99, 95, 90, 80, 70, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20, 10, 5, 1, 0.1, 0.01

PROFILE LIMITS

	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COL A	COL B	COL C	COL D	COL E	VAR TOTAL	VAR COL. TOT.	VAR ROW TOT.	D	5	4	3	2	1	DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS
UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17	8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19
DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	28	40	5	29	12	10	24	29	18	38	17	34	21	17	14	15	-

Tennessee Self Concept Scale

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Tennessee Self-concept Results

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BOX 1168, ACKLEN STA.
NASHVILLE, TENN. 37202

NAME: Termination Groups — Blacks — Control ------ Experimental ---

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | Whites — Control ------ Experimental ---

TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NOS	T SCORE
PROFILE LIMITS	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17	8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19		
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	48	5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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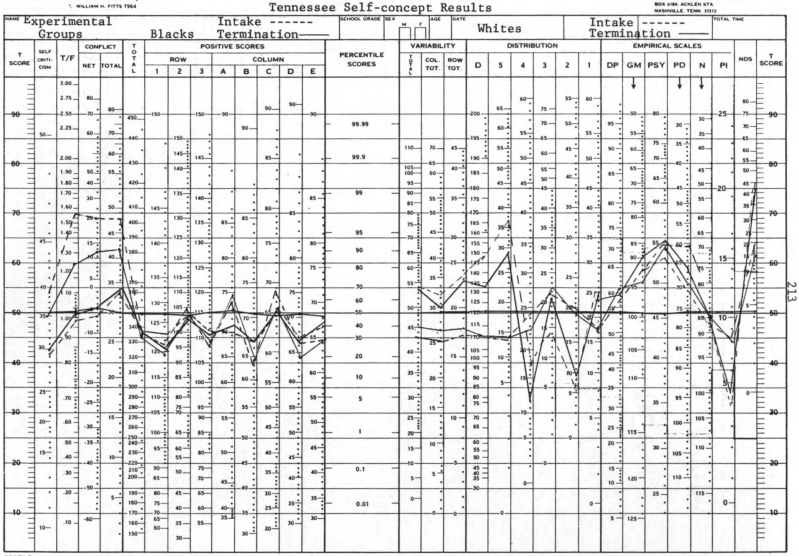
NASHVILLE, TENN. 37212

NAME Experimental Groups Blacks — Intake ------ Termination —— | SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE | Whites | Intake ------ Termination —— | TOTAL TIME



PROFILE LIMITS																									
UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19
DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-

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NAME: Control Group-Blacks — Intake ------- Termination ———

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE: Whites — Intake ------ Termination ——— | TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT: NET	CONFLICT: TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES: ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E	PERCENTILE SCORES	VARIABILITY: TOTAL	VARIABILITY: COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY: ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION: D	5	4	3	2	1	EMPIRICAL SCALES: DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
90		3.00	80								90	90		99.99				200	65	60	75	55	60						25	80	90
		2.75		80	450	150		150	90				90										95	50	80	30	30		75	
	50	2.50	70		440		150			90				99.9	110	70	45	195	60	55	70	50	55					35		70	
80		2.25	60	70											105			190	55	50	65			90	60	75	35			65	80
		2.00		60	430		145	145			85				100	60	40					45	50					40		60	
		1.90	50				140							99	95			185	50	55	60			85	65	70	45		20	55	
		1.80	40	55	420										90	55	35	180	45	45	55	40	45		70		45	50		50	
70		1.70	30				135						85		85			175	40	40	50	35	40	80	75	60	50	55		45	70
		1.60		50	410	145		140			80	85			80	50	30	170			45									
		1.50	20				130		85	85				95	75			165	35	35		30	35	75	80	55	60	65		40	
		1.40		45	400		125	135			75		80		70	45	25	160			35									
	45	1.30	15		390	140		130	80	80		80		90	65			155	30	35	30	30	30	70	85	65	70	70	15	35	60
60		1.20	5	40	380		120				75				60	40	20	150							90	50	65	75		30	
		1.10	0			135		125	75	80		75	80	80	55			145	25	30	25	25	35	60	80	45	60	80	10	25	50
		1.00		35	370		115				70				50	30	15	140							75	100	55	85		20	
	40	.90	-10		360	130		120	70	75		70	75	70	45			135	20	25	20	20	30	55	70	45	50	90	5	15	45
50		.80		30	350		110				65				40	25	10	130							65	105	45	80		10	
		.70	-15		340	125		115	65	70		65	70	60	35			125	15	20	15	15	25	50	60	40	40	95	0	5	40
		.60		25	330		105				60				30	20	5	120							55	110	35	75			
		.50	-20		320	120		110	60	65		60	65	50	25			115	10	15	10	10	20	45	50	45	30	100			35
40		.40		20	310		100				55				20	15	0	110							45	115	30	70			
		.30	-25		300	115		105	55	60		55	60	40	15			105	5	10	5	5	15	40	40	35	25	105			30
		.20		15	290		95				50				10	10		100							35	120	20	65			
		.10	-30		280	110		100	50	55		50	55	30	5			95	0	5	0	0	10	35	30	25	15	60			25
30	25	.00		10	270		90				45				0	5		90							25	125	10	55			
		-.10	-35		260	105		95	45	50		45	50	20				85		0			5	30	20	130	5	50			20
		-.20		5	250		85				40					0		80							15	135	0	45			
		-.30	-40		240	100		90	40	45		40	45	10				75						25	10	140		40			15
20		-.40		0	230		80				35							70							5	145		35			
		-.50	-45		220	95		85	35	40		35	40	0				65						20	0	150		30			10
		-.60		-5	210		75				30							60								155		25			
		-.70	-50		200	90		80	30	35		30	35					55						15		160		20			5
10		-.80		-10	190		70				25							50								165		15			
		-.90	-55		180	85		75	25	30		25	30					45						10		170		10			0
		-1.00		-15	170		65				20							40								175		5			
		-1.10	-60		160	80		70	20	25		20	25					35						5		180		0			
	10	-1.20		-20	150		60				15							30								185					
		-1.30	-65			75		65	15	20		15	20					25						0		190					
		-1.40		-25			55				10							20								195					
		-1.50	-70			70		60	10	15		10	15					15								200					
		-1.60		-30			50				5							10													
		-1.70	-75			65		55	5	10		5	10					5													
		-1.80		-35			45				0							0													
		-1.90	-80			60		50	0	5		0	5																		
		-2.00		-40			40																								
		-2.25	-85			55		45		0			0																		
		-2.50		-45			35																								
		-2.75	-90			50		40																							
		-3.00		-50			30																								

PROFILE LIMITS																															
	UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		8	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	18	
	DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-		

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BOX 6184, ACKLEN STA
NASHVILLE, TENN. 37212

NAME: Intake Groups-Blacks — Control ------- Experimental ——

SCHOOL GRADE | SEX M F | AGE | DATE: Whites — Control ------- Experimental ——

TOTAL TIME

T SCORE	SELF CRITICISM	T/F	CONFLICT NET	CONFLICT TOTAL	TOTAL	POSITIVE SCORES ROW 1	ROW 2	ROW 3	COLUMN A	COLUMN B	COLUMN C	COLUMN D	COLUMN E
90	50	3.00 2.75 2.50 2.25	80 70 60	80 70 60	450 440 430 420	150	150 145 140	150 145	90	90	90 85	90	90
80		2.00 1.90 1.80 1.70 1.60	50 40 30	55 50	410 400 390 380	145 140 135	135 130 125	140 135	85	85	80	85	85
70		1.50 1.40 1.30 1.20 1.10	20 10 0	45 40 35	370 360 350 340 330	130 125 120	120 115 110	130 125 120	80	80	75	80	80
60		1.00 .90 .80 .70 .60	-10 -15 -20	30 25 20	320 310 300 290 280	115 110 105	105 100 95	115 110 105	75	75	70	75	75
50		.50 .40 .30 .20 .10	-25 -30 -40	15 10 5	270 260 250 240 230	100 95 90	90 85 80	100 95 90	70	70	65	70	70
40		.00 -.10 -.20 -.30 -.40	-50 -55 -60	0 -5 -10	220 210 200 190 180	85 80 75	75 70 65	85 80 75	65	65	60	65	65
30		-.50 -.60 -.70 -.80 -.90	-65 -70 -75	-15 -20 -25	170 160 150	70 65 60	60 55 50	70 65 60	60	60	55	60	60
20		-1.00 -1.10 -1.20 -1.30 -1.40	-80 -85 -90	-30 -35 -40		55 50 45	45 40 35	55 50 45	55	55	50	55	55
10		-1.50 -1.60 -1.70 -1.80 -1.90	-95 -100	-45 -50		40 35 30	30 25	40 35 30	50	50	45	50	50
		-2.00 -2.25 -2.50 -2.75 -3.00											

PERCENTILE SCORES
99.99
99.9
99
95
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
5
1
0.1
0.01

VARIABILITY TOTAL	VARIABILITY COL. TOT.	VARIABILITY ROW TOT.	DISTRIBUTION D	5	4	3	2	1
110	70	45	200	65	60	75	70	55
105	65	40	195	60	55	70	65	50
100	60	40	190	55	50	65	60	45
95	55	35	185	50	45	60	55	40
90	50	35	180	45	40	55	50	40
85	45	30	175	40	35	50	45	35
80	40	30	170	35	30	45	40	35
75	35	25	165	30	25	40	35	30
70	30	25	160	25	20	35	30	25
65	25	20	155	20	15	30	25	20
60	20	15	150	15	10	25	20	15
55	15	15	145	10	5	20	15	15
50	10	10	140	5	0	15	10	10
45	5	5	135	0		10	5	5
40	0	0	130			5	0	0
35			125			0		
30			120					
25			115					
20			110					
15			105					
10			100					
5			95					
0			90					
			85					
			80					
			75					
			70					
			65					
			60					
			55					
			50					
			45					
			40					
			35					
			30					
			25					
			20					
			15					
			10					
			5					
			0					

EMPIRICAL SCALES DP	GM	PSY	PD	N	PI	NDS	T SCORE
95	50	80	30	25	80		
90	45	75	25	20	75		
85	40	70	20	15	70		
80	35	65	15	10	65		
75	30	60	10	5	60		
70	25	55	5	0	55		
65	20	50	0		50		
60	15	45			45		
55	10	40			40		
50	5	35			35		
45	0	30			30		
40		25			25		
35		20			20		
30		15			15		
25		10			10		
20		5			5		
15		0			0		
10							
5							
0							

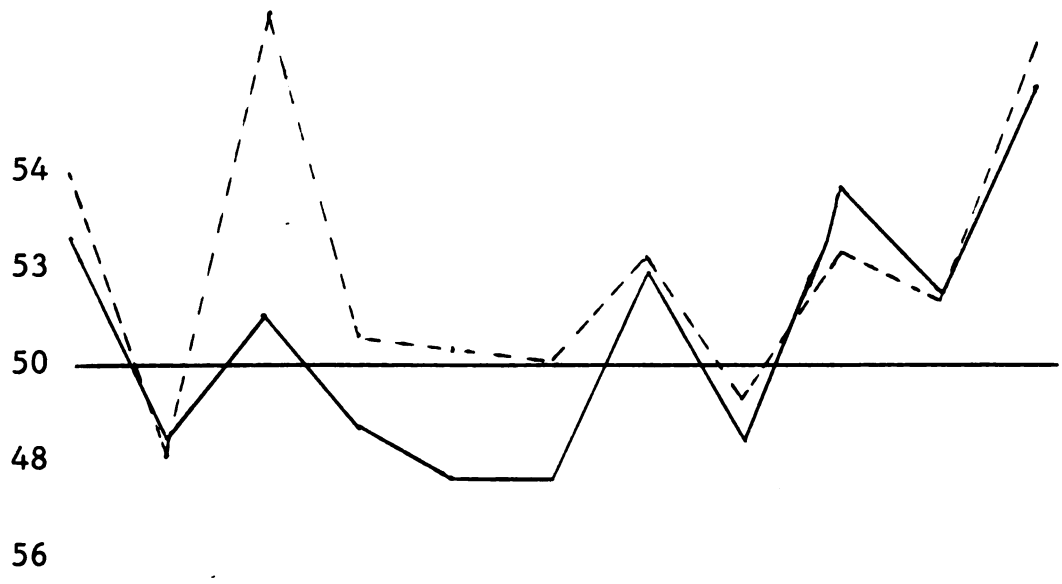
PROFILE LIMITS																									
UP	16	7	29	44	14	11	24	13	17	16	24	11	17		5	14	39	6	34	19	24	34	14	29	14	22	9	-	19	
DOWN	29	9	24	17	9	24	15	12	17	12	24	20	49		5	29	12	10	24	29	18	39	17	34	21	17	14	15	-	

APPENDIX H

JESNESS INVENTORY RESULTS

APPENDIX H

JESNESS INVENTORY RESULTS



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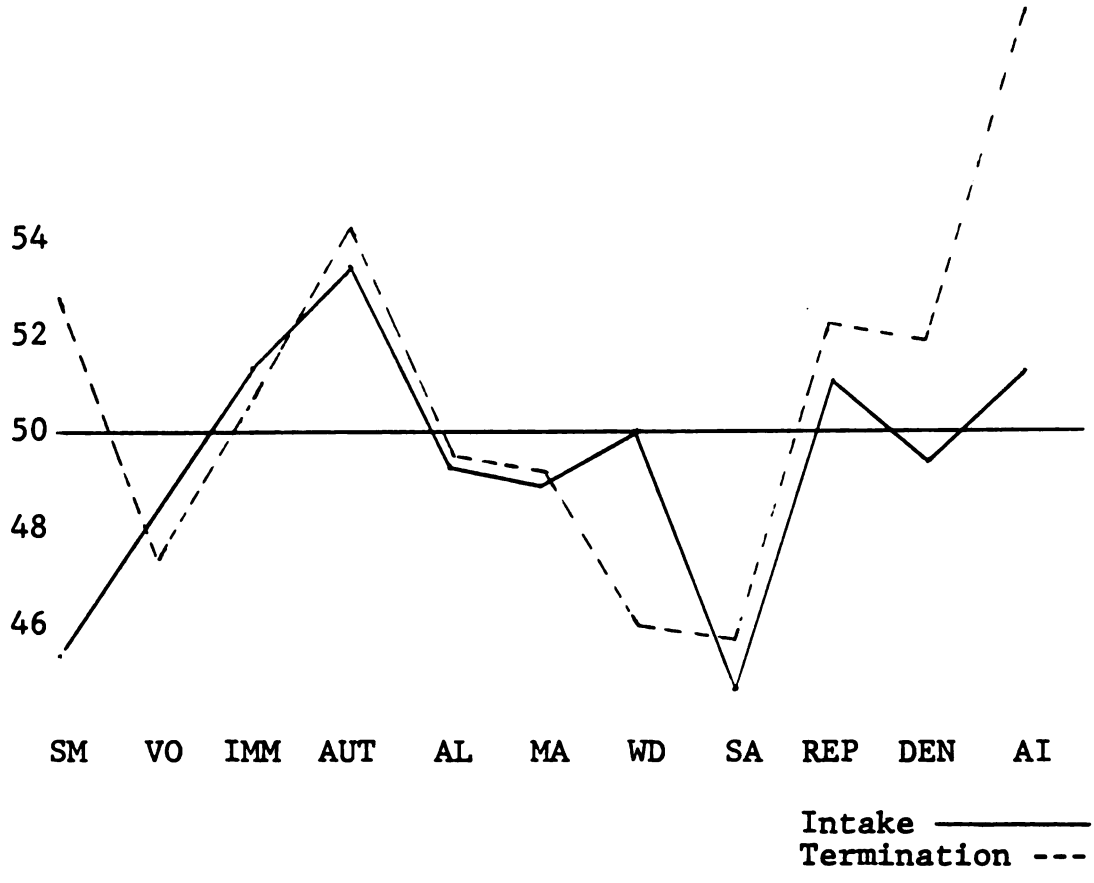

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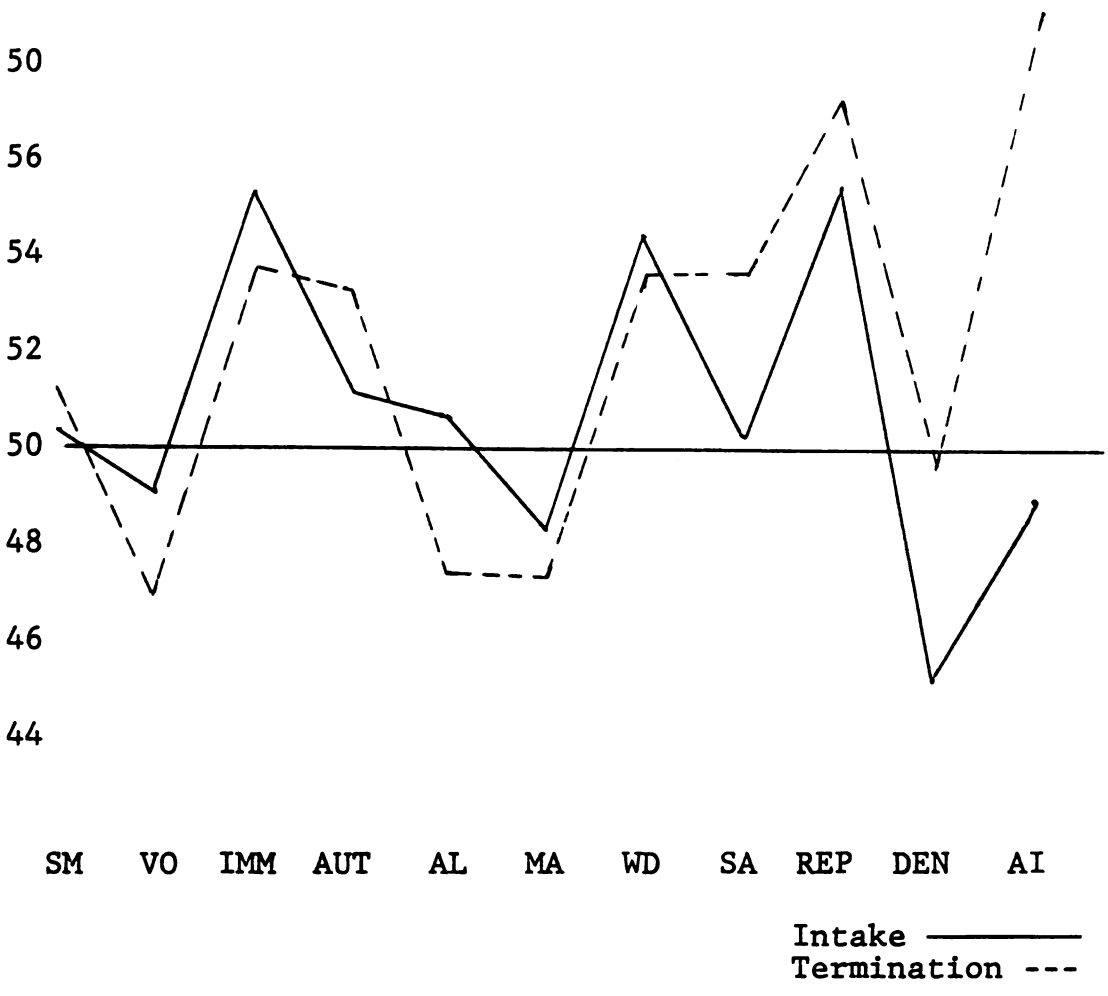

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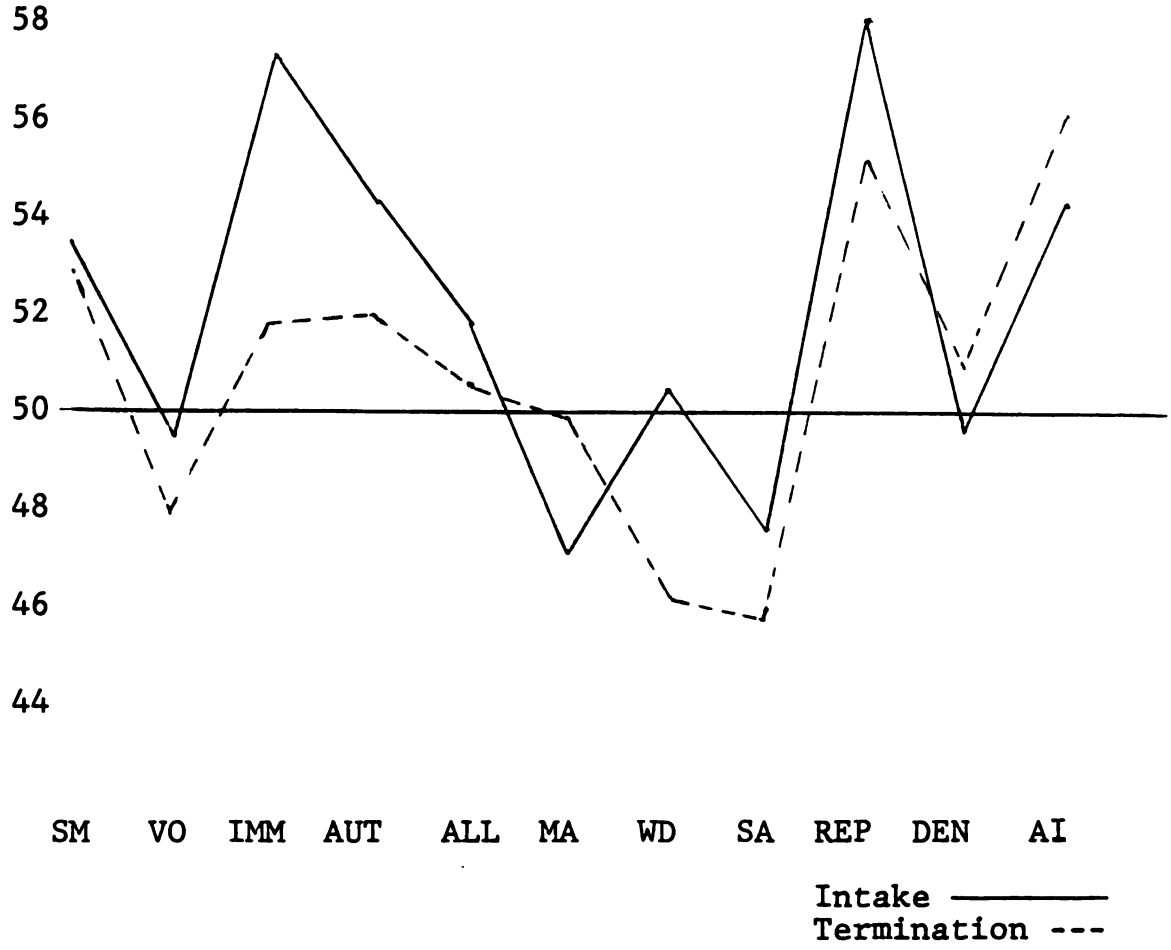

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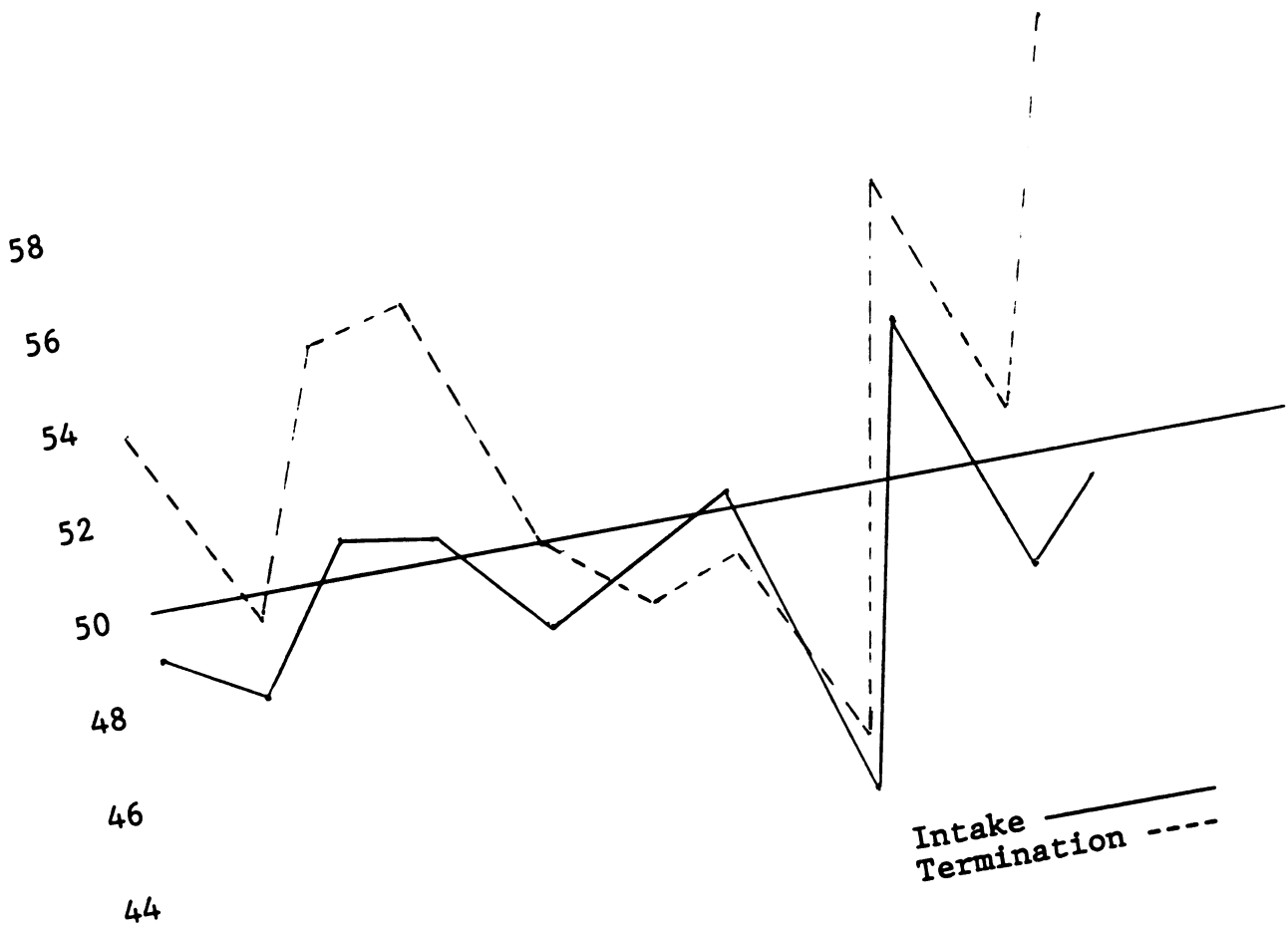

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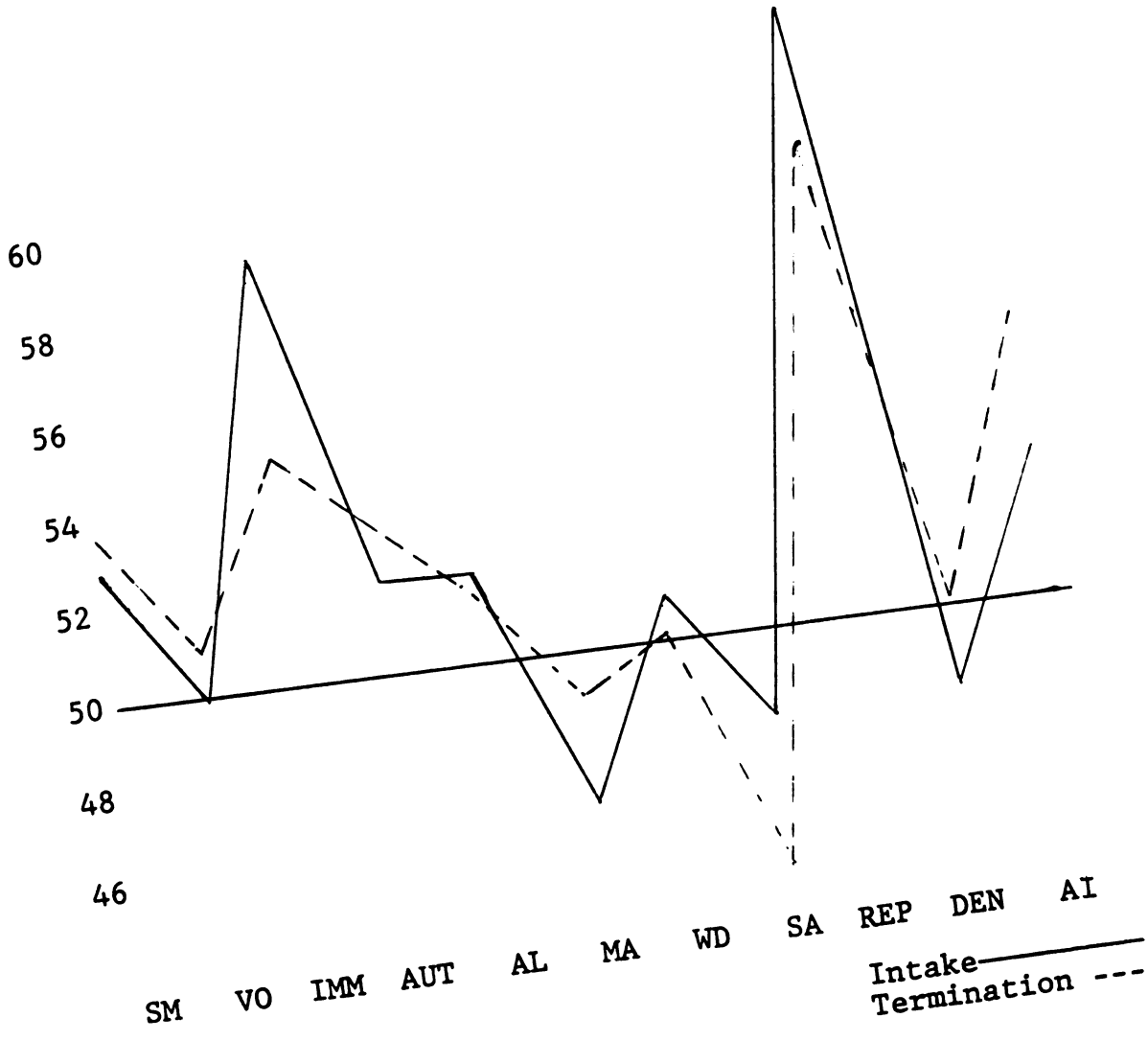

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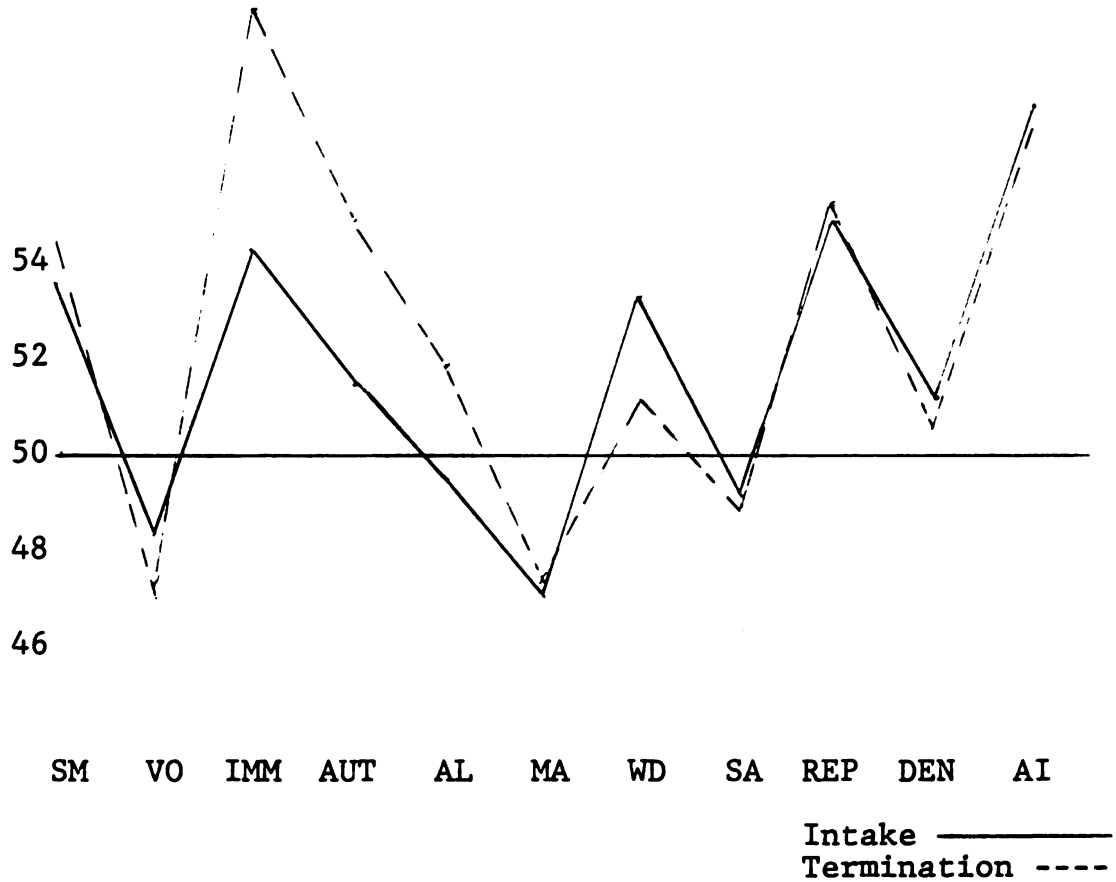

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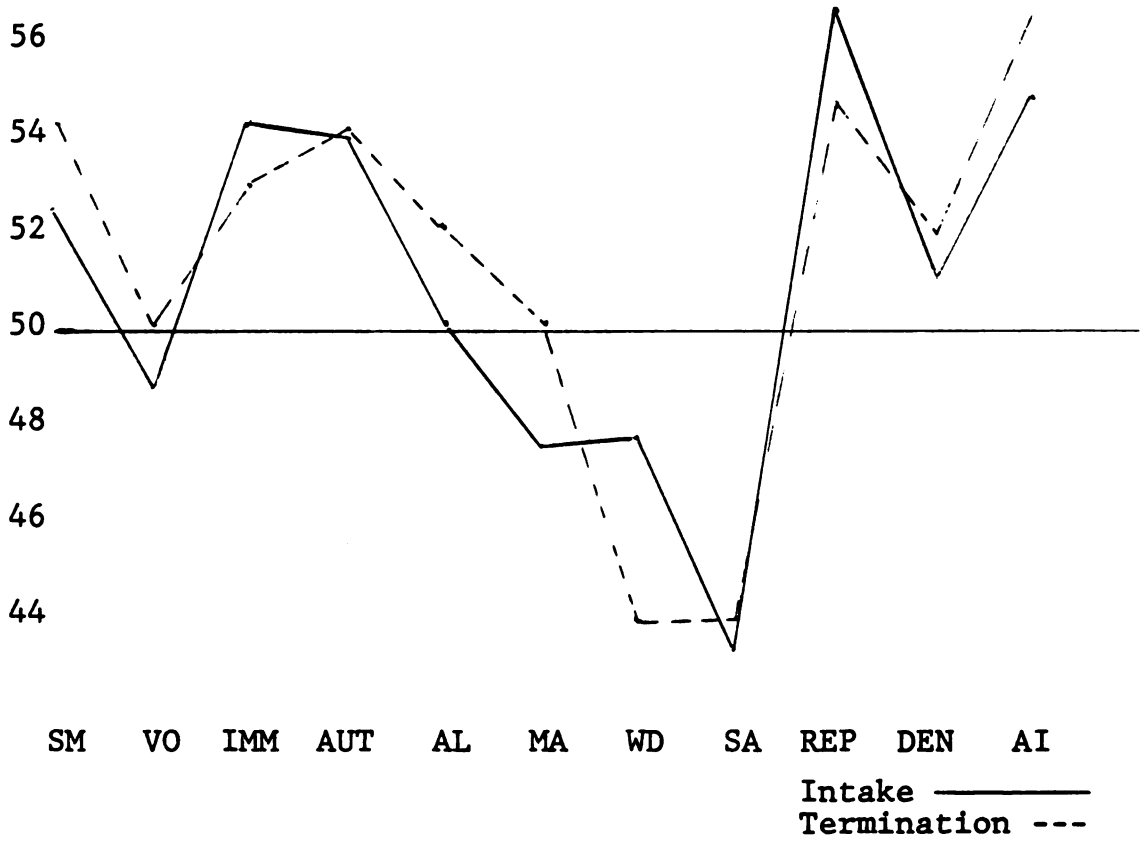

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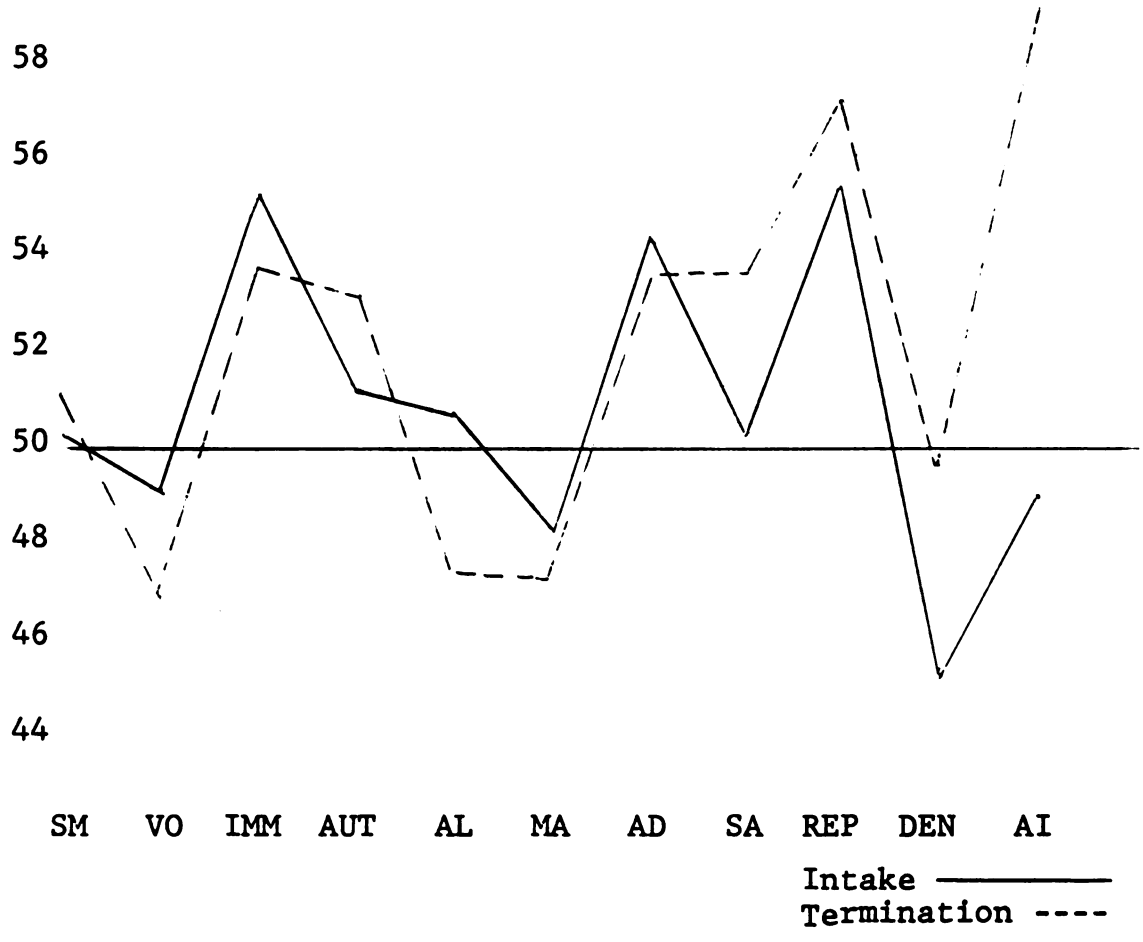

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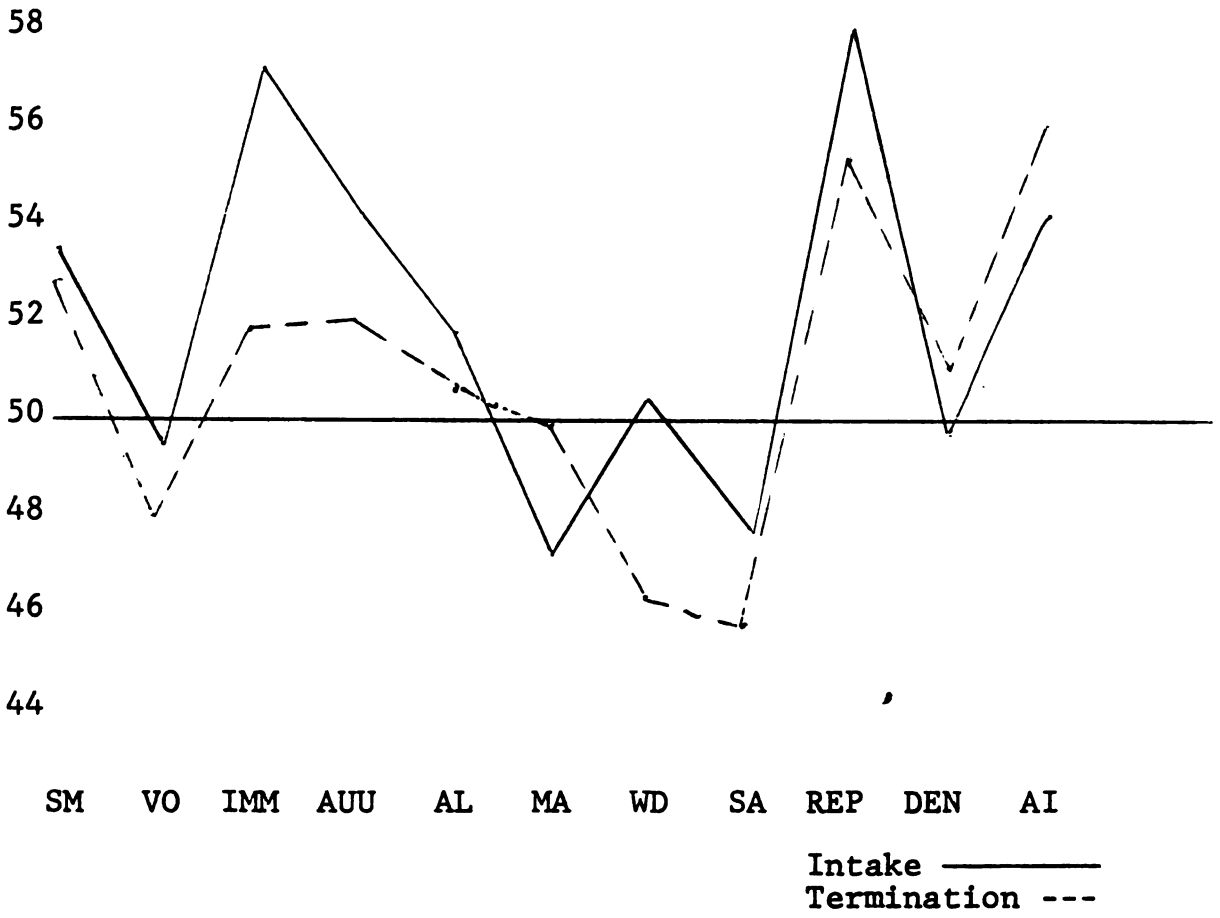

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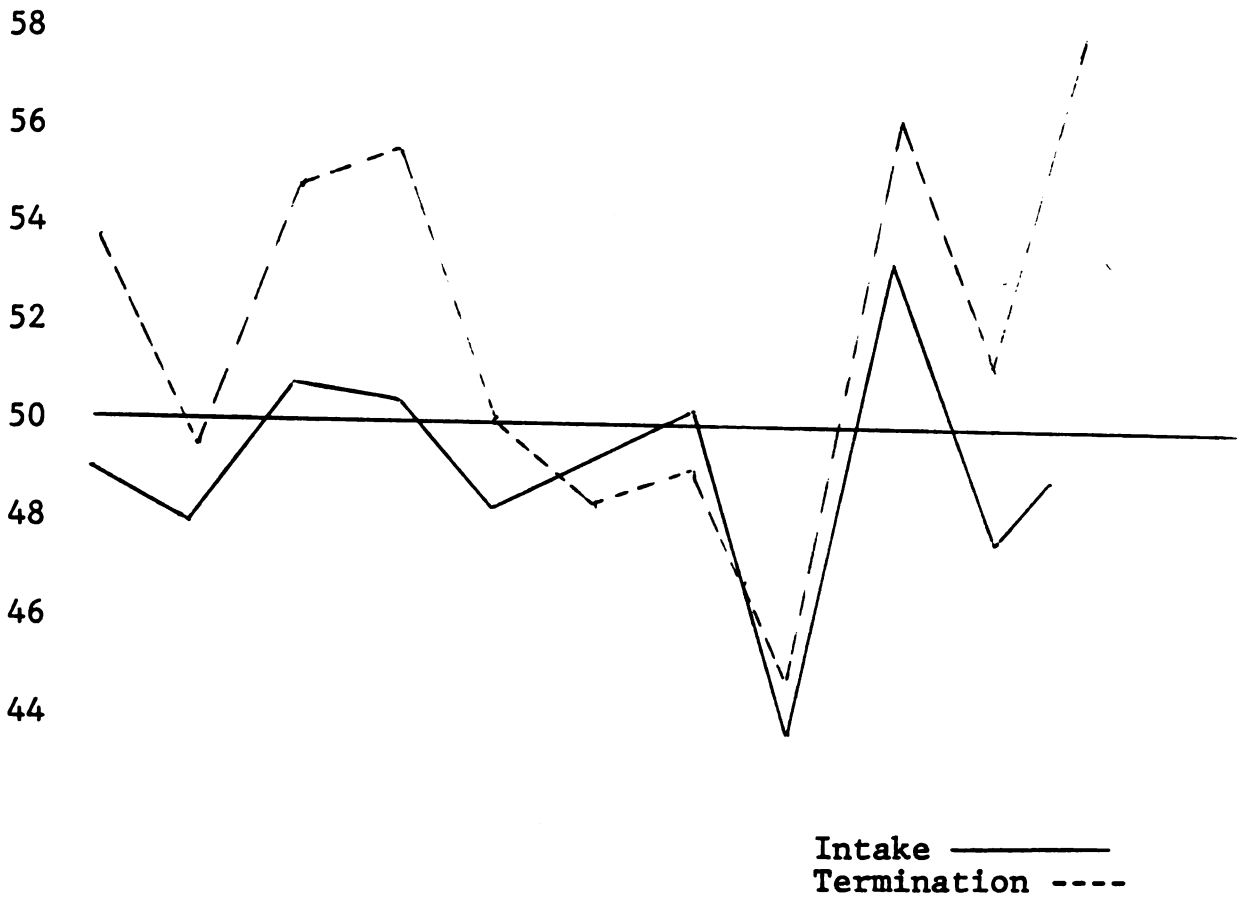

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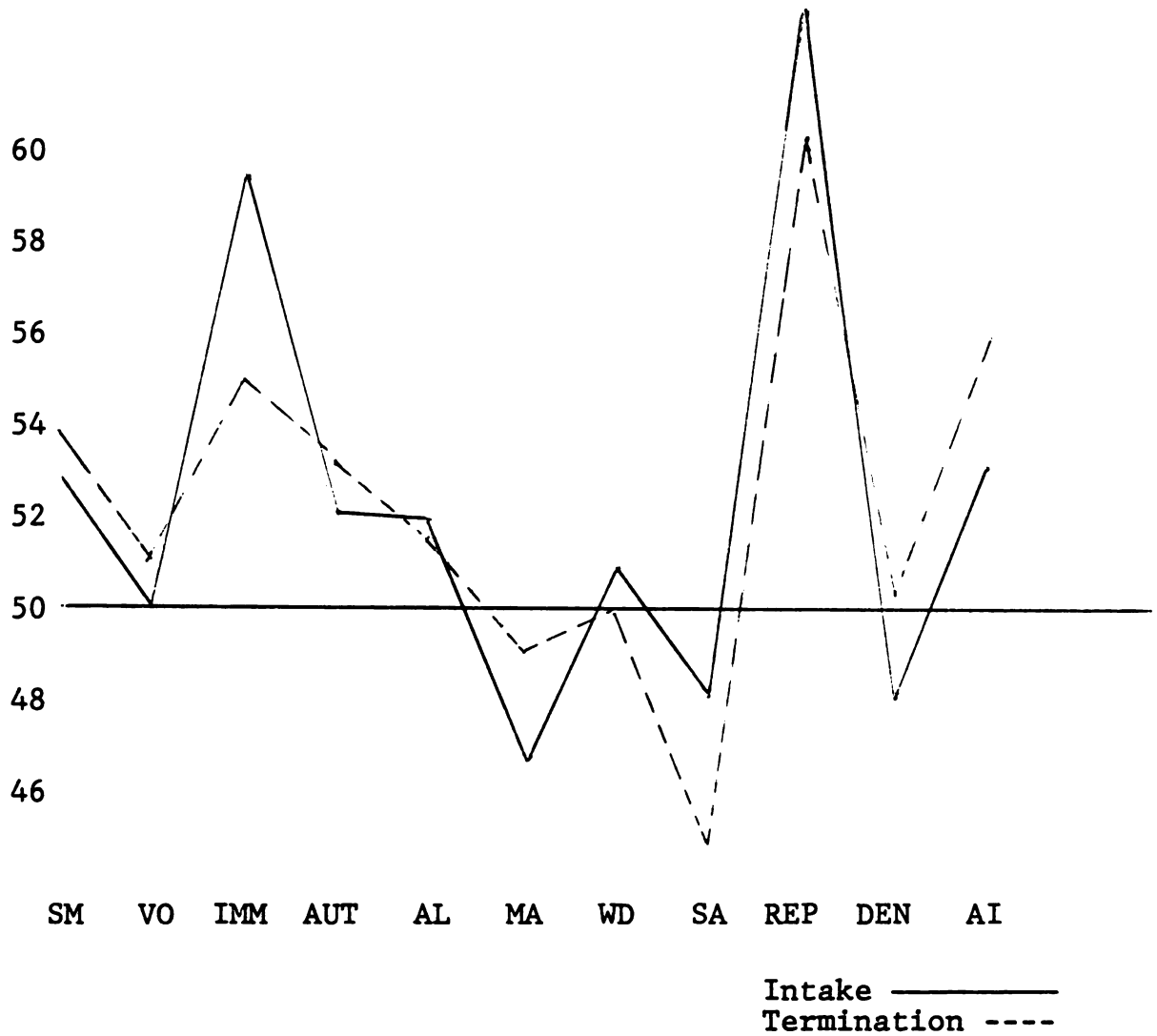

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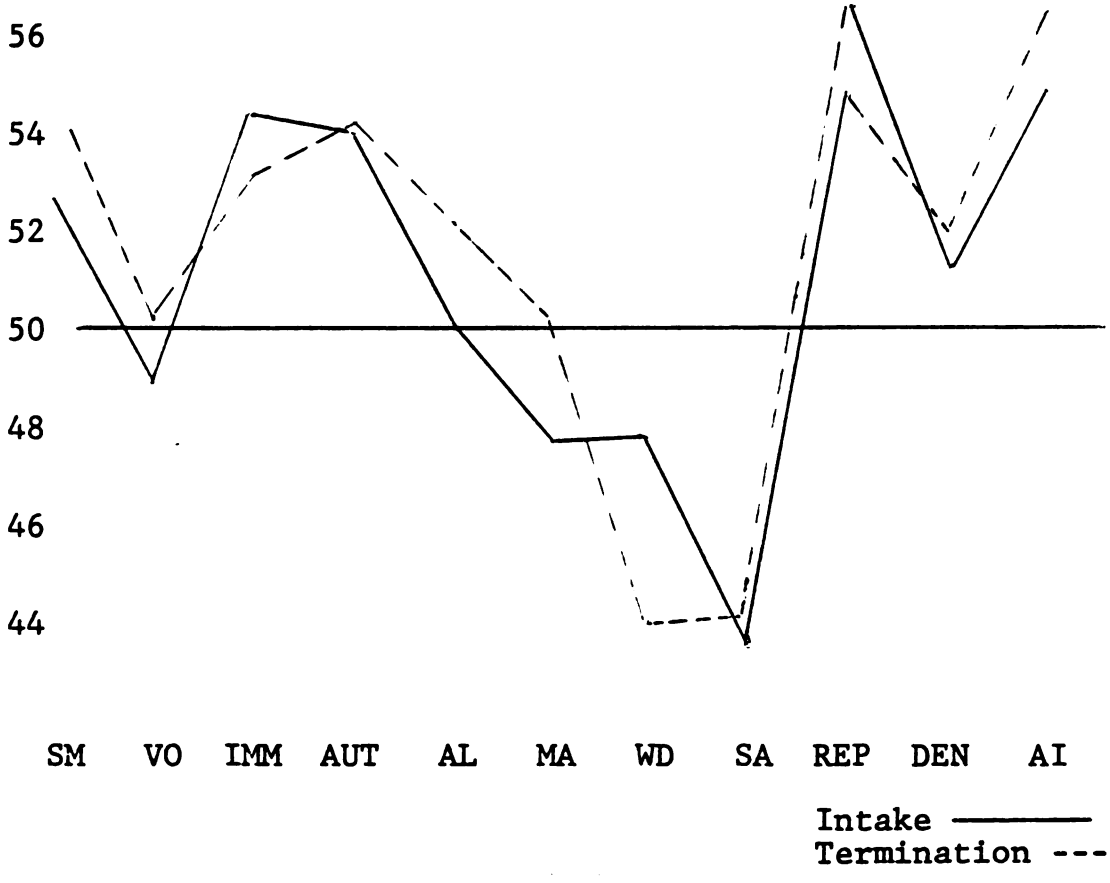

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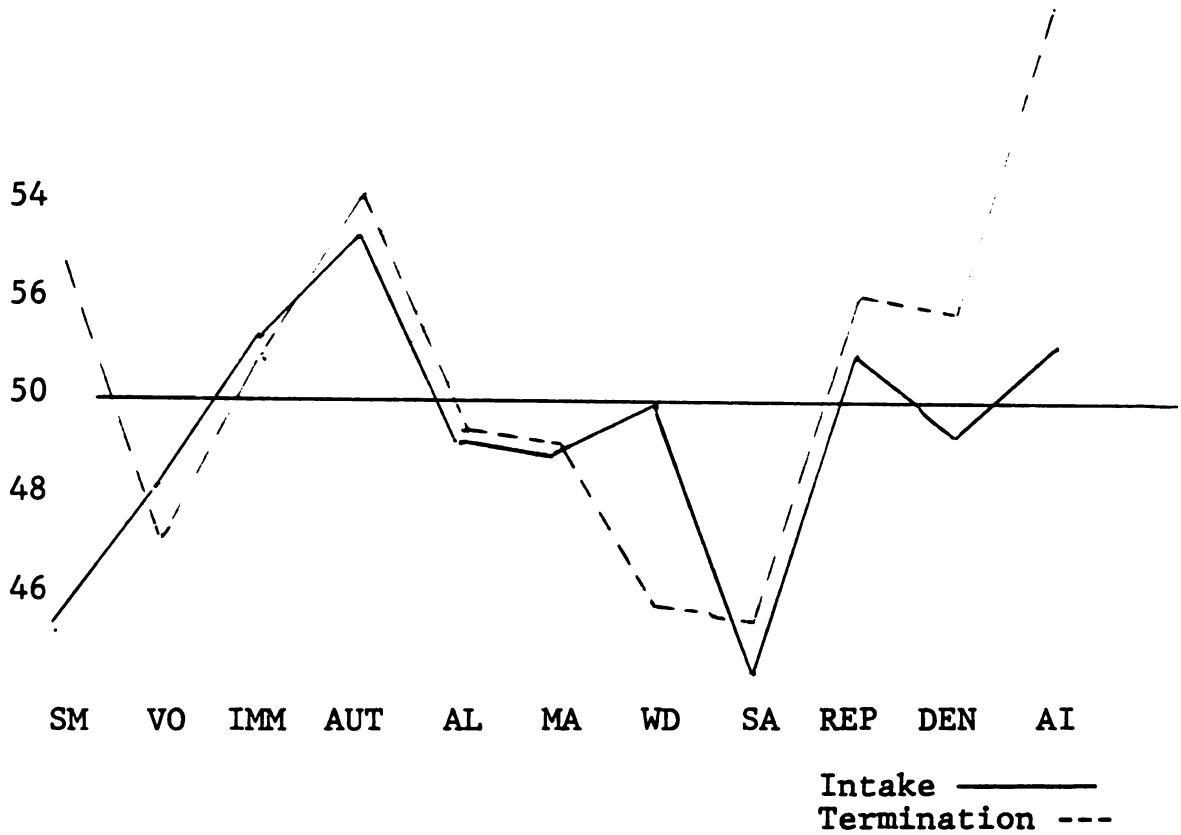

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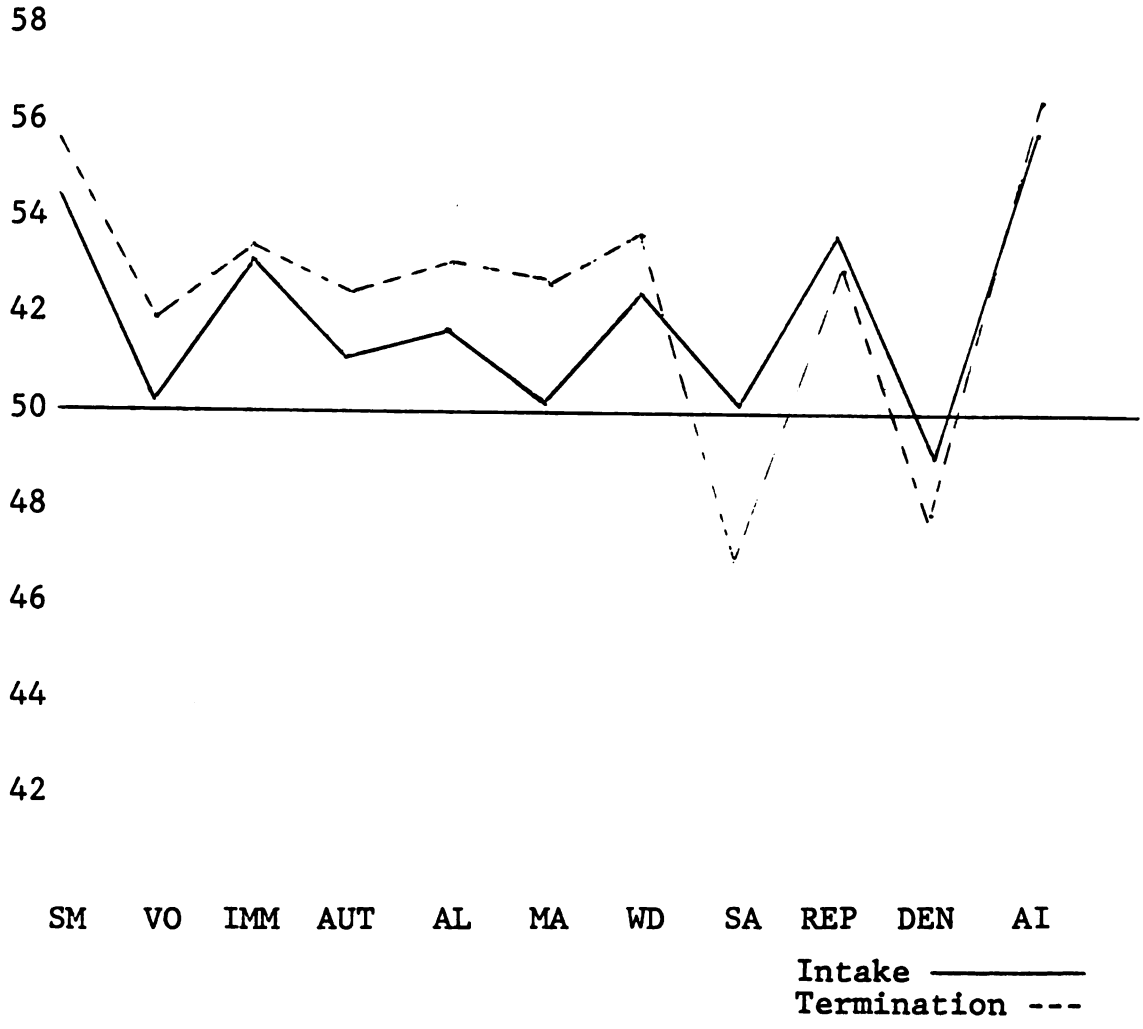

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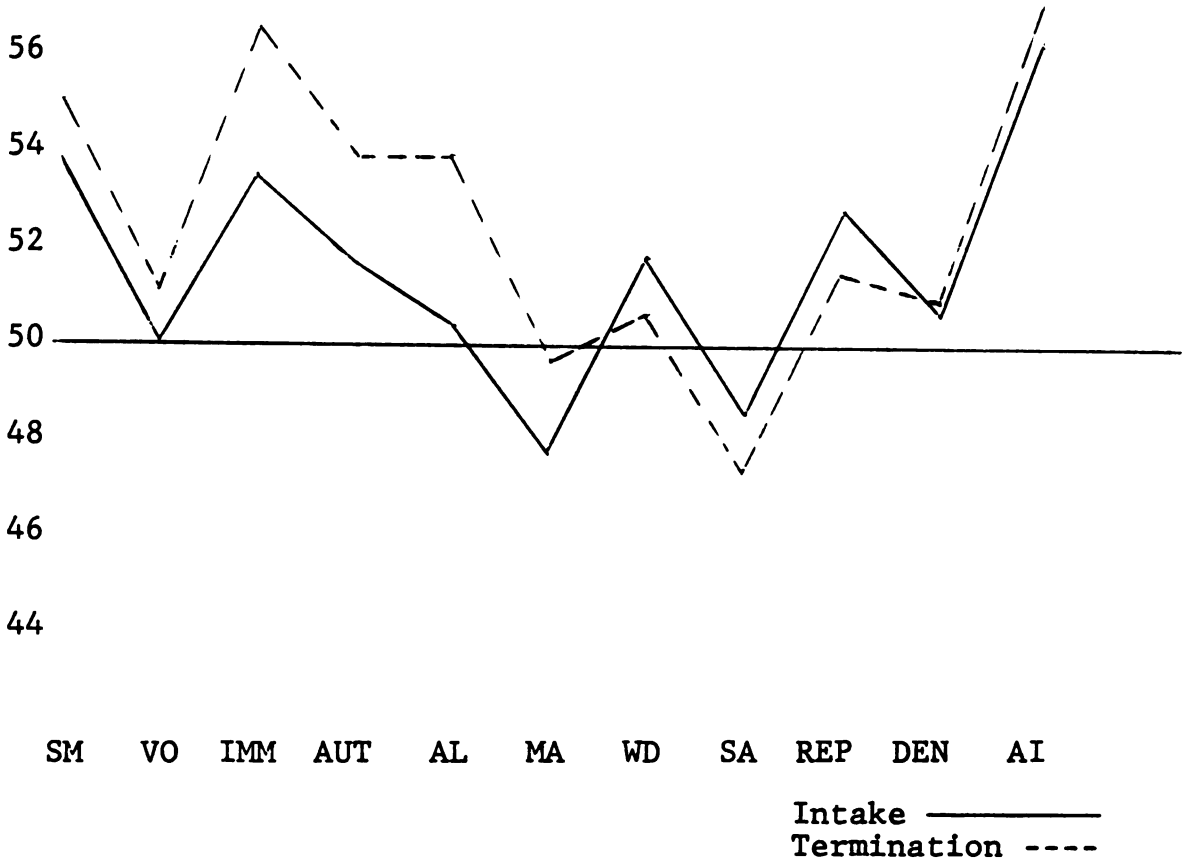

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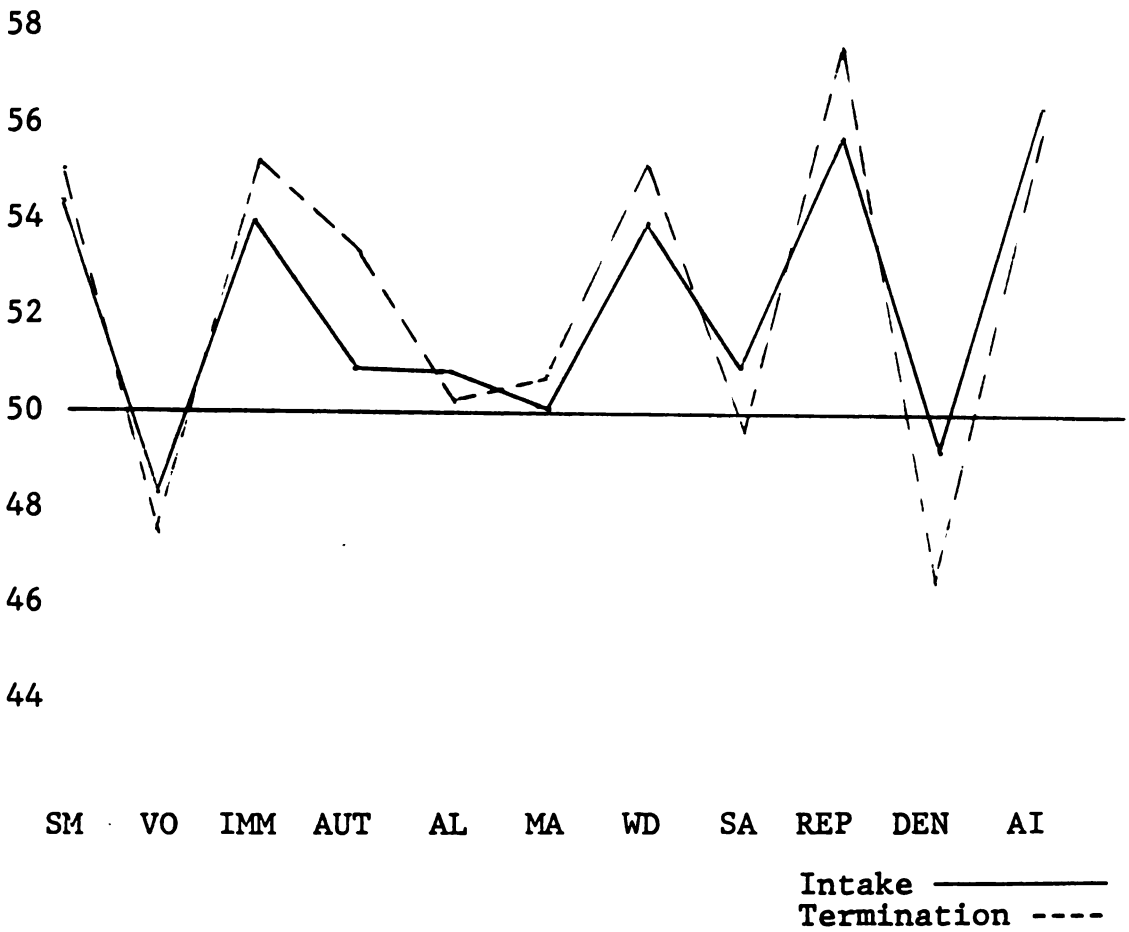

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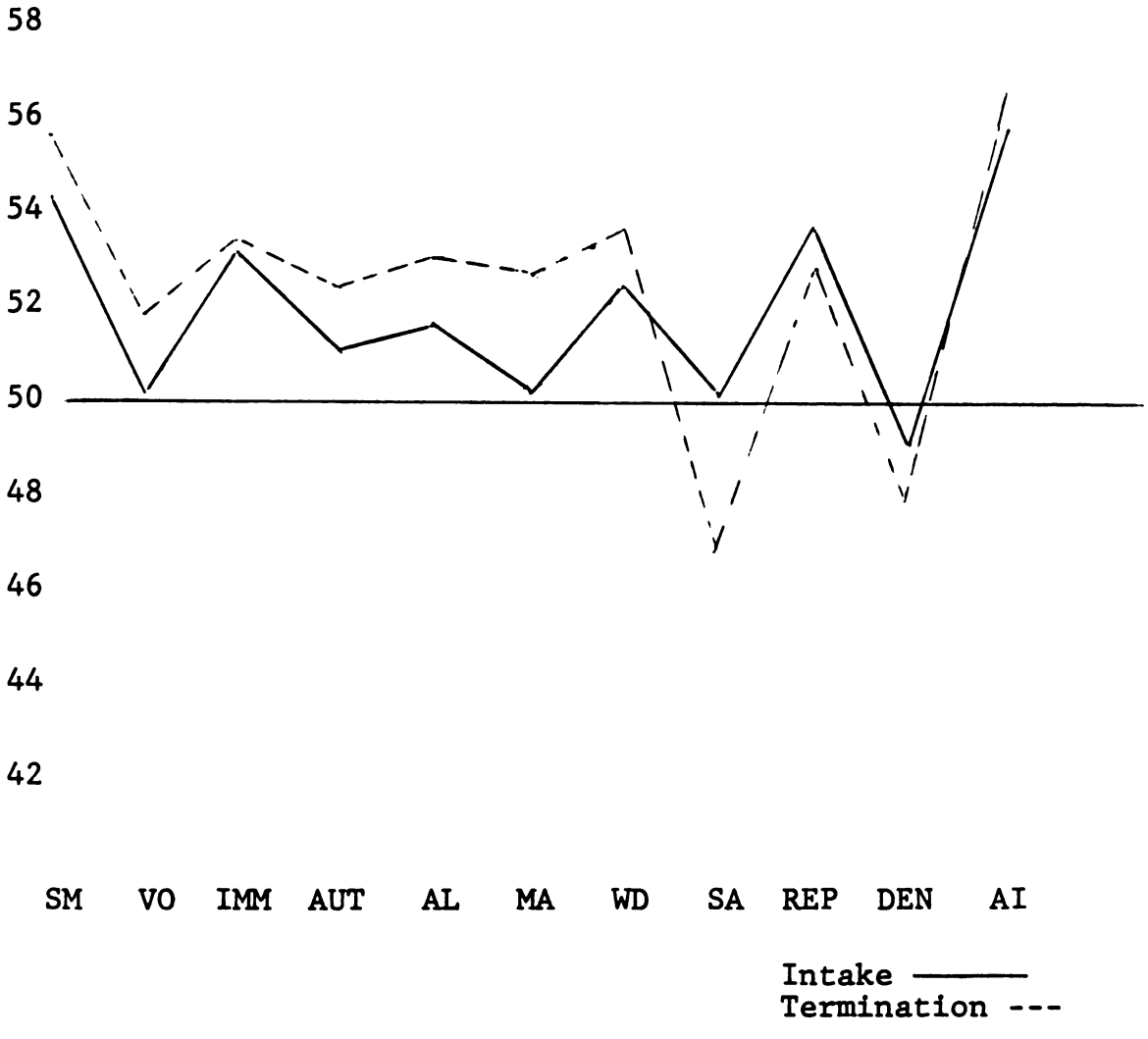

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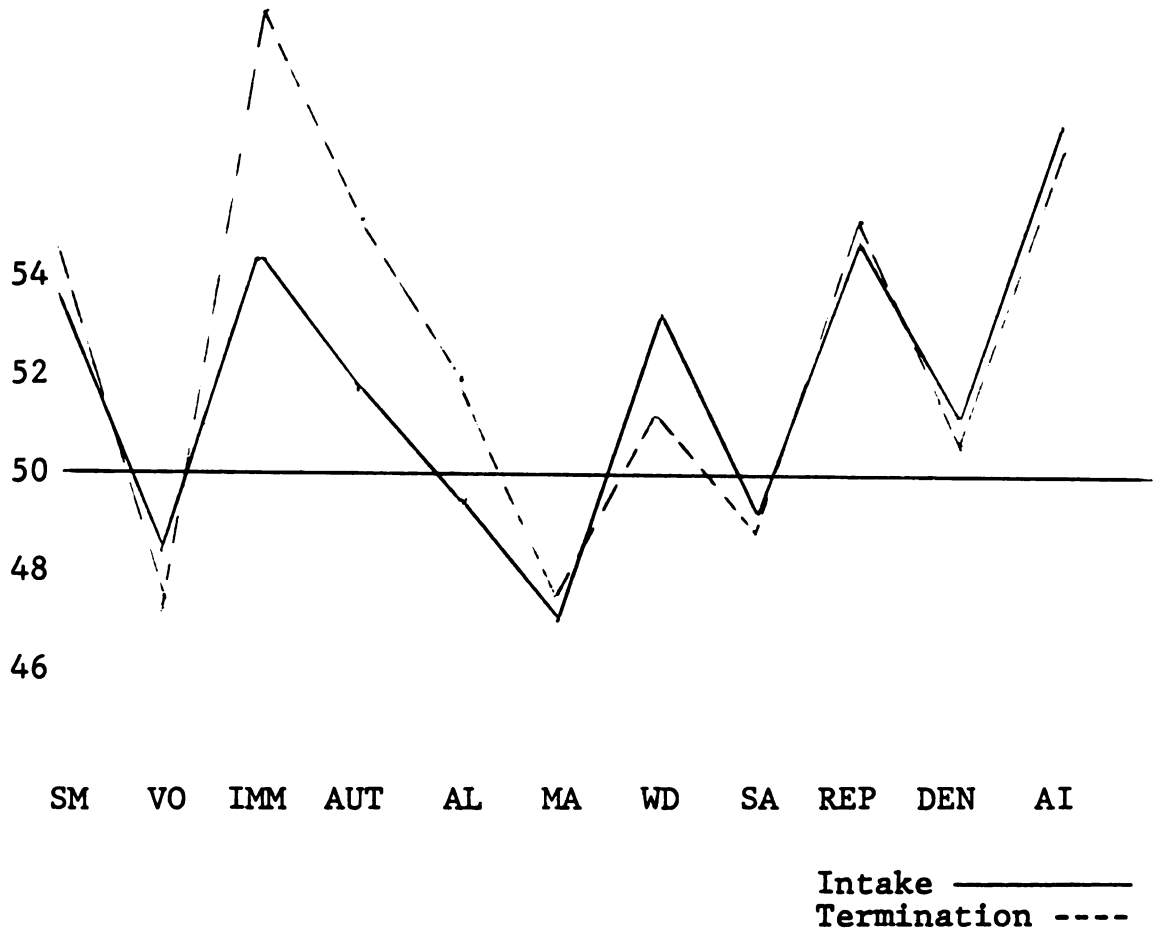

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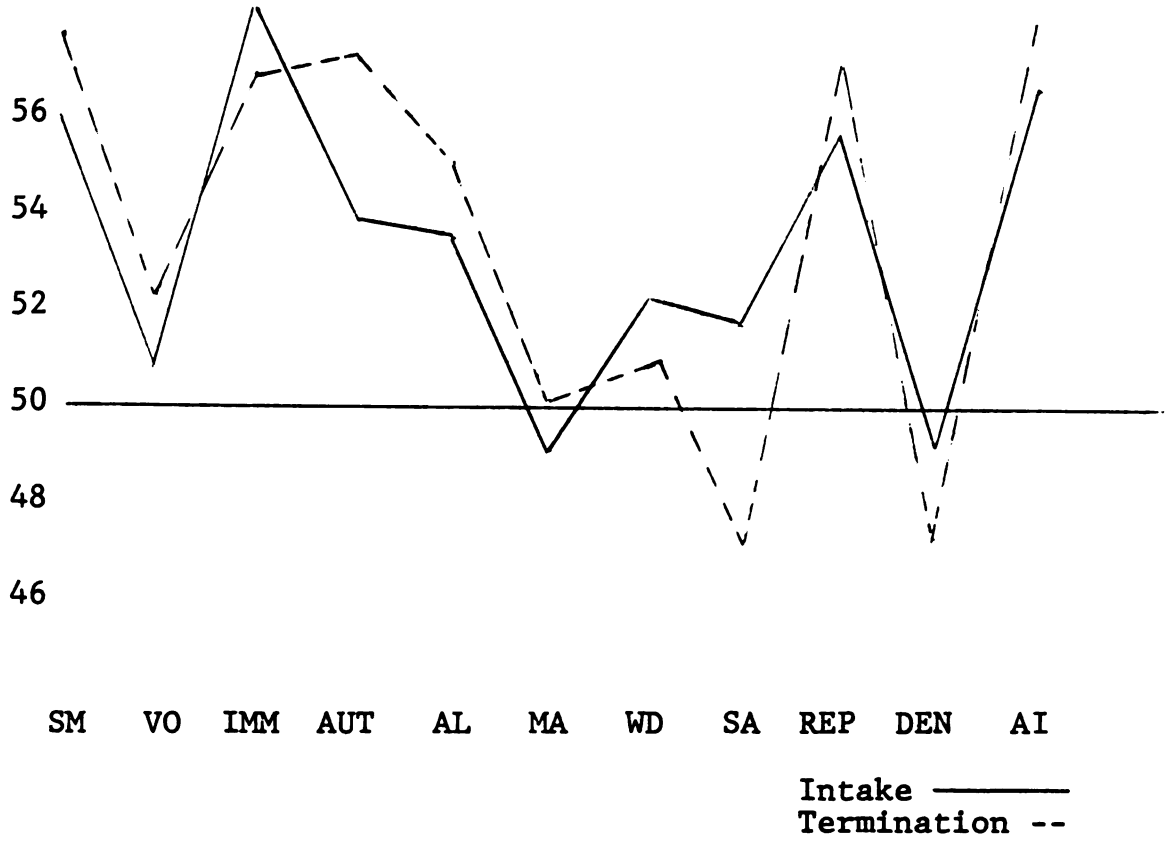

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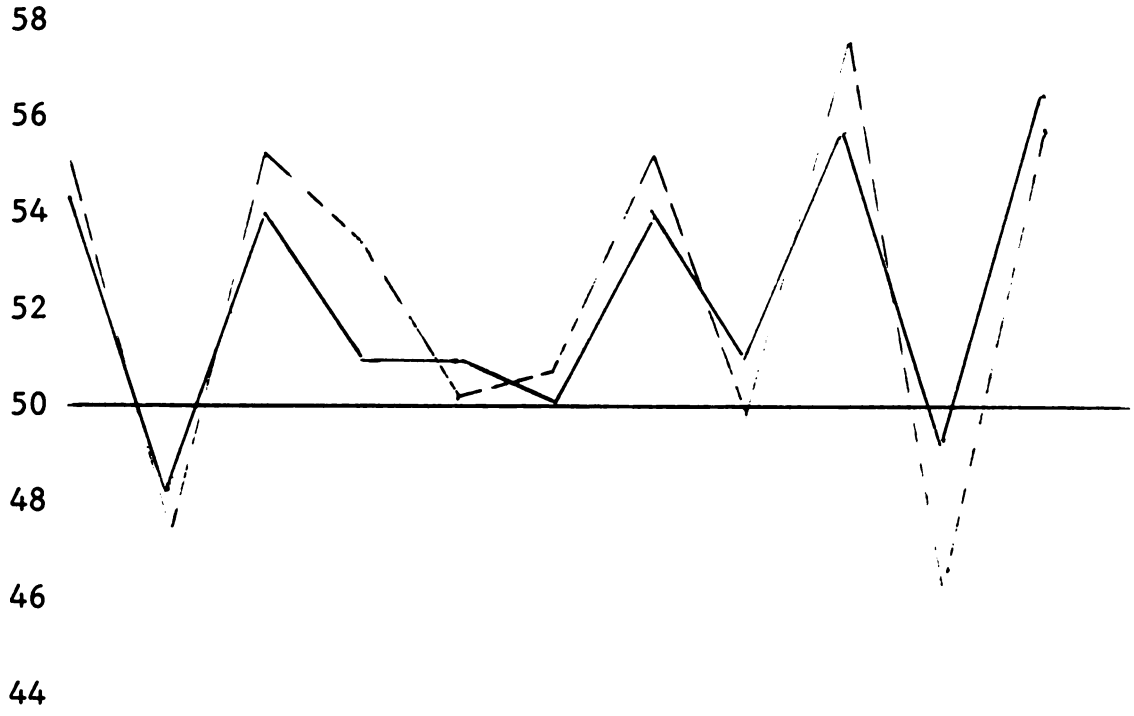

Experimental Group
Females
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