

May 01, 2006

Evaluation of Boston's delinquency prevention programs

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Recommended Citation

Weinberger, Paula M., "Evaluation of Boston's delinquency prevention programs" (2006). *Honors Junior/Senior Projects*. Paper 24.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2047/d10001219>

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Abstract

This study presents the reader with information on Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Programs. Programs are evaluated based on educational opportunities offered, community involvement, and effectiveness. Programs discussed in the study presented are Juvenile Curfews, Scared Straight, GEAR-UP, the Boston 2:00 to 6:00 After-School Initiative, and Juvenile Boot Camps, as well as the Department of Youth Services. Many of these programs have already been implemented in Boston, while others are implemented in New York, and New Jersey. At the end of the study, suggestions on programs and how to make them effective in Boston are presented.

Introduction

When one engages in a conversation about juvenile delinquency, it is important that the definition be the same. According to the Uniform Crime Reports obtained by the FBI, a juvenile is anyone under 18 years of age (whether that individual is independent or not). However, in Massachusetts a juvenile is anyone under 17 years of age. Once a child turns 17 in Massachusetts, matters are then heard in the adult court. Many times juveniles become involved in criminal activities based on the lack of supervision at home, family involvement; time spent watching the television, etc.

There is a need to start treating juveniles as young as possible, from the moment of their first offense. If a child isn't treated then they will most likely continue offending into adulthood, when the likelihood of helping them to desist decreases. Finding the right treatment program is often difficult, because not all areas of a child's life are addressed. Where programs address the causes, they may not address the need to support a child from arraignment to trial (if the charges go that far). Where a program addresses the offense, it may not address the causation. There is a program that suits each offender, and his/her individual needs. Juvenile offenders should not be automatically grouped into one program, but their individual needs (educational, psychological, and family) should be addressed when they are placed in a program.

Treatment of juveniles is essential in the prevention process. To evaluate current juvenile delinquency prevention programs, there are many factors to consider, some of which are family, community, education, as well as the media influence on juveniles. Once these factors are touched on, delinquency programs can be evaluated. Currently the court mainly refers juveniles to the Department of Youth Services, and boot camps. There are other programs within a child's community, as well as programs that can be implemented from other states.

Methodology

For my first co-op (July 2004-December 2004) I worked for Northeastern University's division of GEAR-UP. While working for GEAR-UP, I was introduced to many children living in Boston Housing Developments who wanted to better their lives, while staying off the streets, and receiving a good education. Many of the students wanted to go to college, and aspired to be doctors, lawyers, surgeons, etc, but they needed help in getting there. I was able to work with the children during the summer to strengthen their Math, English, and Science skills, helping them start to reach their individual goals. After working for GEAR-UP, I want to investigate what other programs are available to the residents of Boston with similar missions.

For my past co-op (July 2005-present; I stayed to gain more experience in the courthouse setting), I worked for Roxbury District Courthouse as a probation intern. While working as a probation intern, I was able to interact with a diverse group of people (who had

committed anything from shoplifting to murder). I was able to look at their records and see what led them to commit the crimes they committed. In addition I was able to see the criminal justice system in action from arraignment and appointment of counsel all the way through trial or pleading out to a lesser charge. This co-op especially helped me to explore programs available to residents with various problems. I was able to interview court officials such as Judge Edward Redd, Judge Milton Wright, as well as numerous Probation Officers.

In addition to co-op, I have been fortunate to sit in hearings at the Boston Juvenile Courthouse. I was able to sit in on various types of hearings (delinquent, youthful offender, care and protection, and CHINS cases). While I was there, I was able to interview attorneys, judges, as well as probation officers. The interviews were conducted over 4 days in mid-February 2006 for Juvenile Law at Northeastern University, which was taught by Massachusetts State Supreme Court Judge Ireland.

Library research was conducted, with information coming from Richard J. Lundman's *Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency*. This book is separated into four parts; which are Predelinquent Intervention, Preadjudication Intervention, Postadjudication Intervention, and a Conclusion (i.e. recommendations for the future). The majority of the information is coming from researching different organizations available for youth delinquency prevention over a period of a year and a half, as well as a survey conducted while researching for my middler year research paper. Research is from a variety of sources such as the Internet, phone conversations, and personal visits to talk to some of the people in the programs and their stories and why they chose to commit deviant acts.

Why is treatment important?

According to *Shared Beginnings, Divergent Lives Delinquent Boys to Age 70*, by John Laub and Robert Sampson, the majority of the families have a history of drinking, using drugs, and come from poor neighborhoods. This book is based on a study conducted by the Glueks, between 1950 and 1990. They examined a set of 500 delinquent boys and 500 non-delinquent boys to compare personality traits, intelligence in school, and family stability (whether or not they moved frequently, or if there was some form of abuse in the home) (Laub and Sampson, 2001, 40). What was discovered was that many of the delinquent children were poorly supervised when home from school, and had trouble listening to authority figures.

Due to their delinquency both in school and at home, the boys were sent to reform school (mostly to Lyman School for the boys), which either had a positive or negative effect on their ability to desist from criminal activities. Most of the boys used in the book- attributed marriage, joining the military, and the workforce to their desistance from a career in crime. The majority of those who persisted in crime throughout the book stated that there was nothing for them to do when they got home from school. (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 76)

One of the cases that depicted a negative experience at the Lyman School was the story of David, age 67 at the time of his interview. “It was bad. Real bad. You see these pictures about torturing the kids. Well, they did then, let me tell you. Well, we’d come in from a march out in the cold, and...and you were walking beside him [another inmate] and I says “How is everything going today?” and the counselor heard you he’d take you back in the room and take your shoes off and you had to hold your feet up with no shoes on and he had a stick that big [about two feet long] and that thick [about two inches] he’d give you 10 whacks. Now you can’t walk. And if you dropped your foot down you’d get another 10. I mean the pain was right up through your leg. And then they’d take you in the corner and they’d pound the living shit out of you. (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 130)” There are many other stories mentioned in the book that paint a grim picture of the Lyman School as a method of treatment.

There is one case in *Shared Beginnings*, which counters the stereotypical juvenile delinquent and that is Boston Billy (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 151). Billy’s parents were native born and could be considered good parents because they provided supervision and discipline to their children. His case can also be distinguished by his family’s residential stability. Billy grew up in a three-family house that his parents owned, with his mother, father, and had 5 siblings (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 154). Billy didn’t like school, which was apparent when he repeated 1st and 6th grade. Billy has only an 8th grade education. Billy’s delinquent career began at age 15, which is late compared to average onset of delinquency of age 12-13, which is shown in Table 1 (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 86). “Billy’s self report indicated that he began his criminal career at age 6, when he started stealing from the 5 & 10. (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 155)” The testimony Billy gave to the Gluecks paints a different picture of his youth.

Boston Billy’s arrests consist primarily of property crimes. He is quoted saying “My entire record is stealing cars and armed robbery...it was so easy and money was so scarce. It was nice to have a couple hundred dollars. To me that was a lot of money. And I had it in my pocket. I couldn’t find a good job. And I couldn’t find a job where I could learn a trade. And I didn’t have no education. So I did the only thing I could. (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 151)” Billy served time in reform schools to no avail. “...it was the greatest...exciting...like going to a farm...it was just going away for a while and then you came home...of course, you made it sound like it was kind of tough but you made it. But it wasn’t. (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 156)” Once Billy was released from the reform school his delinquent career persisted into adulthood, serving an estimated 17 years in prison after age 32, and 7 ¼ between 17 and 25 years of age (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 157). Billy went against the table below in that he didn’t desist from his criminal career between the ages of 26.2 and 37.5. His last criminal act was at the age of 58.

Table 1. Descriptive Data on Criminal Careers in the Delinquent Group

Participation	Percent Arrested by Age:					
	17-24	25-31	32-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Total	84%	65%	60%	44%	23%	12%
Violent	33%	16%	18%	14%	7%	3%
Property	61%	27%	22%	14%	8%	2%
Alcohol/Drug	35%	29%	28%	21%	9%	7%
Other	67%	49%	44%	28%	13%	5%
Incidence	Mean Number of Arrests by Age:					
	17-24	25-31	32-39	40-49	50-59	60-69
Total	5.04	2.96	2.83	1.76	0.56	0.20
Violent	0.49	0.23	0.31	0.22	0.08	0.05
Property	1.63	0.56	0.50	0.26	0.17	0.03
Alcohol/Drug	0.96	0.87	1.05	0.72	0.13	0.07
Other	1.96	1.30	0.97	0.56	0.18	0.05
Mean:						
	Age of onset	Desistance age		Career Length (years)		
Total	11.9	37.5		25.6		
Violent	22.0	31.3		9.2		
Property	12.6	26.2		13.6		
Alcohol/Drug	25.3	36.8		11.4		
Other	14.3	32.7		18.4		

*Taken from *Shared Beginnings, Divergent Lives Delinquent Boys to Age 70*, by John Laub and Robert Sampson

Boston Billy was the only case mentioned in the book as well as the Gluecks study that wasn't from a stereotypical family who didn't provide any supervision or discipline him. Drawing from the example of Boston Billy, one can conclude that, delinquency isn't just a problem with the poor, low income, African American neighborhoods, but a problem involving all different types of people. The need to treat offenders such as Boston Billy is important because

Programs have changed since the Lyman schools implementation in the late 1800's, and so has the need to treat juvenile offenders. Treating these individuals is essential to changing the crime that is prevalent in today's society. In 1998 there were approximately 1.9 million juvenile arrests (OJJDP, 2005, on-line). In 2002 law enforcement agencies made an estimated 2.3 million arrests involving juveniles (OJJDP, 2005, on-line). With the number of juveniles being arrested on the rise, the need for treating these juveniles is also increasing. There needs to be a variety of treatment methods, as well as programs that have specific missions (whether it to help in counseling, education, etc) being offered to juvenile offenders.

Factors of programs evaluation

There are four main components that contribute to a child's delinquent or non-delinquent career, which are family, community/society, education, and the media.

Family

The family contributes greatly towards a child's overall behavior, the way he/she treats others, and the way the child adapts to society. In ensuring a good upbringing there should be governmental and social efforts to preserve the integrity of the family (United, 2005, on-line). A family doesn't have to consist of two parents, but a parent(s) or guardian bringing the child up together in a loving home. The government should establish policies that are conducive to the bringing up of children in a stable and settled family environment whether that is in the form of money or a house to live in (United, 2005, on-line).

One reason families sometimes fail to raise their children in an "acceptable manner" is due to their lack of knowledge on what is right and wrong with regards to childrearing. Measures should be taken and programs should be developed to provide families with the opportunity to learn about development and child care, promoting positive parent-child relationships, which would sensitize parents to the problems of children and young persons and encouraging their (the child's) involvement in family and community based activities (United, 2005, on-line). This is a very important aspect when looking at one's choice to engage in delinquency or non-delinquency.

Education

Wolfgang and associates conducted the Philadelphia Birth Cohort data, which was able to explain the most common traits of chronic juvenile offenders. They found that "chronic offenders were more likely than nonchronic offenders to be nonwhite; come from a lower socioeconomic background; experience more family moves; have lower IQs; have fewer school grades completed; exhibit more school discipline problems; commit more serious offenses; and begin criminal careers early in the life course as measured by age of first arrest. (Laub and Sampson, 2003, 84)" This study was conducted in early 1970's. These characteristics of offenders need to be combated by treatment programs that target the educational component of a child's life.

Many inner city schools are barely able to provide for their students, let alone afford the types of teachers often found in the suburbs. While working at GEAR-UP (which will be later explained), my boss was able to assist in hiring a science teacher at one of the High Schools in Boston that didn't have suitable science teachers. Now the students are able to be properly educated in science (as opposed to receiving a science education from a person without proper education in the subject).

There are many ways a school can help to promote education and attempt to deter a child from any sort of criminal activity. One such way to do this is to promote and develop the personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities of young people to their fullest potential (United, 2005, on-line). Every person has some sort of hobby or activity they enjoy doing, and excel beyond expectations in. I know for most of my friends they had an activity (whether it be art, dance, martial arts, etc) which they partook in for a number of years, during High School, and College. While participating in activities such as those previously mentioned, it helps to give the child a regimen they wouldn't necessarily have. This regimen trickles down to other areas as well (education, interaction with others, etc).

This regimen also gives the child a sense of identity, and the feeling of belonging to a group that has a mission different to those that the same child may find while on the streets. The sense of belonging to a group instills confidence and self-esteem that the child may not be receiving at the home (United, 2005, on-line). Some of these programs can be offered as an after school initiative. Boston has an after school initiative in place which will be discussed in greater detail later on.

TABLE 2

Category	1990 Value	2000 Value	Change
Percent of population with high school or less attainment	50.9	45.1	-5.8
Percent of population with either bachelors or post-graduate degree	30	35.6	5.6
Percent of private school enrollment for students from kindergarten to grade 12	22.8	17.8	-5

*Values according to United States Census Bureau

According to data collected from the United States Census Bureau between 1990 and 2000 (for Boston specifically, which is shown above in table 2), there was a decrease of 5.8 percentage points of population with high school or less attainment. The decrease of 5.8 percentage points is a positive decrease, because it means that more and more residents of Boston are receiving some sort of college education (whether it be a vocational program, community college, or a university).

Delinquents often times come to a realization that they can't do much with only a high school education, so some form of college is what they then choose. There was also a 5.6 percentage point increase in the percent of the population with either a bachelors or post-graduate degree, which is about equal to the decrease of high school or less attainment. The almost equal amounts are very promising.

Community/ Society

Communities need to provide a wide range of community based support measures for the young and include community centers, recreational facilities, and services to respond to the special problems of children who are at social risk (United, 2005, on-line). More free programs should be offered in areas with economic hardships. These programs could

include, but aren't limited to martial arts, dancing, drawing, writing, etc as previously mentioned. What these programs would do is encourage children to look into their futures, give them a sense of responsibility, and a place in society where they can be heard (United, 2005, on-line).

Programs promoting education, societal skills, and how to build positive interpersonal skills would be effective. Prevention of delinquency resides on the society as a whole from early childhood to adulthood. There are programs that address these issues such as the Boston 2:00 to 6:00 after school initiative.

Mad Hot Ballroom is a documentary that follows New York City fourth and fifth graders as they journey into competitive ballroom dancing. The children learn meringue, tango, rumba, foxtrot and swing. At the end of their 10-week course of dance lessons is a citywide final competition. The program started in 1994 and was introduced to 2 New York City public schools. Now more than 6,000 children from over 60 schools in Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens are required to take the 10 week course which is a free program, and keeps the children off of the streets.

“When I see people outside selling drugs and stuff, I feel bad because they're missing such a big part of life. They got the opportunity to go to college and stuff and some people don't have the opportunity. They just wasting it, but sometimes its not all their fault cause their parents don't care all that much about them and since their parents don't care about them the way they're supposed to they think oh I'm gonna get into a gang, they just care for me, you know, and I got some drugs and this is the right path.” This quote came from a fifth grader at PS 115, which is located in Washington Heights, in Uptown Manhattan (Agrelo, 2005, Motion Picture).

This quote is very powerful, especially coming from the mouth of a 10 year-old girl. This girl knows that this isn't a life she wants to lead. Society can't protect young children from experiencing the street life such as this child has witnessed, but measures are being taken to reduce the drug, and gang problems that this child spoke about witnessing, which is a step in the right direction.

Mass Media

Media should be encouraged to minimize the level of pornography, drugs and violence portrayed and to display violence and exploitation disfavor ably as well as avoid demeaning and degrading presentations especially of children, women and interpersonal relations and to promote egalitarian principles and roles (United, 2005, on-line). During the late 1990's and early 2000's there were several severe delinquent acts conducted in the middle and high school setting that were heavily publicized on the television. According to Robert Lundman, 59% of the crimes aren't quite as serious as those delinquent acts that are reported on television (Lundman, 2001, 2).

School shootings are an example of the crimes that have been heavily publicized by the media, but again don't occur often. Two students were murdered by a 17 year old at

Pearl High School in Mississippi, in October 1997; two months later a 14-year-old student at Heath High School in Kentucky killed 3 students and wounded 5 others. On March 24, 1998 two students (13 and 14 years old) murdered 4 students and a teacher in Jonesboro, Arkansas; two months later a 15 year old murdered 2 students and wounded 22 others. More recently, in March 2005, 9 people were killed and 7 were wounded at Red Lake High School in Minnesota by a 16 year old who then took his life. For a period of time from October 1997 through March 1998, the nation was constantly hearing about juveniles shooting others in the school setting, which many consider to be a safe haven. When the first or second shooting occurred measures should have been taken to secure schools and provide a safer environment for all in the building.

Probably one of the most publicized school shootings took place on April 20, 1999 at Columbine High School, in Colorado where a 17 and 18 year old (Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris) killed 12 students, a teacher, and then took their own lives. Klebold and Harris however had previous criminal records. On January 30, 1998, Klebold and Harris were arrested for breaking into a van.

Something needs to be done to prevent these children as well others in the country to thinking twice about the crimes they are planning on committing. There needs to be consequences when these children commit crimes, whether they are serious crimes or not. Eric Harris, and Dylan Klebold were put on probation and told that they had to complete a class that would help them to desist from crime completely. They were then released to their parents prior to the end of the class on good behavior. This shouldn't have been able to happen. If they were forced to complete their requirements, and continue in some type of other program, Columbine may never have happened.

Although all of the school shootings mentioned above were serious, most of the delinquent acts aren't as horrendous. When children see crimes as horrendous on the television, as well as using/listening to other peripherals (video games, or music), the effects can be insurmountable (United, 2005, on-line). There are children who can differentiate right from wrong, but those who can't are the ones who often times find themselves getting into trouble.

The programs currently on television have changed over the years, as has all other aspects of ones life. The level of violence that is portrayed in many television programs, as well as in the movies, and musical lyrics is ridiculous. Sure all the peripherals mentioned have ratings, many don't take the ratings seriously. Elvis Presley was looked down upon when he first started out because his music was different then the norm; those who listened to his music were thought to be themselves involved in criminal behavior. Now there are artists like Ludacris, and Eminem whose words have to be changed when played on the radio. These lyrics have negative effects on those who lack the ability to differentiate right from wrong, and fantasy from reality.

According to the American Academy of Pediatrics website, media violence can lead to aggressive behavior in children, and by the age of 18, the average American will have seen a staggering 200,000 acts of violence when watching the television (Some, 2006,

on-line). Media violence has a strong impact on children's lives. Children are highly influenced by the things they see and what they hear around them. What children watch on TV can be especially damaging to young children (under age 8), because they cannot tell the difference between real life and fantasy. Violent images on television and in movies appear to be real to young children, and can bring about traumatizing effects (Some, 2006, on-line). Some of the effects the media have on young children are an increased aggressiveness and anti-social behavior, fear of becoming a victim; the children may become less sensitive to violence and to victims of violence, and finally media violence may increase the child's appetite for more violence in entertainment and in real life (Some, 2006, on-line). Media violence often fails to show the consequences of violence. This is especially true of cartoons, toy commercials and music videos. As a result, children learn that there are few if any repercussions for committing violence (Some, 2006, on-line)"

Social Policy

Government agencies should provide young persons with the opportunity of continuing in full time education, funded by the state where parents or guardians are unable to support the young persons and of receiving work experience (United, 2005, on-line). In Florida, if you graduate high school, and attend a state school, state funding covers your education. Similar funding should be made available to residents of the USA altogether, whether it is funded by the federal government, or by individual state governments. If such a policy were implemented then more children would consider college. Programs to prevent delinquency should be planned and developed on the basis of reliable, scientific research findings and periodically monitored, evaluated, and adjusted accordingly (United, 2005, on-line).

What programs are the courts currently offering?

Department of Youth Services- Massachusetts

History

Massachusetts created the nation's first juvenile correctional system in 1846 when it opened the Massachusetts State Reform School in Westboro for 400 boys. Lyman School for Boys was then opened in Westboro during the 1860's. The philosophy behind these institutions was that juveniles were more likely to be rehabilitated than adults were and therefore, should not be treated within adult institutions (DYS, 2006, on-line). Lyman School was almost completely self-sufficient. Youth raised livestock, grew vegetables, sewed their own clothes and built many of the facilities located on the school grounds. There were problems that arose with Lyman as with any program. Some of the children complained that they were being beaten, and deprived of the very things that the Lyman School stood for, as previously mentioned.

As more institutions were being created, the state elected a three-person panel Youth Service Board in 1948, which was succeeded by the Division of Youth Services, an independent unit within the Department of Education. By 1960, problems of mismanagement, high recidivism rates and reports of child abuse within the training schools persisted, and the Division fell under severe public criticism (DYS, 2006, on-line). In 1969, the Division of Youth Services was abolished and the Department of Youth Services was established as a separate agency under the Executive Office of Human Services.

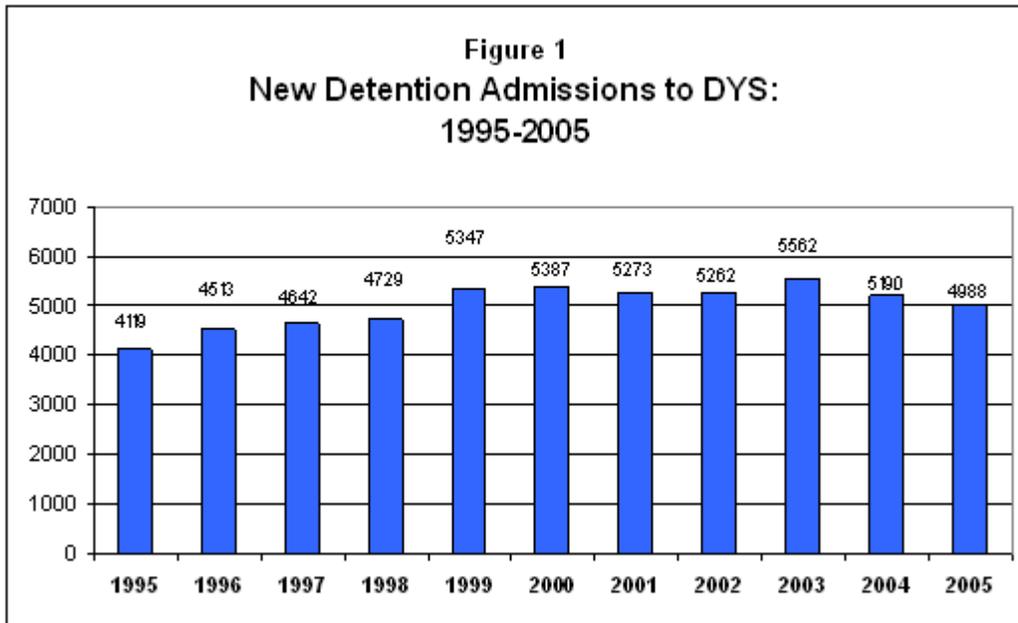
The mission of DHS is to “protect the public and prevent crime by promoting positive change in the lives of youth committed to our custody, and by partnering with communities, families, and government and provider agencies toward this end. (DYS, 2006, on-line)” This mission is accomplished through interventions that build knowledge, develop skills and change the behavior of the youth in our care.

The problem with the philosophy stated earlier is that it did not take into account the concerns of the community in preventing and controlling crime. This may have been taken to an extreme in that today children can be treated as if they were adults. In Massachusetts, juveniles as young as 14 years of age can be tried as an adult for a crime that is punishable with a prison sentence (i.e. murder, rape, etc); if convicted they may be placed in an adult facility.

The Court's use of DHS

Currently, the court mainly refers troubled youth to DHS commitment. A child found guilty of committing a crime can be sentenced to DHS until their 18th birthday if found to be a delinquent and their 21st birthday if found to be a youthful offender.

The number of youth currently in detention has fluctuated between 1995 and 2005. The chart below was taken from the DHS website, and displays the number of new detention admissions to DHS. Boston's new detention admission comprised of 28.1% of the overall new detentions in Massachusetts in 2005 (DYS, 2006, on-line). The chart shows that there has been a fluctuation in the number of new admissions, but is currently on the decline. What was taking place in 1995 when the admissions were lowest? Was the crime committed by juveniles less serious and not meriting DHS admittance? How many of the new detention admissions were for an extended period of time? A short period of time?



*Figure 1 from DYS website

DYS commitment isn't always for an extended period of time, and can be used on a pre-trial basis to see if the child can be helped prior to disposition. The average monthly number of youth held in pre-trial detention in 2005 was 284, down from 293 in 2004 (DYS, 2006, on-line). The data in Figure 2 below displays the numbers of youth being held on a pre-trial basis on the first of each month in 2005, separating males and females.

Figure 2. Number of Pre-Trial Youth Held by DYS in 2005 by Month

Date	Males	Females	Total
1/1/2005	171	46	217
2/1/2005	180	56	236
3/1/2005	218	52	270
4/1/2005	233	50	283
5/1/2005	210	59	269
6/1/2005	235	54	289
7/1/2005	245	55	300
8/1/2005	244	46	290
9/1/2005	243	65	308
10/1/2005	247	55	302
11/1/2005	266	56	322
12/1/2005	265	55	320
Average	230	54	284

*Figure 2 from DYS website

Something to notice is that the number of females in pre-trial commitment has decreased since its peak in September 2005 stabilizing around 55-56 for three consecutive months. However, the number of males is on the rise staying at a peak of 265-266 for two months. These numbers are important to look at, because it shows the great difference between the number of males and females in pre-trial custody with DYS. There are many reasons for the grave differences in numbers. Females are treated different than their male counterparts. Females are given lighter sentences, and oftentimes have their charges dropped or reduced to a lesser offense (Neubauer, 2005, 372)

The problem is that you don't know how long these youth were there for. For example there were 217 youth were in DYS custody in January, 2005, but how many of those were in DYS custody in February as well? How many new cases came through in February? The only information we have is that there were 933 new commitments to DYS in 2005 (DYS, 2006, on-line), which doesn't explain much about the crimes or if any of the youth on pre-trial commitment were committed to DYS for a longer period of time. There are cases that have been able to fall through the cracks. The number of youth on the Department's committed caseload decreased during 2005. According to the DYS website, there were 254 fewer clients on the Department's committed caseload on January 1, 2006 compared to a year ago. This represents a 9.8% decrease (DYS, 2006, on-line).

The problem with these numbers is it isn't stated how many people aged out of DYS for the year, and how many of those cases are new cases. As stated previously there were 4,988 new admissions to DYS, how many of those were pre-trial, and how many of those were committed to DYS for an extended period of time? This is also displayed in figure 3 with a breakdown by geographical area and by sex. The caseloads decreased but the statistics aren't provided as to who aged out of the system, and of those who aged out whether or not they then went on to become adult offenders. This information is important in considering the effectiveness of DYS as a whole.

Figure 3. Committed Caseload by Area, by Sex: January 1, 2005 vs. January 1, 2006				
Males				
Area	1/1/2005 Caseload	1/1/2006 Caseload	# Change	% Change
Western	432	419	-13	-3.0%
Central	670	585	-85	-12.7%
Southeast	454	468	14	3.1%
Metro	586	484	-102	-17.4%
Total	2,142	1,956	-186	-8.7%

Females				
Area	1/1/2005 Caseload	1/1/2006 Caseload	# Change	% Change
Western	112	92	-20	-17.9%
Central	150	137	-13	-8.7%
Southeast	102	90	-12	-11.8%
Metro	89	66	-23	-25.8%
Total	453	385	-68	-15.0%
Total				
Area	1/1/2005 Caseload	1/1/2006 Caseload	# Change	% Change
Western	544	511	-33	-6.1%
Central	820	722	-98	-12.0%
Southeast	556	558	2	0.4%
Metro	675	550	-125	-18.5%
Total	2,595	2,341	-254	-9.8%

*Figure 3 from DYS website

Interviews with juvenile court officials about the perceptions of effectiveness

DYS is a flawed program because it lacks enough ability to enforce their rules. When talking to a probation officer at Boston Juvenile court, she said that kids don't mind DYS because they are allowed to smoke cigarettes, and co-exist with other members. That isn't an effective method towards deterring people from crime. You need an individual plan before you can allow children to co-exist with each other.

DYS can be improved. As previously mentioned enforcing stricter rules, and resolving the issue of co-ed living would help the program achieve a more effective regimen and become a better program. Enforcing the rules set forth by the program and DYS' commitment to administering sanctions for breaking the rules would improve the system currently in place.

Since in Massachusetts a juvenile is a child under the age of 17, many shouldn't be able to get hold of cigarettes. For those who are 18, how are they getting a hold of cigarettes? In order for a child to desist from crime they need to start from the beginning, with nothing and work their way up to gaining freedoms and luxuries. If they break a rule and are sanctioned, then they drop down and lose freedom and luxuries. In doing so, they are being given structure to their lives. They are being taught in the process as well.

The other major flaw involves the co-ed environment that has been created. In order for a child to desist from crime they need to deal with individual problems, before you put a child in a group setting, whether it is same sex or co-ed. Each child's story is different, and what makes it commit crimes is different. When a child is committed to DYS, what makes them tick should become apparent, and a plan for diminishing the issue should be developed, and enforced. Once the child makes progress, they can then co-exist with other children of the same sex for a period of time, and then the final stage to exist in a co-ed environment.

The problem with this is that there isn't a female only environment for the girls to be sent to. There are many male only centers, but no strictly female centers. While speaking to a probation officer at Boston Juvenile Court, she told me that there used to be a female only center, but it lasted about 3 weeks due to a lack of ability to control female offenders. Counseling the juvenile offenders before allowing them to exist with each other may be one way of allowing a female center to be established. Enforcing stricter sanctions in female centers is necessary to gain control over the offenders.

Juvenile Boot Camps and Boarding Schools

Currently Juvenile Boot camps are open in 16 states, which include Massachusetts. Boarding Schools are alternatives to the conventional boot camp, which is what Massachusetts has in place. Boot camps and boarding schools have similar rules and regulations to follow, as their missions are the same. These facilities are most suitable for teen's ages 13-17 (Juvenile, 2006, on-line). Some typical features are physical conditioning (some sort of physical labor), discipline, treatment (drug and psychological treatment), confidence boosters, and leadership activities (education included). One way this is achieved is by being military like institutions. Boot camps and boarding schools offer similar programs to military schools. Each child is provided with "bunk beds, foot lockers and a very strict, no holes barred system of inspections that must be completed without error if the teen is to survive the ordeal, even for a short period of time (Juvenile, 2006, on-line)."

One of the criteria for participation in a boot camp program is that you be convicted of a nonviolent crime and are specifically sentenced to a boot camp program (Juvenile, 2006, on-line). Usually an offender stays at a boot camp for 90-180 days. Boarding schools usually house an offender for no less than three months (Help, 2006, on-line). When considering juvenile boot camps, it has been suggested, "teens with behavioral problems that are beyond the scope of these environments should not be considered for these types of aggressive programs (Juvenile, 2006, on-line)." Upon being released from boot camp program, there is some form of continued supervision, whether it be probation, or continued therapy.

Are Boot Camps and boarding schools effective forms of prevention?

Doris Layton-Mackenzie conducted one of the most comprehensive studies regarding juvenile boot camps. She evaluated 8 of the 16 states that currently have juvenile boot camps (however, Massachusetts wasn't included). Her goal was to evaluate the boot camps based on how well they met their goals, which was reducing prison crowding and changing the behavior of offenders. Her findings were that most boot camp programs produce a more positive attitude in offenders, but as for recidivism, there was no conclusive evidence. The study did however, aid in alleviating prison-crowding issues if the boot camp rules were strictly enforced. Juvenile boot camps exclude some types of offenders, with some limiting eligibility to non-violent offenders and first time offenders.

Studies have found inconclusive results in the effectiveness of juvenile boot camps, as well as boarding schools (with the purpose of deterring teens from crime). Some of the problems have been able to evaluate a limited recidivism rate. What they evaluate is when a child is terminated from the after care program, and not whether a child commits a crime after being released from boot camp. How many crimes can you commit before you are terminated from the program? It seems that boot camps are evaluated in certain areas, with no boot camp completely being evaluated.

Programs to prevent Juvenile Delinquency

Each program will be described and then evaluated considering the four main areas (family, education, community/society, and the media), and the strength and effects it has on the children and families involved. There are many programs available in the city of Boston, and in Massachusetts to keep the youth off the streets that will engage them in non-criminal behavior.

Juvenile Curfews

According to an article called *Effectiveness of Juvenile Curfews at Crime Prevention* by Kenneth Adams, establishing juvenile curfews didn't have a major affect on arrest rates; the rate of arrest dropped slightly (Adams, 2004, 13). The target of establishing the curfews was in areas of low-income and high crime rates, which turned out to be predominantly African American. The problem of juvenile delinquency isn't entirely devoted to a particular race. What came from instituting the curfews was that only certain groups of people (in this case those that were poor, and African American) were targeted, which wasn't the mission.

The effectiveness of juvenile curfew laws is debatable. Many people believe that enforcing a curfew is attracting the argument of racial discrimination. With regards to New Orleans, the arrest rate of African Americans was 19 times greater than that of whites. (Adams, 2003, 13) San Francisco stopped curfew enforcement when an African American youth was arrested, while white youth in a nearby area were not. One reason

for this could be attributed to some racial and ethnic groups living in high-crime, low-income neighborhoods. “Available research suggests a pattern of disproportionate curfew enforcement against minorities.” (Adams, 2003, 13)

One would think that the violators of the curfew also have a prior delinquent career, but that is not the case. Adams found that only 29 percent of curfew violators in Dallas had a prior arrest record. What is most startling is that for about 30 percent of the curfew violators picked up on a weekend in Dallas is that police couldn’t arrange for any of the parents to come and pick up their children. This became problematic because some social service agencies didn’t want to deal with juvenile offenders. What is noted here is that there are logistical and cost challenges that police face when taking in large numbers of juveniles into custody (Adams, 2003, 14).

Effectiveness of Juvenile Curfews

I conducted a survey involving the residents of Boston (including college students), and how effective they believed a curfew would be at reducing crimes. An astonishing 76% of the people believed that instituting a curfew wouldn’t reduce delinquent activity in Boston, while 20% believed that a curfew would in fact help reduce delinquency amongst juveniles. The remaining 5% didn’t believe strongly one way or the other. Instituting a curfew most likely wouldn’t help decrease the delinquent crime that takes place in the city of Boston.

Juvenile curfews aren’t an effective method of deterrence alone, but could be an effective method of deterrence in conjunction with other dispositions, such as probation. If a child was sentenced to probation and had to be home by 3:30pm when school got out, (which is often the case in many Boston courts) instituting a curfew would be more effective in measuring the child’s activity. A state or citywide curfew wouldn’t be an effective method of deterrence.

GEAR-UP

Another program that aids to prevent juvenile crime is called Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs (GEAR UP). The GEAR UP program is a grant program (federally funded by the government) designed to increase the number of low-income students who are prepared to enter and succeed in postsecondary education. GEAR UP provides five-year grants to States and partnerships to provide services at high-poverty middle and high schools. GEAR UP is aimed at those students between the ages of 12 and 18 (7th through 12th grade). Funds for the program are also used to provide college scholarships to low-income students.

Northeastern University’s GEAR-UP program is comprised of children from 4 Boston Housing Authority developments (Bromley/Heath, Whittier, Lennox/Camden, and Alice Taylor) who are currently between 14 and 18 years of age. Other locations for GEAR-UP are at English High School, Lesley College, and Harvard University. When GEAR-

UP was started at Northeastern 5 years ago, Joseph Warren, who is the director of the program, went into the Boston Housing Authority developments, and handed out fliers informing parents about the program, and what their children would get out of the program. While many did show up for the programs first meeting, there were those who didn't feel that their children needed a suitable education (and would prefer their children to work and help pay the bills). Currently GEAR-UP is in the process of renewing their grant to continue offering the program to those children who want to receive help.

The students involved in the program come to Northeastern University 4 days a week to receive help in subjects that are troubling to them. GEAR-UP allows the children to receive help with their education rather than staying on the streets of their neighborhoods. GEAR UP students come on a voluntary basis. Also to note is the fact that the parents are heavily involved in their child's academic career and attend monthly meetings about the progress of their child/children (similar to parent teacher meetings at their child's school).

GEAR UP is unique from other initiatives. This program employs partnerships committed to serving and accelerating the academic achievement of students through their high school graduation. GEAR UP partnerships offer services that promote academic preparation and the understanding of necessary costs to attend college, provide professional development, and continuously build capacity so that projects can be sustained beyond the term of the grant.

The seniors in high school, who will be attending college in the fall, attribute to GEAR-UP's success. 2005 marked the first group of graduates from the program. Out of the 10 seniors in the Northeastern section of the program, all of them are attending a 4-year school in the fall. After my co-op ended, I ran into one of the then seniors, who I often talked with when I was working, and I asked her if she made her decision on college. She told me with the proudest feeling that she was coming to Northeastern University to study Criminal Justice.

Another success story with GEAR-UP is that of a young man whom I was introduced to, who was 18 years of age, and heavily involved in delinquent activities. He copied cd's and dvd's that he sold in his neighborhood, and around the city. In addition, he did serious time in prison for possession of an unregistered weapon. What happened was, he brought an unregistered gun to school, and was involved in an altercation with a student, and since he had a prior record (of delinquency), he was sentenced to 6 months in prison.

While in his senior year of high school, he was introduced to a teacher who began challenging his intellectual abilities. The student came to my boss and told him that he had to prepare a debate on whether or not all African Americans were destined to a career in crime. He had never been challenged in any previous class before, and this made him want to strive more than anything.

This teacher was his turning point (the point when the child decided that crime wasn't for him anymore, that he wanted to do better) because he wanted to prove that all African

Americans weren't destined to a career in crime, but could really make a positive name for them. This gentleman voted in this past election, and considered his vote to be important. Without the program available to him whenever he felt the need to talk, I believe that he wouldn't have been able to see this teacher as a turning point in his life. He wasn't going to attend college, because college "wasn't for him," but because of this teacher, and the GEAR-UP program to influence him, he not only wants to go to college, but really strive for excellence. Though he is 18 and just starting a new life for himself, there are programs available for children his age.

How effective is GEAR-UP?

GEAR-UP can be considered an effective approach to preventing delinquency. GEAR-UP doesn't turn children away because of the crimes they have committed. The program also includes children who haven't committed criminal acts, but may be more vulnerable because of where they are living. GEAR-UP looks to show children that they can succeed, and prosper to become something with a little outside help. The program also helps give children confidence boosters when they succeed, and that may be all a child needs to stay on the right path.

Scared Straight

Scared straight is a program that takes an aggressive presentation by inmates to juveniles visiting the prison facility. The presentation by these inmates depicts life in adult prisons and many times includes exaggerated stories of serious crimes, such as rape and murder inside the prison. The following is a conversation that took place in Rahway State Prison in New Jersey with inmates and juveniles.

"I'm gonna hurt you. You take something from me and I'll kill you. You see them pretty blue eyes of yours? I'll take one out of your face and squish it in front of you. Do you know what we see when we look at you-we see ourselves. If someone had done this to me I wouldn't be here. Who do you think we get? Young, tough motherfuckers like you. Get a pretty fat buck like you and stick a prick in your ass
(Lundman, 2001, 192)."

For a juvenile to hear this oftentimes becomes traumatizing to their mental status, and may lead them to commit new and harsher crimes because of their experiences talking to inmates in a prison setting.

It is important for prison inmates to contribute productively to society by preventing youngsters from following down the same path (Petrosino, 2003, 3). It is also important for youngsters to see where their activity can eventually land them if they don't stop their criminal behaviors. Scared Straight has a 94 percent success rate. Contrary to the 94 percent success rate, 41 percent of the kids who attended the Scared Straight program in New Jersey (go to Rahway State Prison) committed new offenses (Petrosino, 2003, 8). Also noted with New Jersey is the fact that those who committed new offenses committed more serious offenses.

According to an article by Anthony Petrosino, Carolyn Turpin-Petrosino, and John Buehler, titled *Scared straight and other juvenile awareness programs for preventing juvenile delinquency: a systematic review of the randomized experimental evidence*, the average age of the juvenile participants in the Scared Straight program ranged from fifteen to seventeen (Petrosino, 2003, 5). Racial composition was diverse, ranging anywhere from 36 to 84 percent white. Most of the youth that were involved in the Scared Straight program were already in contact with the juvenile justice system (Petrosino, 2003, 6).

The underlying theory of programs like Scared Straight is deterrence. Advocates for Scared Straight believe that realistic depictions of life in prison and presentations by inmates will deter juvenile delinquents from further involvement in crime. Scared Straight is for serious juvenile offenders who already have a serious criminal record (whether it is juvenile, adult, or both).

Is scared straight effective?

Scared Straight can be an effective program depending on whom the participants are. Scared Straight would be more effective if it was in conjunction with another educational program. The underlying ideas of Scared Straight are good, but it isn't enough just to bring a delinquent child to a prison, and have prisoners talk to them about the choices they are making. It is also important to teach the delinquent children fundamental things (i.e. how to make good choices, who to associate with, who not to associate with, etc.). Without knowing how to improve the choices the delinquent children make, they will have a much harder time to make themselves better, and desist from crime.

Professor Finkenauer extensively studied the scared straight program, and found that “attending intensive confrontation sessions did not alter juveniles’ perceptions of the severity of punishment. (Lundman, 2001, 193)” Over a six month period Professor Finkenauer studied the juveniles who attended the Scared Straight program at the East Rahway State Prison placing 46 juveniles in the experimental group, and 35 in the control group. What he found was that 41.3% in the experimental group picked up new offenses, while 58.7% did not (Lundman, 2001, 194). 11.3% in the control group picked up new offenses, while a staggering 88.6% didn't pick up any new offenses (Lundman, 2001, 194). Although the number of students in both the control and experimental group was not equal, the results speak for themselves.

Boston 2:00 to 6:00 After School Initiative

The Boston After School Initiative Program looks to provide schools with effective high-rated programs that would give children activities to do when school lets out. The initiative states that one-third of juvenile offenses in Boston occur on school days between the hours of 2:00p.m and 6:00p.m. (Wood, 2005, on-line). Between these hours,

children are left to fend for themselves because either one or both parents work from 9:00a.m. To 5p.m., and leave their children with little to do.

More and more parents are joining the workforce to compensate welfare reform, or to increase family income. Even though 16,000 children are currently participating in after-school programming in Boston, 18,000 more would participate if affordable, accessible, high-quality programs were available (Wood, 2005, on-line).

In Boston two-thirds of children ages 5-14 years old live with either one parent or both parents who work outside of the house (Wood, 2005, on-line). The after school initiative has been investing almost \$12 million per year for after school programs all around Boston (Wood, 2005, on-line). Most schools in the Boston area have some type of after school program, whether it is educational, intramurals, or a combination of both. Most of the money invested in after school programs goes towards funding staff, as well as supplies to keep children entertained until their parent(s) get home from work.

Is the initiative effective?

The Boston 2:00 to 6:00 After-School Initiative is an excellent program. The initiative starts when children are young, and that is important. If an educational setting can have a major impact on a child when they are young, then they are less likely to involve themselves in delinquent activities.

The initiative wouldn't be a means of prevention as ordered by a juvenile court. A family member should want to get their child involved in the program to give them something to do while one or both parents are at work. After school programs are a good way to stimulate the minds of young children, as well as allowing them to interact with children they may not normally interact with on their own.

Recommendations

Andrew Glover Youth Program

Background History and Mission

Andrew Glover was a cop who liked to help kids. He was assigned to the Lower East Side's drug-ridden 9th Precinct. With no formal funding or government support, Officer Glover made a second career out of helping kids that society had given up on. Helping the neighborhood youth kept Glover going. One night in 1975, a drug dealer shot Officer Glover and his partner to death during a routine patrol; Glover was only 34 (AGYP, 2006, on-line).

According to www.agyp.org, The Andrew Glover Youth Program works directly with young people to help them understand, accept responsibility for, gain control of and direct their own lives in a positive, law-abiding manner. There are two sites (one in the Lower East Side, the other in East Harlem), serve at-risk youth and youthful offenders where they

need help the most: the streets where they live and the courts in which their futures are determined (AGYP, 2006, on-line). This is a very important aspect of the program. In order to fully help a person change their lives around, a program should offer help in the court aspect of a person's delinquent career.

Currently the United States has more than 1,000,000 people either in jail, or awaiting trial. Incarceration has been overused so much that the US has succeeded in socializing a whole generation to going to jail. What is worse is that when individuals get out of prison, they almost always have the same problem that got them into trouble in the first place. People currently incarcerated usually have not been habilitated (into society) to begin with so you can't successfully rehabilitate them to society when they are released. That's why a staggering 80% end up back in prison. It's a problem that can be solved and that's what the Andrew Glover Youth Program aims to do.

According to the programs website, their mission is threefold. The first part is to intervene and reclaim young people from lives of crime. The second is to provide an overloaded court system with a reliable alternative to incarceration for youths. The third part is to make the Lower East Side and East Harlem safer for everyone.

There are fundamental components to the program as well. They are court advocacy, which provides immediate advocacy and counseling to nearly 300 youths annually, and the use of youth workers who are provided to each client (they create a plan tailored to individual and not group needs). In order for someone to be a youth worker, they must live in the community and be available 24 hours a day, seven days a week (AGYP, 2006, on-line). Children are different, and what steered them to delinquency is also different. What would rehabilitate one child isn't going to work for all children.

There are two sites the program takes place at. They are Robert Siegal & East Harlem Centers: Prevention Programs. Both centers serve as refuges for troubled youth as well as a center for education and recreational programs. More than 500 youths pass through both centers' doors every year.

According to the website, some of the guidelines of the program are, "The program must operate on the streets where the youths spend most of their time. There must be constant moral counseling to make each youth aware of the consequences of his/her behavior. There must be peer group reinforcement of non-criminal behavior, based on trust and cooperation. There must be continual contact and cooperation with the courts, legal and social services agencies. There must be a good working relationship with the police. There must be no differentiation of function within the program; the same Youth worker performs court representation and street counseling (AGYP, 2006, on-line)."

Glover Kids Who Turned It Around:

I think it's important to incorporate success stories in the program. These are just some of the success stories from kids who have gone through the program.

Rafael

Rafael was 16 when he was arrested numerous times on drug-related charges, including possession and selling, as well as for driving a car without a license. Andrew Glover assisted in his court representation. Through the process of working together, Rafael's trust in the program grew, and he began to take issues of personal responsibility more seriously. It is clear that Rafael, a quick learner and high-energy person, simply needed some guidance and positive role models in his life.

After two years with Andrew Glover, Rafael has made enormous strides in acting responsibly. He no longer associates with his former friends, most of whom are substance abusers. He obtained a driver's license and now owns his own car. He has enrolled in school and is taking the initiative to transfer to another school that will allow him to pursue his primary interest of music. (AGYP, 2006, on-line)

Ricardo

Ricardo committed a drug-related armed robbery at the age of 18. A drug user since he was 12, Ricardo who is a motherless teen became a scapegoat for his family's problems. After a while, Ricardo felt he couldn't rise above his label as a drug user.

Ricardo is subjected to urine tests, which he has passed every time, as well as weekly meetings. Ricardo is in therapy and has educational training daily, as well as maintaining a part time summer job, the first he has ever held. (AGYP, 2006, on-line)

Why this program?

Success stories are important to look at when implementing the program in other states. This program is a strong program that can be implemented in Boston, as it has been a success in New York. The guidelines for the program as stated above are important to consider when implementing the program in another location. This particular program feels that it is important to implementing the program where the children spend most of their time (on the streets). This is important because it is showing the children that they can function on the streets they live on.

The Andrew Glover Youth Program encompasses many elements necessary to a successful program that many are lacking. It is important for a program that is recommended by the juvenile courts to encompass a variety of elements such as court help, individual help, as well as help readapting to society.

Conclusion

I believe that if a family is in need of assistance in the resolution of conditions of instability or conflict should be provided with requisite services. As of the present moment there is a lack of subsidized housing for those who can't afford to pay the unsubsidized prices. Many of the people I have encountered while working as a probation intern at Roxbury District Courthouse are looking for affordable housing, but can't find a place to live because rent is too high to accommodate their minimum wage jobs. The wait list for the Boston Housing Authority is extremely long, and people can wait years before affordable housing is provided for them. It is because they don't have a place to stay, or a job to provide income (due to a lack of education), that many continue committing criminal acts.

It is the responsibility of the educational system in place in the United States to teach the basic values and developing respect for the child's own identity and patterns. The educational systems are also responsible for educating the child on the social values of the country in which the child is living in. The school a child goes to should have the means necessary to provide an excellent education to any and all children, regardless of location. Treating a child while in school, instead of turning on them when they get arrested, and expelling them would give help them see that not everyone is out to get them, which is the perception many offenders have.

If a child is allowed to return to school after being arrested, then there should be sanctions in the school setting. The child should be evaluated to find his strength's and weaknesses when in school. When the weaknesses a child has are discovered, help should be provided for them. If a child doesn't like math, then methods to make learning math should be instilled in the child to help he/she learn. Treating a child's weaknesses may be all the child needs to stay away from crime. The Boston 2:00 to 6:00 After-School Initiative strives to achieve this.

While working at Roxbury District Courthouse I came in contact with hundreds of people with diverse backgrounds. Once they were placed on probation I would have an 11-page questionnaire (aka offender profile) to complete on each offender. There's a section of the Offender Profile regarding educational attainment. If I had to estimate many of the people had about a 10th grade education, with a small percentage graduating (10%-15%) high school, as well as some who had a 6th grade or lower educational attainment.

If the probationer didn't complete high school, the next question was to find out why they didn't complete high school. Many reasons given were that they had to get a job to support their family, having a child, getting in with the wrong crowd, or they just didn't like school. Many however did receive their GED once they realized that they could get a job with benefits if they had at least a High School education.

In December of 2005, a Probation Officer was talking to a probationer of hers about college. The probation officer then informed her that the worst thing she could do (shy of

murder, or any felony) was have a drug charge on her CORI (record). If a person has a single drug charge on their record, then they are rarely eligible to receive any type of financial aid, regardless of need. The probationer was stunned. "Thank g-d I don't have a charge" is all she kept saying. For this offender probation was enough of a treatment program, but that isn't the case for most. While I understand that certain liberties are taken away when you have a delinquent record (whether it be juvenile or adult), it also halts one's ability to function in society sans their delinquent past.

With regards to programs mentioned above, I don't feel that it is conducive limiting the eligibility to non-violent and first time offenders, as boot camps often do. The people I see in a boot camp are those that have tried methods such as probation (which keep them in the same environment they committed criminal acts in), but need a stricter, more enforced environment.

The ideal program to prevent juvenile delinquency would be a culmination of many of the programs I touched upon. The Andrew Glover Youth Program encompasses many areas that other programs are lacking. The program helps children understand the court proceedings, provides them an educational outlet, and helps them to overcome their problems (whether it be in the home). This is still a new program and there has not been an extensive evaluation of the program, but its principles and mission is what can cause it to be implemented in other states. The idea that the program must take place in the child's neighborhood is strong. When a child leaves programs, such as scared straight, boot camps, and boarding schools, as well as DYS custody, the return to the neighborhood that they've grown up in, and oftentimes commit further offenses. If a child is treated in the same neighborhood that they get in trouble in, a program can offer them new methods of dealing with the situations, which will be the most effective solution.

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Appendix A:

Survey:

Are Juvenile Curfews effective?

1. Age
 - a. Under 18
 - b. 18-25
 - c. over 25

2. gender
 - a. male
 - b. female

3. Have you ever committed a crime?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

4. Have you ever been arrested?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

5. Do you know what a juvenile curfew is?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

6. Is the idea of having a juvenile curfew good?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

7. Do you believe juvenile curfews are effective?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No