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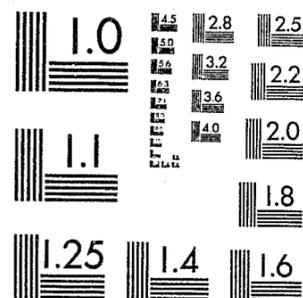
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COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAM INTERVENTIONS FOR THE SERIOUS

JUVENILE OFFENDER: TARGETING, STRATEGIES, AND ISSUES

By

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to Juvenile Justice Processing

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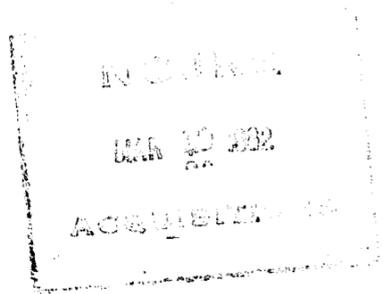
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INTRODUCTION

The continuing debate over what constitutes appropriate responses by the justice system to serious juvenile crime has produced two major schools of thought. First, there are those who are committed to the control/punishment model of justice and feel that more severe sanctions should be imposed on these offenders; second, there are those who adhere to the more traditional rehabilitation/treatment model in juvenile justice and argue that community-based care should be extended to some categories of serious juvenile offenders, especially those not posing any apparent physical threat to their own communities.

Proponents of the latter position—inspired by the assumptions and precepts of the diversion/deinstitutionalization movement—have endeavored to implement alternative programming at various stages in juvenile justice processing: the point of police apprehension, court intake, detention, adjudication, and correctional custody. For the most part these efforts have in the past focused upon so-called "lightweight" offenders who were thought to have exhibited only mildly delinquent behavior.

Not surprisingly, the extension of community-based services to more severely delinquent youngsters has been slow in coming. Only within the past several years have certain jurisdictions begun to consider the advantage of placing such offenders in the least restrictive settings available. These programs may be characterized as seeking to provide more humane care and to maximize reintegrative potential while minimizing present and future involvement in illicit forms of social behavior and conduct. An equally important feature of these programs is the gradual phasing and transition to open community living. Although a voluminous literature has been emerging on the topic of the serious juvenile offender, little has been written about those community-based programs which are handling offenders of this type.

Thus the research we undertook was based upon the desire to locate programs providing services for serious juvenile offenders in such settings, to determine how these programs originated and developed, to discern the principles, philosophy, and reasons underlying program practices and operation, and to discover what kinds of clients were being admitted to them.

We began our search for programs with the assumption that both residential and nonresidential programs would be working with this difficult population. This notion was, in fact, confirmed by our search. We also found support for the findings of earlier research which indicated a paucity of programs exclusively serving juveniles convicted of violent crimes against persons. In addition, we discovered that in spite of the recent surge of legislation enabling the transfer of many youthful offenders to criminal courts, a number of states are still strongly committed to the principle of rehabilitation/reintegration of severely delinquent youngsters within the confines of the juvenile justice system.

The Issue of "Effectiveness"

The movement toward the development of alternatives for youthful serious offenders is in its early, developmental stage. The relatively few programs clearly designed for such youth differ widely in the characteristics of the populations they serve, in their methodologies, and in their goals with respect to their clientele. Preoccupied as they are with issues of their fundamental structure and their very existence, almost none has engaged in rigorous research calculated to finally demonstrate a relationship between specific endeavors and precisely defined and measurable outcomes. The assessment of the ultimate worth of a given design strategy remains, then, largely a matter of professional judgment resting on issues of values. Consequently, in this monograph we are concerned with how these programs operate. It is not our intention to develop an evaluative or summative study of community-based programs for serious juvenile offenders but rather to provide an in-depth description and analysis of how these programs are organized, who participates in them, and how these clients progress through the various program components. We supplement this by providing in Appendix C an annotated bibliography of program evaluations, assessments, monitoring reports, and program-related correspondence to which we were given access at the various program sites we visited.

It should be recognized that expectations concerning success rates must be tempered by the realization of how severely many of these youthful offenders have been physically and psychologically damaged. As a result of childhood experiences some of these youngsters are potentially among the most dangerous and chronically delinquent of all juvenile offenders. This situation was constantly mentioned by program directors who stated that they anticipated a relatively high level of failure among clients in their programs.

While the available data do not provide to the policymaker a means for precisely assessing the degree of "success" to be expected by a given program in achieving a particular goal, the national experience to date does suggest that:

1. For both serious and less serious offenders, community-based programs can exert quite high levels of control and supervision and are capable of transmitting to their clients a very clear sense that serious consequences follow from both further criminal transgressions and continued inappropriate social behavior. Such programs have often succeeded in enhancing responsibility on the part of youth and their families to a meaningful degree. They do so, however, by avoiding unnecessary pain, suffering, and degradation.

2. It appears that some programs have been successful in providing care to severely delinquent youngsters with no greater risk to their communities than would result from traditional correctional incapacitation. Such programs have demonstrated that they can find a place in the community, can gain acceptance on a continuing basis, and are not considered by the communities in which they are located to represent unacceptable threats to public safety.

3. As we note in Chapter IV, the financial cost of achieving the above tasks varies widely, as would be expected from programs with differing organizing frameworks and intervention strategies. Nonetheless, among the programs we studied, a number provided care at considerably lower dollar cost than correctional institutions serving the same jurisdictions.

Although we have not attempted to provide an exhaustive survey of all alternatives for severely delinquent youngsters, we believe the selective sample which we

examine in some detail will present the reader with an excellent sense of the various types of programs providing community-based treatment for the serious juvenile offender.

THE SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDER: STATUTORY CONCERNS, DEFINITIONAL ISSUES, AND INCIDENCE

Over the past several years much has been said, written, and debated about the serious juvenile offender. Although periodic sensationalizing of youth crime has occurred throughout this country's history, the present intensified level of public concern is in part a product of an apparently increased level of serious criminal activity among American youth during the past decade. The resultant controversies over the serious juvenile offender have ranged across a number of important theoretical as well as practical issues: Given the precepts of the juvenile court movement, should such an offender category be established for the purposes of processing and treatment? Given the various definitional dilemmas entailed in conceptualizing the notion of the serious offender, how can such a category be derived? What would be the demographic characteristics of such a group? How should this offender population be processed within the juvenile justice system? These matters of legality, definition, incidence, and treatment/control constitute principal dimensions of inquiry for those scholars, researchers, and practitioners who are currently addressing the problem of serious crime among juvenile offenders.

LEGAL AND STATUTORY CONCERNS

Legally and philosophically, the debate over the serious juvenile offender has posed a fundamental problem for the juvenile court. The juvenile court has since its inception related to the youthful offender as if he were a wayward child in need of nurturance. Theoretically, acting as a benevolent parent, the court has championed the concept of "parens patriae," which identifies one of the court's primary concerns as sympathetically responding to the unfulfilled needs of the troubled youth.

Several procedural consequences have followed from this stance. First, the court has established a tradition of looking at the circumstances lying behind the offender's misconduct, rather than attending only to the nature of the criminal act. In essence, the tendency has been to seek the cause of difficulty in the wider sociocultural environment in which the youth has resided, in order to prescribe the appropriate rehabilitative measures. Second, in order to provide help for misguided children the court has operated with a rehabilitative/treatment model of justice in which a primary goal has been to provide therapeutic measures "designed to effect changes in the behavior of the convicted person in the interest of his own happiness, health, and satisfaction" (Allen, 1964: 26).

The call for establishing a special category of offender—the serious juvenile offender—runs contrary to the underlying spirit of the entire juvenile court movement. As Conrad (1978: 228) has pointed out,

> ... this order of classification [the Serious Juvenile Offender] is new and inconsistent with the traditional suppositions of the

> juvenile court in the years before Gault. ... The juvenile delinquent was by definition a child in trouble—a far different matter from a determination of guilt for an offense, as Gault was to show. ... The juvenile court in this country will no longer rely on the concept of parens patriae but will become a specialized criminal court for small adults.

Once the emphasis is shifted to the concept of an offender fully responsible for a particular ciminal act, steps may be taken to impose harsher penalties, often borrowed from the more severe control/punishment model operating in the criminal justice system.

With the decision having been made to establish a serious juvenile offender category, a variety of strategies are commonly used for processing individuals drawn from it. These strategies include: (1) waiver/certification/transfer, (2) inclusionary subclassification, and (3) legislative exclusion. Each of these alternatives provides a specialized procedure for imposing more severe restraints on the behavior of the youths in question.

As a traditional last resort or pressure valve measure, waiver has long been available to various institutional actors in the juvenile justice arenas throughout this country. The procedure is based on a rather simple notion:

> Waiver of jurisdiction by a juvenile court is the process whereby the court relinquishes its jurisdiction over a child and transfers the case to a court of criminal jurisdiction for prosecution as in the case of an adult (quoted in Smith et al. 1979: 127).

The key to waiver is the concept that discretion is fundamental to decision making. Implicit in this procedure is the continued recognition that the person being considered for adult processing is still a juvenile and that this fact must be carefully weighed before jurisdiction over him is relinquished. Criteria which are frequently cited as factors entering into this decision include (1) a determination of resistance to treatment under juvenile auspices, or that appropriate treatment resources are not available to the juvenile court, (2) the severity and circumstances of the presenting offense, (3) previous offense history, (4) the family situation, and (5) extenuating social and/or psychological factors.

Historically, there has always been considerable reluctance to use the waiver mechanism freely. Based upon a recent national survey, Smith (1980: 87) has estimated that during the period between 1975 and 1977 only about 1 or 2 percent of all referrals to juvenile court were transferred to the jurisdiction of the adult courts. Waiver assumes two principal forms: judicial hearing and prosecutorial waiver. In the case of the former a formal hearing is scheduled during which a juvenile court judge, magistrate, or referee hears the evidence for and against the removal of the youth from juvenile jurisdiction. In the latter case, the prosecutor or state's attorney intervenes at some point in the filing-of-a-petition process and decides whether or not the case should be transferred to criminal court. In this form of waiver there is generally much less input from other actors such as court intake workers, probation officers, and judges in the decision-making process.

Another option for singling out the serious juvenile offender, one not resorting to the drastic step of removing these offenders from juvenile jurisdiction, is <u>inclusionary</u> <u>subclassification</u>. This approach has been experimented with in several states. As McDermott and Joppich (1980: 46) indicate

> A few states (for example, Colorado and Minnesota) have created "an inclusionary subclassification of juveniles which defines violent or hard-core juvenile offenders, places them within the juvenile system, and treats them differently by placement or other methods. . . ." (Biele et al. 1977).

This mechanism usually involves the determinate sentencing of serious offenders within the juvenile system. It is most notable for the fact that those youths being processed in this fashion are still being defined as juveniles and are recipients, at least in some ways, of those benefits that characterize the juvenile justice system. However, sanctions may be quite severe, with youths being placed in secure settings for a fixed number of years. Sentences are often to closed facilities, without any chance of parole until the youth has achieved his majority.

At the extreme end of the continuum for removing juveniles from juvenile court jurisdiction is <u>legislative exclusion</u>. This procedure is commonly referred to as automatic or mandatory waiver. Absolutely no judicial discretion is involved in this procedure, which entails having certain offenses statutorily excluded from juvenile court jurisdiction. For example, some states require that once juveniles reach a specified minimum age and have been charged with certain crimes of violence against persons such as murder, rape, aggravated assault, or kidnapping, they must be prosecuted in criminal court. With the recent surge of concern over violent crime, a number of state legislatures have enacted statutes either establishing or enlarging the list of major felonies which result in the automatic removal of youthful offenders from juvenile court jurisdiction.

The spirit of justice manifested in this group of waiver mechanisms reflects, in the main, the desire to redefine one set of youths as adults and to relinquish any special considerations with respect to treatment and control that might derive from their age and immaturity. Only in the case of determinate sentencing is the serious juvenile offender retained under the supervision of the juvenile system. And even here, the critical concern is the imposition of more severe sanctions and the exercise of tighter controls. But the debate over the selection of the appropriate conceptual categories for labeling and treating youngsters who commit serious crimes and commit them repeatedly has not been resolved. Our research into the use of community-based, alternative programming for offenders labeled seriously delinquent suggests an array of possible alternative responses to some of the problems posed by this difficult population.

DEFINITIONAL ISSUES

The controversy which has raged the past few years over the processing and treatment of habitual and hardcore youthful offenders naturally raises a crucial definitional question: Who is the serious juvenile offender? An answer to this question logically precedes attempts to develop specific interventions for dealing with this

difficult population. As one might imagine, no single, unequivocal answer to this question appears. Most recent efforts to come to grips with this problem have resulted in the construction of a set of definitional categories ranging across a broad spectrum of criminal acts and behavioral factors.

In a very basic sense the management of troublesome youngsters by the courts and correctional officials has always been a rather arbitrary process. As Zimring (1978b: 276) has insightfully observed,

> Juvenile crime is not a species of behavior restricted to a particular age group, nor is it etiologically different from all other forms of crime; rather, it is the invention of the legislature in the fifty-one jurisdictions in the United States that create boundary ages between juveniles and adult courts.

The decision to create a special legal status and to provide special treatment for youthful offenders under a specified age is undoubtedly rooted in the Western belief that childhood is a state of unreadiness (Conrad 1981). One consequence of this social perception is that the factor of age as a primary determinant of delinquent status varies widely across jurisdictions. Although all major proposed reform standards call for jurisdiction in the juvenile justice arena until the age of 18, the upper limit of jurisdictional age, in fact, varies in the U.S. from the 16th to the 19th birthday. This variation is critical in the classification process, as will become apparent when we examine the age distribution for the most serious, assaultive crimes.

Although few conceptual problems of current interest in criminology have been less amenable to clear solution than the formulation of an acceptable, operational definition of the serious juvenile offender, McDermott and Joppich (1980: 2) have recently brought considerable clarity to these efforts by suggesting that

> the task of defining the "serious juvenile offender" would be simplified if by "serious <u>offender</u>" we simply meant "a juvenile offender who has committed (or is alleged to have committed) a serious <u>offense</u>." If this were the case we would only need to specify in some way the meaning of "serious offense." However, a review of the literature quickly reveals that "serious juvenile offender" is not always defined as a juvenile offender who commits a serious offense; chronicity or repetitiveness of offending is often a defining characteristic of the "serious juvenile <u>offender</u>." Thus, we are concerned here with two conceptually distinct questions:
>
> (1) What is a <u>serious</u> juvenile <u>offense</u>? and
> (2) Who is the <u>serious</u> juvenile <u>offender</u>?

By posing these two separate, yet clearly related questions McDermott and Joppich have skillfully demonstrated the need to consider two essential dimensions, namely the severity of the individual criminal act and the repetitiveness, or chronicity, of law-violating behavior, in attempting to define the serious juvenile offender.

Any attempt to determine the severity of a particular criminal offense usually entails an evaluation of the characteristics (a premeditated or spontaneous act, degree of malicious intent, use of a weapon) and the consequences (value of property damaged or stolen, extent of injury to the victim) of the act. Although many students of serious crime exclude from their lists all crimes other than felonious acts of violence against persons (the FBI index crimes of nonnegligent homicide, armed robbery, aggravated assault, and forcible rape), a more inclusive definition extending to major crimes against property can easily be justified. Only when the decision is arbitrarily made to restrict the definition of serious crime to those acts which physically threaten or actually harm persons is violence the key determinant. Certainly, the act of stealing, damaging, or destroying valuable property can be seen as a serious matter posing a major threat to the community. Several such property crimes (burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft) were thought to be sufficiently serious to be included in the list of FBI index crimes.

Ultimately, the scaling of criminal behavior must involve some valuational scheme. In this regard Zimring (1976: 16) has noted

> If the definition of juvenile criminality is largely arbitrary, the definition of serious crime invites the analyst to embark on a difficult and ultimately illusive search for an acceptable standard of severity.

The possible avenues suggested by Zimring for pursuing this goal include: (1) a purely subjective approach based upon a sense of loss felt by the victim as a result of the infliction of criminal harm, (2) an objective approach depending upon the collective judgment of a particular audience to establish a seriousness scale, and (3) a "value informed" selection of serious crimes which relies upon the evaluator's own judgment in determining the severity of particular offenses. For Zimring, "offenses involving substantial threats to life or to a sense of personal safety and security are more serious than the burglary of unoccupied dwellings, most forms of vandalism, and the vast majority of all larcenies" (1976: 17).

The selection of particular kinds of unlawful behavior for inclusion in the category of serious offenses has ranged over a variety of different criminal acts and has reflected a number of philosophical positions. For example, in a background paper on the serious juvenile offender prepared by the American Justice Institute (Smith et al. 1979) the decision was made in trying to develop a comprehensive listing of serious crimes to exclude certain FBI index crimes—both violent crimes (e.g., unarmed robbery) and property crimes (e.g., petty theft)—and to add some other crimes to the list. In terms of specifying single criminal acts which should qualify as serious juvenile offenses these authors listed the following offenses:

(1) homicide or voluntary manslaughter
(2) forcible sexual intercourse
(3) aggravated assault
(4) burglary of an occupied residence
(5) larceny-theft of more than $1,000
(6) auto theft without recovery of the vehicle
(7) arson of an occupied building
(8) kidnapping
(9) extortion
(10) illegal sale of dangerous drugs

This list contains index crimes against both persons and property. However, as both Zimring suggests in reaching his own definition of serious crime and McDermott and Joppich point out in their discussion of the topic, the seriousness of crime generally tends to be equated with violence, aggression, or the causing of actual or potential physical harm.

If one's principal concern in framing an appropriate definition of serious juvenile crime is violent criminal behavior and the potential physical threat the offender poses for his/her community, two interrelated issues must be addressed: dangerousness and prediction of future behavior. Among assaultive youths labeled serious juvenile offenders is a small group who will occupy a spot at the most violent end of any continuum of aggressive behavior. These individuals are those offenders who have been repeatedly arrested and adjudicated for assaultive acts against persons and can be appropriately labeled as chronically violent juvenile offenders. It is youngsters such as these who are responsible, in large part, for stimulating national concern about the imposition of tighter controls and more severe sanctions on dangerous juvenile offenders. Yet, numerous authorities on youth crime have pointed out that the number of juvenile offenders who are chronically violent is extremely small.

The reported infrequency of chronic violent behavior among youngsters raises the critical point as to the number of acts of violence necessary to labeling as dangerous. There must be some convincing indication that a pattern of violent behavior has already been established or will over time become established. As Mann (1976) suggests, a single incidence of violent behavior on the part of a juvenile offender hardly qualifies that individual as a dangerous offender. The vast majority of juveniles who are arrested for a violent act never commit another index crime against persons. Two important sets of research findings support this assertion. In a Vera Institute study cited by Strasburg (1978), 29 percent of a sample of delinquent youngsters from three counties in New York State had been charged at least once with a serious violent crime. However, the proportion charged with serious violence on more than one occasion was much smaller, amounting only to 6 percent of the total sample. These figures parallel the earlier findings of Wolfgang and his colleagues (1972) in their classic Philadelphia cohort study. Consequently, great caution must be exercised in trying to predict future violent behavior based upon one prior act. In fact, although the mathematical odds favoring future violent behavior increase with subsequent violent crimes, even in those cases prediction is a risky matter. Wenk (1972) asserts that when using the very best predictor of future violence—a record of past violent behavior—predictions of violence are still incorrect in nineteen of twenty cases.

If the decision is made to set aside the problem of prediction and to proceed in terms of the youth's presenting offense and arrest history in order to formulate an official response to criminal misconduct, chronicity—the other key variable for developing the serious juvenile offender category—becomes crucial. On the basis of previous arrests, offenders are frequently classified into three groups: first offenders, recidivists (two to four contacts), and chronics (five or more contacts). The last of these categories, the chronic, is frequently used as a major part of the justification for judging a youth to be a serious offender. In discussing the utility of including the criterion of prior unlawful conduct, McDermott and Joppich (1980: 9-10) have offered the following observations:

The inclusion of repetitiveness in the definition of the serious juvenile offender serves several purposes. One is to focus attention on the very small numbers of offenders that research (e.g., Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin 1972) indicates are responsible for a very large number of crimes. In this sense, centering attention on repeat offenders can be viewed as logical solution to the problem of the distribution of scarce resources (e.g., treatment personnel and facilities), or as the way of getting the greatest return (in terms of crime reduction) on an investment (e.g., police efforts). Another purpose served by including the repetitiveness criterion is that many one-time offenders, even some who commit relatively serious crime, are excluded; only offenders who pose a continuing threat to their communities are labeled as serious juvenile offenders.

Several additional points should be made about the importance of the inclusion of repetitive criminal behavior in defining the serious juvenile offender. In a recent cohort study (Hamparian et al. 1978), it was discovered that at least one-third of the identified chronic offenders "presented no serious threat to the world around them." These youngsters were habitually engaged in petty criminal acts which continually led to their being involved with the courts. Frequently, they were simply chronic status offenders. This possibility points up the fact that there is no necessary acceleration in the seriousness of crimes committed over time by a particular delinquent youth. As Strasburg (1978) has suggested, when violent acts occur, they are, for the most part, occasional events within a random pattern of delinquent behavior.

In contrast to the kind of chronic, petty offender (e.g., the perennial status offender or petty criminal) just described is that youth who as a first-time offender has committed a relatively serious crime but has not yet established a clear pattern of criminal behavior. The question which automatically presents itself in this situation is where should the cutoff be imposed for designating the perpetrator of a single unlawful act as a serious juvenile offender. Many authorities would argue that the commission of any of the four FBI index crimes against persons should qualify a youth for that status, but some argue that two instances of unlawful behavior of this magnitude should be required before classifying a youth as a serious juvenile offender.

As we suggested earlier, both chronicity and offense severity are usually used together to define the serious juvenile offender. McDermott and Joppich (1980: 10) have pointed out that, in theory, these two defining criteria for the serious juvenile offender produce four possible offender types exemplified as follows:

(1) offenders who commit five or more serious crimes and perhaps one or more nonserious crimes
(2) offenders who commit less than five serious crimes and perhaps one or more nonserious crimes
(3) offenders who commit five or more nonserious crimes and no serious crimes
(4) offenders who commit less than five nonserious crimes and no serious crimes

Based on this scheme, these authors conclude that Type 1 offenders are clearly serious juvenile offenders, that at least some Type 2 offenders should be regarded as serious

juvenile offenders, and that some of Type 3 and 4 offenders could possibly be regarded as serious juvenile offenders. Further, they suggest in any attempt to determine which Type 2, 3, and 4 offenders to label as serious juvenile offenders that the Sellin-Wolfgang seriousness scale (see Appendix A) be used. Such a scale permits cumulative seriousness to be the guide for any classification of offenders. A similar solution to some of the definitional dilemmas surrounding the serious juvenile offender has been suggested by other students of serious crime. For example, in one of the American Justice Institute's reports on serious juvenile crime Smith et al. (1979: 38) suggest that

A serious juvenile offender is one whose offense history includes adjudication for five or more serious offenses (on the Sellin-Wolfgang scale), or one who is adjudicated for one or more offenses whose severity is equal to homicide or forcible sexual intercourse as measured by the Sellin-Wolfgang scale.

Our purpose here is to elucidate, not finally answer, the definitional problem. But a definition for the purpose of the review of community-based serious offender programs essayed in this monograph must be selected. In this report we are specifically concerned with that segment of the serious juvenile offender population that is both (a) retained under the auspices of the juvenile justice system and (b) targeted for participation in community-based programs. Those juveniles being waived to adult jurisdiction or being given determinate sentences to be served in juvenile correctional facilities fall outside the scope of our inquiry. We accept the ambiguity presented by the fact that the precise kinds of juvenile offenders waived varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, especially with the passage of new "serious juvenile offender" statutes in some states.

The kind of juvenile offender who falls into McDermott and Joppich's Type 1 category would rarely, if ever, be found in the kind of relatively open, community-based setting with which we are concerned. Rather, our study of programmatic interventions with the serious juvenile offender focuses largely on the kinds of offenders who might be drawn from a Type 2 or Type 3 delinquent population. This group would be selected from a somewhat larger offender population recently identified by Coates (1981: 15).

That there is a small minority of juvenile offenders who require secure corrections placement because of overriding community protection needs seems quite evident and reasonable to this observer. ... Thus, the real debate, in my view, concerns how we view those majority of delinquents who are neither status offenders nor the most serious offenders.

Undoubtedly, within the boundaries specified by Coates can be located a substantial number of youngsters who qualify as seriously delinquent by existing standards but who pose no immediate threat to the safety of their communities.

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF SERIOUS CRIME AMONG JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Alarm over the current level of serious juvenile crime has led many students of this topic to raise a number of important questions about the scale of such serious

misconduct and to scrutinize very closely those data which are available on the subject. Among the crucial questions which we will examine in this section of the report are:

(1) Has the level of serious crime committed by juvenile offenders increased over the past several decades?

(2) How much serious crime is currently committed by juvenile offenders?

(3) How much serious crime is committed by juveniles in relation to other age groups?

(4) Among which segments of the juvenile offender population is serious crime concentrated?

In order to resolve these questions several sources of information must be probed. From the array of possible sources (official police and court records, victimization surveys, cohort studies, and self-report studies), we have selected two for examination in some detail: official police and court records, and cohort studies. These bear most directly on matters with which we will be concerned. (For a detailed coverage of the significance of self-report studies and victimization surveys for the study of the serious juvenile offender, see McDermott and Joppich 1980.)

Arrest Rates

The most important source of aggregated arrest data bearing on serious juvenile crime is national police records published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its Uniform Crime Reports (UCRs). The UCR data are divided into two categories, Part I and Part II Offenses, which, together, subdivide all offenses into twenty-nine categories. Part I includes all of the "index crimes" and has come to be synonymous with serious offenses. This group is composed of the four index crimes against persons: homicide and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault; and the three index crimes against property: burglary, larceny over fifty dollars, and motor vehicle theft. These seven offenses generally represent a descending scale of seriousness. Another important feature of these data is that they are counts of arrests, not offenders. Thus, the data provide a count of the number of arrests of juveniles for various crimes, but there is no way of knowing how many separate juvenile offenders contributed to this total.

Although representing the most broadly based and widely collected set of arrest data available, when put to use the UCRs pose a number of difficult and sometimes insurmountable problems. As McDermott and Joppich (1980: 16) suggest

As measures of arrests of persons under 18, the UCR data present three major difficulties. First, because of the vast amount of crime not reported to the police and the vast amount of crime not cleared by arrest, these data greatly underestimate the "true" amount of crime. Second, because arrest data say nothing about later judicial processing, they are more correctly interpreted as measures of <u>alleged</u> juvenile offenses than actual juvenile offenses. Third, because these are police arrest data, and because of the widespread notion that juveniles may be easier to "catch" than adults, the proportionate

contribution of juvenile arrests to total arrests may overestimate the proportion of the total crime that is committed by juveniles.

In addition to these difficulties another major problem in interpreting UCR data has been pointed out by Zimring (1979: 279), who states, "It is well known, for example, that estimating youth crime rates from arrest statistics is misleading, because young offenders are more often arrested in groups, and an extrapolation from arrest statistics to crime statistics would thus substantially overestimate the number of offenses committed by young offenders." To further complicate these issues, Zimring (1976: 12), in commenting elsewhere on the problems associated with calculating crime rates, notes that "the census is acknowledged to undercount young black males, and thus overestimate the crime rate attributable to that group in any given year." Many other criticisms—too detailed to mention here—concerning the validity and reliability of these data have been raised and continue to cloud the significance of all studies relying totally upon the UCRs.

In spite of these shortcomings, the UCRs do provide the researcher with some sense of larger arrest trends and patterns. For example, based on his analysis of these data, Strasburg (1978: 13) notes that, "between 1960 and 1975, juvenile arrests for violent crimes have risen 293%." Although this fact can be partially attributed to an unprecedented 52 percent increase in the size of the adolescent population in this country during the 1960s, the arrest rates per 100,000 population of juveniles at risk show clearly that violent criminal activity among juveniles has greatly intensified over this period. Figure 1 documents this indisputable escalation. In discussing this critical period, Zimring (1978a: 42) states

The fifteen years from 1960 to 1975 were characterized by three demographic shifts that constitute an ideal prescription for explosive increases in youth crime: a large increase in the youth population, an increased concentration of the young in urban areas, and a huge increase in the minority youth population in core cities. These population changes occurred in a social setting where crime rates for all significant age groups were increasing. Given generally higher crime rates as well as large increases in the population-at-risk, a substantial increase in youth crime was predictable.

Great care should be exercised, however, in drawing conclusions from the apparently clear trend of increasing violence among juvenile offenders. While the aggregated data for the four index crimes against persons suggest that juveniles have become increasingly involved in violent crimes over the past several decades, a detailed examination of the pattern presented by each of these four crime categories over time paints a quite different picture. Although the UCRs indicate a sizeable increase in youth violence during the 1960s across most of these categories, this escalation has been followed in the 1970s by a period of relative stability in the rates of three of the four index crimes against persons. The only category which has continued to show large increases in the 1970s is aggravated assault. The extensive analysis of UCR data by Smith et al. (1975: 91) supports this assertion by showing, "arrests for index violent offenses accounted for 7% of all juvenile crime in 1964, compared to 10% in 1976 . . . and most of this increase took place during the 1960s."

FIGURE 1

ARREST RATES FOR ALL VIOLENT CRIME* BY JUVENILES
UNDER 18 YEARS OLD

Arrests per 100,000
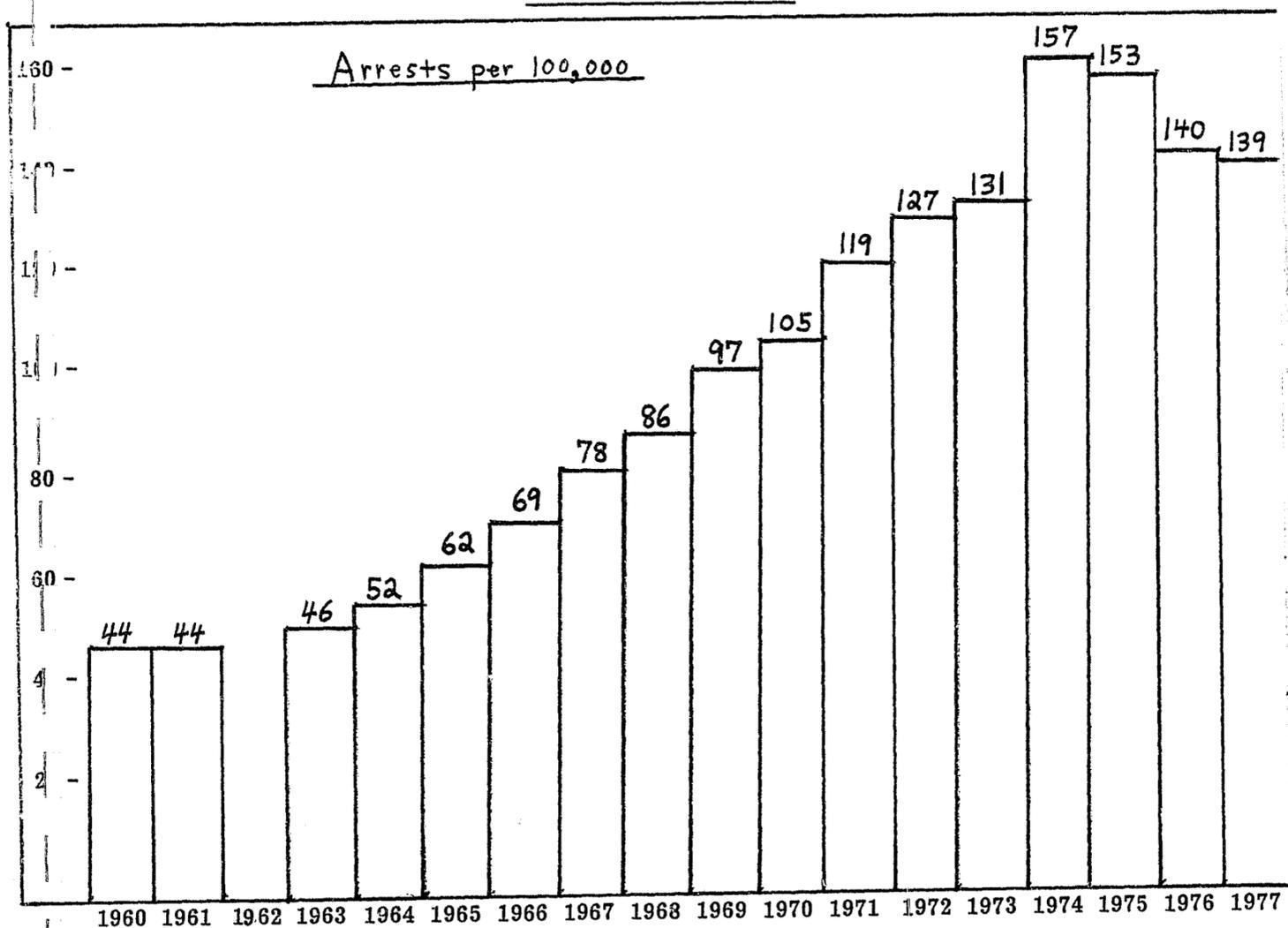
*The violent offenses included are murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

**Total arrests by age are not available for 1962.

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, 1960-77; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25. See Appendix B for a discussion of procedures necessary for developing these rates.

Equally interesting is the fact that aggravated assault, along with robbery, seem to be the special domain of young offenders. Of the 152,000 index violent crimes committed by 20 years old and younger and reported for inclusion in the UCRs, 133,000 were crimes of robbery or aggravated assault. This ratio is comparable to the one discerned by Smith et al. (1975: 97) in their analysis: "aggravated assault and robbery account for over 90% of all juvenile arrests for violent index crimes during every year from 1964 to 1976." Yet, these two categories of officially labeled criminal violence (robbery and aggravated assault) tend to tell one relatively little about the degree of seriousness of the offense. For example, aggravated assaults can range from spur-of-the-moment fistfights to coldly calculated shootings. Similarly, robberies can range from the unarmed extortion of lunch money in the schoolyard to armed, life-threatening encounters. As Rubin (1979: 4) has observed:

> One robbery may involve a juvenile running into an old lady, grabbing her purse, and knocking her to the ground with the consequence of a broken hip. In a second robbery, a twelve-year-old may threaten an acquaintance with a fight unless the acquaintance turns over his forty-cent lunch money. If both offenders are arrested, they become two equal robbery statistics, though their offenses and the consequences are substantially different.

The point is that within these two categories the difference between two individual crimes may be as great as the difference between violent and nonviolent crime. This fact has led Zimring (1979: 81) to label these categories as "heterogeneous" since the characteristics of such crimes may vary enormously. In addition, Zimring (1978a) argues that most offenders under the age of 20 who engage in robbery are unarmed and that arrests for both robbery and assault often involve a large number of accessories as well as principal offenders.

Based upon these facts and insights, several tentative conclusions can be offered. First, where the offense category is extremely serious and involves the crimes of homicide/nonnegligent manslaughter and forcible rape, the number of under 18 year olds arrested is small. The UCRs indicate no dramatic increase over any extended period of time in the number of juvenile murderers and rapists since the collecting of these data began. Second, those juveniles who are engaging in violent crimes are being arrested mainly for robbery and aggravated assault, but in the commission of these acts are less likely to be armed with a deadly weapon than are adult offenders and are more likely to commit such acts with co-offenders, thus exaggerating the rates derived from UCR data at which such crimes are committed by juveniles. Consequently, great care must be exercised in interpreting the UCR data both in regard to the severity of violent acts among juvenile offenders and in calculating incidence of such acts.

Youthful age groups, especially juveniles, seem to pose the greatest threat to society, not in terms of index crimes of violence, but rather of index crimes against property. In contrast to violent crimes, where young adults (18 to 25 years of age) have consistently shown a greater involvement than have either juveniles (under 18 years of age) or older adults (25 years of age and up), serious property crimes are committed in the greatest numbers by juvenile offenders. Strasburg (1978) cites 1975 UCR data showing that among all juveniles arrested for serious index crimes that year,

90 percent were arrested for index offenses against property and only 10 percent for index crimes against persons. Supporting this position are the findings of Smith et al. (1979: 91), indicating that following the rapid increase in arrests of juvenile offenders for violent crimes during the 1960s, the proportion of serious property to violent crime arrests stabilized at about a 9 to 1 ratio.

The peak ages for arrests in the seven categories of index crime provide an interesting glimpse at the relative role of juvenile offenders in the commission of serious crime. In a very general sense, crime is largely committed by individuals in their mid to late teens and early twenties. After that age criminal behavior decreases markedly. Specifically for burglary, larceny, and auto theft, the three index crimes against property, the peak years are mid adolescence (16 years of age for all three categories), with an ensuing dramatic dropoff in rates from that age to young adulthood. In contrast, the pattern for violent offenses is substantially different. Robbery, assault, and rape arrests peak later in adolescence, at age 18. Homicide peaks later in young adulthood, at age 20. In Table 1, Zimring (1978a: 37) has graphically illustrated the distribution of peak ages for all arrests for index crimes and the frequency of occurrence.

TABLE 1

PEAK ARREST AGE AND ANNUAL ARREST RATE
PER 100,000 MALES BY CRIME*

Offense Category	Peak Arrest Age	Annual Peak Rate of Arrest per 100,000
Homicide	20	25.4
Rape	18	41.8
Aggravated Assault	18	297.0
Robbery	18	338.2
Burglary	16	1,476.4
Larceny	16	2,407.0
Auto Theft	16	497.8

*Sources: FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1973; and Census Estimates

The fact that violent juvenile crime is concentrated in the upper reaches of that group of persons under the age of 18 is illustrated vividly in Figure 2 (see p. 18). It should be reiterated that these patterns represent an aggregation of all four index crimes against persons and, as a result, will implicitly reflect the disproportionate incidence of arrests for robbery and aggravated assault among juvenile offenders as opposed to arrests for murder/nonnegligent manslaughter and rape.

Finally, the UCR data provide insights into two other important demographic dimensions of the distribution and frequency of the seven index crimes among juvenile offenders: race and sex. In terms of the factor of race, Strasburg (1978) points out that according to the 1975 UCR report, blacks represented 4 percent of the total population under 18 years of age, but they accounted for 22 percent of all juvenile arrests and 52 percent of juvenile arrests for violence. In the latter category this included 56 percent of all juvenile arrests for homicide; 51 percent of all juvenile arrests for rape; 63 percent of all juvenile arrests for robbery; and 40 percent of all juvenile arrests for aggravated assault. This overrepresentation of arrests of black youths for crimes of violence is illustrated by Figure 3, comparing arrest rates for violent crimes committed by white and black youths under the age of 18 years.

In discussing the geographical distribution of serious crime among juvenile offenders, Zimring (1978a: 38) also touches briefly upon the issue of race.

Serious youth crime occurs more often in cities than nonurban areas, involves boys far more frequently than girls, and is concentrated particularly for offenses of violence—among low-social-status, ghetto-dwelling urban youth. The self-report studies convey the impression that youth crime is an adolescent cultural universal, but FBI-collected police statistics indicate that serious youth crime is concentrated among urban minority group males and that the more serious the crime the more pronounced the pattern of concentration.

The overrepresentation of minority youth among arrestees may, of course, result at least in part from the fact of the concentration of serious crime in large urban areas—the same areas in which minority youth tend to be concentrated. The roles of these two sorts of variables in the generation of youth crime rates may well be inextricably confounded. Thus, Zimring (1978a) demonstrates in the following table the concentration of serious crime in large urban areas.

TABLE 2

SERIOUS CRIME BY CITY SIZE, U.S., 1975, BY TYPE OF CRIME

(Arrests per 100,000)

	2500,000+ City Size	All Other Areas	Ratio of City/Other
Homicide	21.3	6.7	3.2
Rape	55.5	19.9	2.8
Aggravated Assault	369.0	187.0	2.1
Robbery	678.0	110.0	6.2
Burglary	2,368.0	1,344.0	1.8
Larceny	3,612.0	2,690.0	1.3
Auto Theft	1,015.0	342.0	3.0

Another important comment regarding the importance and future role of race and urban-related factors in shaping the serious juvenile offender population comes from Strasburg (1978: 182):

> ... in spite of the general decline in birthrates in the U.S., that group which produces the largest number of violent delinquents, minority-group males living in lower-class or slum neighborhoods of large urban centers, will continue to increase in numbers. ... the number of all males aged 15 through 20 years will be down about 17% in 1990 from a peak in 1975, but urban nonwhite males in the same age range will increase in number by about 3%.

One possible scenario arising from these population trends might be a smaller volume of total youth crime in the future with a sharp drop in index crimes against property but a much less substantial decline in the various index crimes against persons. Inner-city neighborhoods would probably experience further increases in violent crimes against persons during this period.

Serious youth crime, as defined in terms of severity by the seven index crimes against persons and property, has not until recently been an active arena of misconduct for female juvenile offenders. Certainly, juvenile violence has long been a predominantly masculine phenomenon. This fact has been clearly documented by UCR data over the past several decades. However, during the past several years arrests of

FIGURE 2

UCR ARREST RATES FOR ALL VIOLENT CRIMES BY AGE: UNDER 18; 17-15; 14 YEARS OLD AND UNDER (1960-77)
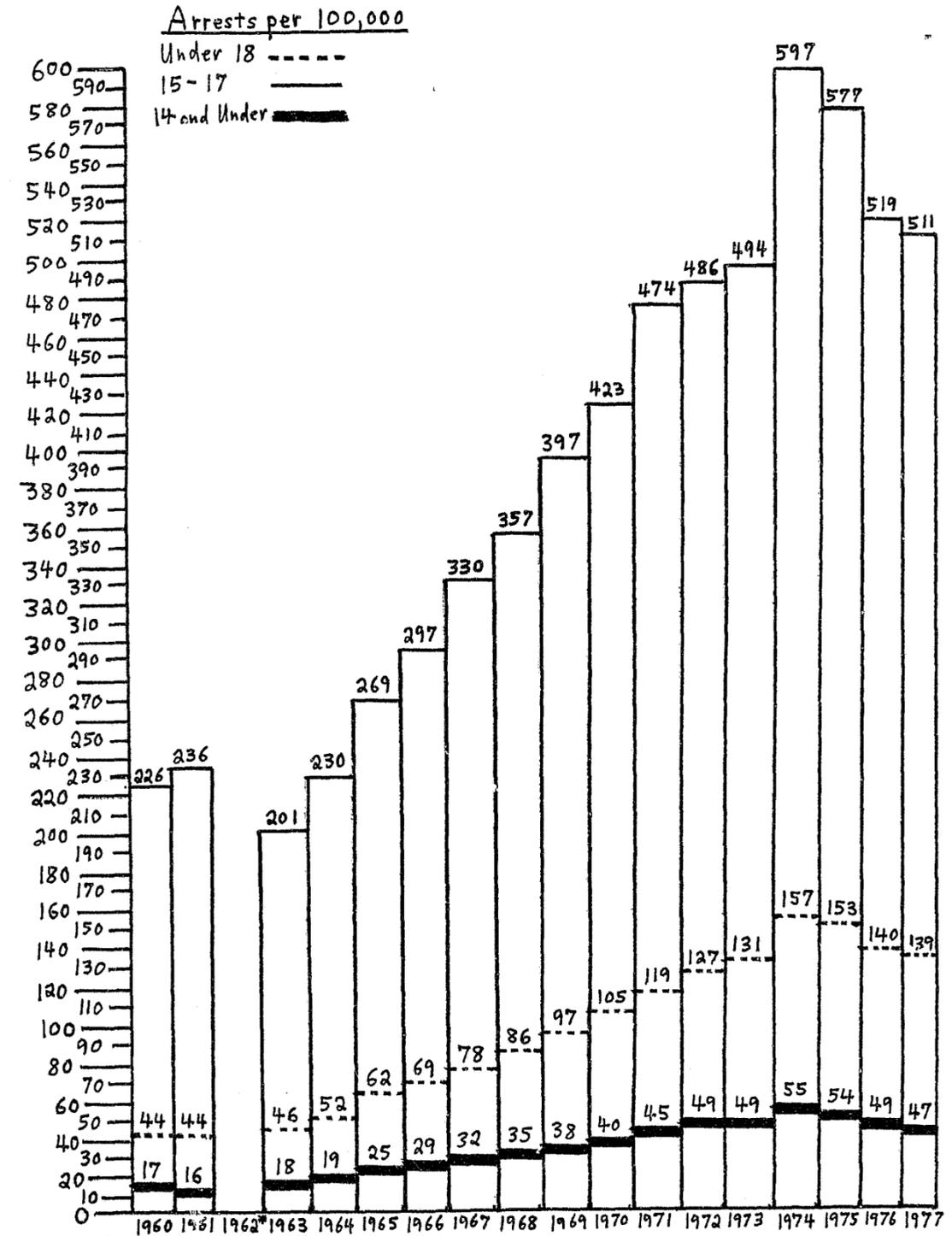
*1962 figures for arrests were not available by age group.

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, FBI, Uniform Crime Reports, 1960-1977; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25.

FIGURE 3

UCR ARREST RATES FOR ALL VIOLENT CRIMES BY RACE: WHITES AND BLACKS UNDER 18 YEARS OLD

Arrests per 100,000
Whites ▬▬▬
Blacks ----

Y-axis: Arrests per 100,000 (0 to 600)

Blacks (dashed) values by year: 204 (1964), 256 (1965), 254 (1966), 309 (1967), 353 (1968), 419 (1969), 413 (1970), 457 (1971), 503 (1972), 478 (1973), 548 (1974), 499 (1975), 419 (1976), 471 (1977)

Whites (solid) values by year: 22 (1964), 22 (1965), 25 (1966), 29 (1967), 32 (1968), 35 (1969), 36 (1970), 41 (1971), 48 (1972), 56 (1973), 71 (1974), 75 (1975), 64 (1976), 80 (1977)

X-axis years: 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977

Sources: U.S. Department of Justice, FBI, Uniform Crime Reports, 1964-1977; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25.

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female juvenile offenders for serious crimes have increased at a faster rate than arrests for males. Part of this abrupt, detected shift may simply reflect statistical distortion.

In trying to summarize briefly the main findings derived from analyses of UCR data with regard to the serious juvenile offender, McDermott and Joppich (1980: 21) made the following succinct points:

> In sum, the UCR arrest data illustrate three important factors about serious juvenile offending. First, in terms of the ages at which arrests for various crimes peak, serious crime is clearly a phenomenon of older teenagers and young adults. Second, juveniles are rarely arrested for the most serious index crimes: murder and rape. Third, juveniles make up a substantial proportion of the offenders arrested for burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and robbery.

With reference to some of the other probable demographic characteristics of this population Hudson and Mack (1977: 270), in discussing the lack of definitional precision in many studies of serious juvenile offender, provide an excellent sense of this segment of the wider delinquent population when they suggest "that the relative proportion of serious juvenile-aged offenders in different jurisdictions is quite small, and is composed predominantly of males at the upper limits of juvenile court jurisdiction, from inner city areas, and disproportionately of minority group youth."

Cohort Studies

In addition to the UCRs, the other principal source of information on the serious juvenile offender is a small set of cohort studies produced in this country over the past ten years. The recent attention focused on the serious juvenile offender as a distinct and separate group can be traced in large part to the publication of the Philadelphia cohort study by Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin in 1972. The youth cohort selected for study consisted of all boys born in 1945 who lived in Philadelphia at least between their 10th and 18th birthdays. This work, Delinquency in a Birth Cohort, was among the first to distinguish from the larger problem of delinquency the special threat posed to the community by a smaller group of "chronic offenders."

The group of chronic recidivists identified by Wolfgang et al. constituted only 6.3 percent of the entire cohort and 18 percent of those in the cohort adjudicated for delinquent behavior, but were responsible for a disproportionate amount (51.9 percent) of the cohort's delinquent acts. In addition, this small number of chronic offenders were responsible for 61 percent of all violent crime committed by the entire cohort. The Wolfgang group also found that among the chronic offenders, crimes committed by those in the lower range of the socioeconomic status scale (SES) scored much higher in seriousness, as measured by the Sellin-Wolfgang Scale, than those committed by chronic offenders at the higher SES levels. Somewhat startling was the fact that among the chronic offenders who were involved in violent crime nonwhites committed 100 percent of the murders, 90.6 percent of the rape, 82.6 percent of the robberies, and 87.5 percent of the aggravated assaults.

In a more recent study conducted in Columbus, Ohio, by Hamparian et al. (1978) additional information was collected and analyzed concerning violent crimes committed by a youth cohort of juvenile offenders born in Columbus between 1956 and 1960 and arrested for at least one violent offense.

Among the findings of this study were those to the effect that males arrested for violence outnumbered females by almost six to one (84.3 percent to 15.7 percent), blacks were overrepresented by four times their proportion of the general youth population, offenders tended strongly to come from homes with income less than the county median, and a considerable number of youths (12.2 percent) had siblings who were also part of the cohort. Black youths were more frequently robbers, both armed and unarmed, while white youths were arrested a little more often for assaults, rape, and sexual imposition. The vast majority of youths (83.5 percent) who were arrested for a violent crime were arrested only once on a charge of violence. In addition, those youths who were arrested more than once for a violent crime were not specialists, in that second arrests for violence were seldom for the same offense as the first. Only 3.8 percent of the cohort were arrested for violent acts on three or more occasions. It should be noted at this point that out of a total of 985 arrests of members of this cohort for violent misconduct, 270 (27.4 percent) were for major crimes against persons: murder/nonnegligent manslaughter, rape and sexual imposition, armed robbery, aggravated robbery, and aggravated assault. In contrast to these "serious violent crimes," the majority of arrests for "violent" offenses were for lesser charges such as assault and battery.

In this cohort, violent girls were significantly different from their male counterparts. The overwhelming majority (73.3 percent) of the 135 girls arrested for violent crime were arrested for assault and battery, as compared with not quite one-third (32.6 percent) of the boys. The notion that delinquent girls are increasingly engaged in forms of serious criminality previously limited to delinquent males was not borne out in the study. Only 13 percent of the females in the cohort become chronic offenders, while 34 percent of the males qualified for this designation.

Summarizing the broader demographics of this violent youthful offender cohort, Hamparian et al. noted that the population was predominantly male, black, and of a lower socioeconomic status. They suggest that this profile of youngsters in a cohort defined principally by at least one arrest for violent misconduct is consistent with that in nearly every recent study of seriously delinquent juveniles in this country.

Strasburg (1978) reports a third cohort study providing some insight into the delinquent population. This study undertaken by the Vera Institute of Justice was based on a sample of delinquency petitions filed in 1974 in three jurisdictions in New York State: Mercer County, Westchester County, and New York County (Manhattan). Among the findings was the fact that only a small number of chronically violent juvenile offenders were present in the cohort; this coincides with the findings of other cohort studies. Other observed facts included (1) when committing a violent act, a delinquent is more likely to do so in company with at least one other juvenile, (2) older juveniles tend to be more seriously violent than the younger juveniles, and (3) minority youths (especially black youths) tend to be both more delinquent and more violent than white youths.

In regard to the racial factor, the overall arrest rate of black juveniles for violent crimes was seven times as high as the white rate, with the black rate for robbery surpassing the white rate by a ratio of 11 to 1. However, extreme overrepresentation of black youths in crimes of violence occurred in only one of the jurisdictions, Manhattan. In contrast, black youths were underrepresented in crimes of violence in Westchester County. This geographic variation in the association between race and violence suggests that some other factor (or factors) in the environment, linked to race through circumstance, contributes to the violence of these youngsters. One powerful candidate, of course, is socioeconomic status. As had earlier been discovered in the Philadelphia cohort study, the Vera Institute researchers demonstrated that both on the basis of the seriousness of offenses and average seriousness per offense, lower-class delinquents had a higher mean score than middle-class delinquents.

In pointing out some of the major findings of these cohort studies as a group, one finds, for the most part, confirmation and reinforcement of many of the conclusions reached earlier in discussing the UCR data and analyses. However, the cohort research does provide some insight into the nature and role of repetitive criminal behavior in defining the serious juvenile offender. Although most juvenile offenders are not chronic, those who are chronically delinquent are responsible for disproportionate amounts of youth crime. Yet, even when juvenile offenders do establish patterns of chronic misconduct, this fact does not necessarily qualify them for inclusion in the category of the serious juvenile offender. As we suggested earlier and as McDermott and Joppich (1980: 32) insightfully observed,

> ... chronicity is not usually the sole criterion for identifying which juvenile offenders are serious juvenile offenders. Some chronic juvenile offenders may have offense histories of only minor assaults and petty thefts. Thus, it is necessary to consider the qualitative dimensions, or patterns of crime-mix, in the offense histories of chronic offenders. When that is done, it is apparent that a substantial proportion of the chronic juvenile offenders cannot be considered serious juvenile offenders.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

SITE SELECTION

Given the basic purpose of the study, the limitations in funding, and the time constraints, we decided at the outset to seek a nonprobability, purposive sample of twelve programs. We wanted this sample to reflect as wide ranging a set of community-based, serious juvenile offender programs as we could locate. We began our program search by contacting the designated youth planner or juvenile justice specialist in each of the fifty State Planning Agencies (SPAs) throughout the U.S. These youth planners/juvenile justice specialists were asked to suggest programs which they believed offered promising, commendable, or innovative approaches to handling serious juvenile offenders. Approximately twenty-five candidate programs were identified through this procedure. Additional serious offender programs were identified through published literature, federal agencies, private research organizations, and the Assessment Center's own collection of fugitive literature.

Based upon this program search, we discovered that only a few states were pushing forward with the development of community-based alternatives for serious juvenile offenders. Preliminary screening had already revealed that some of the initially identified programs were either not dealing with a "serious offender" population (in terms of our two key indicators: severity of the presenting offense or chronicity of unlawful behavior) or were, in fact, institution-based, secure facilities unlikely to yield meaningful observations on the nature of community-based alternatives.

Each program still remaining in our sample was then profiled according to fourteen distinct characteristics which we felt would be critical in our subsequent description and analysis of the twelve selected programs. These characteristics were:

1. residential/nonresidential
2. area served
3. auspice
4. date of program origination
5. intake criteria and the reasons for referral of currently serviced clients
6. current clients' demographic information
7. average length of stay
8. sources of referral
9. definition of "serious"
10. program goals and conception of what the program is an alternative to
11. services provided
12. method of treatment and clinical techniques stressed
13. kind of follow-up and aftercare provided
14. staff makeup

We decided to exclude programs not engaged in direct service provision as distinct from service brokerage and case management in order to obtain a purposive sample consisting of primary service providers.

Once the twelve potential site-visit programs were selected, Assessment Center staff contacted them to verify the information we had already collected. At this time, each program was asked if a site visit by our research team would be welcomed. Without exception, the programs agreed to participate in the study. Arrangements were then made for our visits. Eventually, one of the six residential programs was dropped from the sample when it became apparent during our visit that it was almost entirely devoid of any functioning programmatic components, possessed few, if any, community-based characteristics, and closely resembled, in fact, a closed correctional institution. Consequently, our final sample consisted of eleven programs which exhibited the widest range of programmatic possibilities across the key characteristics we had earlier identified. Tables 3 and 4 summarize the programs' locations and sizes (in terms of number of clients) as well as the clients' average age, age range, sex, and racial/ethnic background.

Between May and November of 1980, our three-person research team traveled more than 16,000 miles across the country. Among the residential programs we visited the number of clients ranged from 4 to 40, the average age extended from 13.8 to 16.3 years, staff size varied from 2 to 18, and direct supervision was maintained over clients from 3.7 to 18 months. The per diem costs in these five programs ranged from a low of $23 to a high of $80. Among the nonresidential programs we visited the number of clients ranged from 11 to 31, the average age extended from 14.1 to 16.3 years, staff size varied from 5 to 27, and direct supervision was maintained over clients from 4.8 to 12 months. The per diem costs in these six nonresidential programs ranged from a low of $7 to a high of $43.

INSTRUMENTATION

The data we gathered at each program was obtained during a three-day site visit. Four sets of questionnaires were designed and administered at every program site to program directors, key staff dealing directly with clients, clients themselves, and a court or correctional agency representative knowledgeable about the local juvenile justice system. Separate versions were prepared for both the residential and nonresidential formats. The director questionnaire queried policy and operational matters in such areas as referral, admission criteria, intake, client assessment, staffing, and funding. The staff questionnaire focused on procedures used in practice, such as job responsibilities; program activities; community relations; degree of contact with families, peer group, and schools; views on handling clients; conceptions of program goals; etc. The client questionnaire was designed to document youths' perceptions of the kinds of program activities in which they were involved, to discover what they believed their problems were, to have them describe their interactions with staff, and to identify their sense of the extent to which sources of support from the community were involved. The client data are not considered separately in this monograph but are incorporated into the overall discussion of program services and components. The overview questionnaire concerned options available to police, courts, and corrections in processing juvenile offenders, how the local juvenile justice system was structured in terms of the exercise of authority over delinquent youngsters, and how the "serious juvenile offender" was legally and/or customarily defined in the local jurisdiction.

TABLE 3

CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Name	Location	Total Numbers of Clients	Age Range	Average Age	Sex		Race			
					M	F	W	B	H	I
Key Tracking Plus	Springfield, Mass.	11	15-17	15.9	11	0	11			
Katahdin: A Workshop for Youth	Minneapolis, Minn.	13	12-17	15.2	10	3	6	6		1
Copper Mountain Adolescent Day Treatment Center	Murray, Utah	14	14-18	16.3	13	1	12		2	
Project Vision	New Haven, Conn.	28	12-16	14.1	27	1		27	1	
Transitional Center	Gretna, La.	31	13-17	15.2	28	3	20	11		
Viable Alternatives to Institutionalization	St. Petersburg, Fla.	NA	13-18	15.8	NA					

TABLE 4

CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Name	Location	Total Numbers of Clients	Age Range	Average Age	Sex		Race			
					M	F	W	B	H	I
Esperanza Para Manana	Salt Lake City, Utah	4	11-15	13.8	4	0			4	
Port Boys Group Home	Rochester, Minn.	7	13-16	14.3	7	0	6			1
Alternative Rehabilitation Communities, Inc.	Harrisburg, Pa.	10	15-18	16.3	10	0	8	2		
Florida Keys Marine Institute	Key West, Fla.	18	14-17	15.6	18	0	12	6		
Vindicate Society	Newark, N.J.	40	14-17	16	40	0	3	36	1	

CHAPTER III

APPROACHES AND TECHNIQUES FOR INTERVENTION
STRATEGIES WITH SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS:
AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

Empey (1978) has astutely observed that the way society reacts to delinquent behavior both reflects and influences our explanations of delinquency, our assessment of its gravity, and the degree to which we treat delinquent children differently than we do adults. The assumptions which lay behind various explanations for delinquent behavior (e.g., inborn tendencies, a rational response, socialization) largely determine the ways we attempt to prevent, control, and remedy it. The confounding factor of the juvenile justice system's attempts (in the form of retribution, incapacitation, deterrence, rehabilitation, and reintegration) to simultaneously pursue policies which both logically and practically appear to many to be incompatible further complicates our attempts to seek answers to a seemingly endless litany of questions concerning how we can most effectively and acceptably intervene with serious juvenile offenders.

Our entry point into the topic will be through a review of some of the more recently proposed frameworks and typologies. Our search is for a ". . . conceptual framework within which practitioners can develop intelligent criteria to allow for evaluation of the countless modes of treatment and strategies of intervention for the purpose of choosing the particular combination of help that best fits the client's problems" (Whittaker 1974: 50). Our desire is not to arrive at oversimplified generalizations. It is, rather, to extract those factors and conditions which best describe what the critical ingredients might be and how they can be juxtaposed to best develop and implement a program.

CATEGORIES OF INTERVENTION STRATEGIES: THE MANN STUDY

There are a number of well-known books and articles which discuss treatment modalities and programs for more serious juvenile offenders. A number of other publications are not specifically directed toward this population per se but do provide valuable insights on various approaches to intervention and treatment. One of the earlier efforts is Dale Mann's Intervening with Convicted Serious Juvenile Offenders (1976).

In this study, Mann defined serious juvenile offenses as nonnegligent homicide, armed robbery, aggravated assault, forcible rape, and arson. Chronicity was not incorporated into his definition. Among all the programs he could identify nationwide, not one concentrated specifically on serious offenders. Therefore, he had to settle on programs with as high a proportion of such offenders as could be located. Even so, the number of qualifying offenders included in the programs Mann studied was few, apparently because of the small number of youths actually falling into this category, low public tolerance for expensive or extensive programs for this group, and, most important, lack of agreed-upon treatment-related behavioral characteristics common to serious juvenile offenders.

Regarding this last point, in a recent article on serious offenders Taylor (1980: 32) notes that differences in causation can generate similar overt behaviors and therefore still require specialized and individualized forms of treatment:

A child who sets fires because he is stimulating himself to compensate for severe emotional impoverishment and under-stimulation will need a program which supplies emotional nourishment and rechannelling of aggressive drives through work and play activities; a child who sets fires because he is angry with his father for being overcontrolling and unavailable will need a program which strives for family restructuring.

Mann also suggests that even if there were common treatment requirements, an undifferentiated program (i.e., with a mixed population in terms of offense types) might still be preferential by virtue of its ability to reduce a deviation-amplifying process by minimizing possible negative labeling effects and by allowing functional peer teaching and role modeling. Taylor, in essence, provides further support for such a mix when she points out, as does Mann, that confounding the proper selection of clients suitable for particular kinds of treatment are children who express the same basic conflicts through the exercise of very different problem behaviors. For example:

although both of two children are responding to feelings of loss and abandonment, one may express that feeling by aggressively assaulting a teacher, the other by passively stealing hubcaps in the company of his peers; would it not make more sense to place both children in a group designed to focus on feelings of rejection, rather than to put one child in a behavior modification group, the other in a transactional analysis group? (1980: 32)

The Mann study found limited success with some offenders within each treatment approach studied but encountered no evidence to support the contention that any single treatment modality was effective for all serious juvenile offenders. In addition, he found that many programs did not maintain offense profiles on their past or present clients; some did not monitor for outcomes following termination. In short, he concludes that "the data adequate to support finely grained judgements about the relative efficacy of the various treatment modalities do not exist" (1976: viii).

Four main treatment types are identified by Mann. The first is intervention based on clinical psychology and psychiatry. This type is further subdivided into four categories:

1) psychotherapy, including psychoanalytic methods, transactional analysis, and gestalt therapy (i.e., an emphasis on motivations and feelings) on a group or individual basis;

2) behavioralistic, including behavioral modification with its emphasis on changing behavior directly without going into psychodynamics, and the application of behavioral principles;

3) that primarily concerned with the treatment of physiological factors, thought to be criminogenic; and

4) eclectic, in which numerous causes are considered to be associated with violence and thus lead to treatment approaches not clearly encompassed by one category.

Mann points out that, while clear theoretical differences exist among the various schools of practitioners, these differences are generally not reflected in practice. Behavioral modification was often used as an adjunct to psychotherapy. Techniques were freely borrowed across theoretical lines, and the components of a good treatment program were generally conceded to include health services, counseling or psycho-therapy of some sort, education, family counseling, arts and crafts, and recreation. Outpatients may additionally require housing, remedial education, job training and placement, and financial aid.

Mann's second major treatment type consists of intervention based on sociology and social work. Both of these disciplines tend to emphasize use of the social environment, group intervention techniques, and the peer group. Whether located in an institution or the community, particular programs in this category may emphasize to varying degrees a number of specific techniques or general approaches, including guided group interaction, positive peer culture, behavioristic management, milieu therapy, shared decision making, reality therapy, and case management.

A third type of treatment is that emphasizing educationally based programs. These rest upon the observation that many serious offenders have shared the common experience of school failure and the subsequent blockage of social and vocational advancement. Features likely to be incorporated into approaches to this problem include small group instruction, team teaching, and individually prescribed instruction.

A final, fourth treatment type is vocational education. These programs attempt to provide the means for achieving access to legitimate job opportunities and to reinforce the idea of acquiring and maintaining a career. Given a particular level of cognitive skills and proper affective functioning (e.g., adequate self-image), vocational education for offenders involves job-seeking and interviewing techniques, career exploration, skill training, close communication between the job and the training agency or referral source, and follow-up and support services following placement.

Although Mann observes that the practitioners tended to use whatever they believed worked, regardless of what they were trained in or even what their grant proposal promised, he does note certain features common to the "people-changing endeavor" seemingly associated with successful practice irrespective of treatment modality.

1) Client choice. The ideal is to maximize choice about whether to enter a program, which program, and for how long. This is based on the idea that there is little likelihood of successful and authentic behavioral change under compulsory participation. (It should be pointed out, however, that some choices such as that between incarceration and an alternative program may prove illusory, and that the range of choices may be limited.)

2) Participation. Investment in or ownership of a program is believed to engender an individual's acceptance of a new behavior. Investing personal resources is likely to increase commitment and enhance the chances of success.

3) Learning theory. Desirable practices believed to promote learning include clear task assignments and early and frequent successes; modeling responsible, fair, consistent, and thoughtful behavior; clear reward structures which are significant and contingent on related tasks that are realistically accomplishable; and integrated training situations resembling the postprogram setting.

4) Use of a wide range of techniques. Noting that prescribing treatment is highly imprecise, Mann suggests drawing from many different sorts of techniques. They can be implemented concurrently or serially. This allows for individually tailored service for different juveniles, trial and error among techniques, use of other methods when one no longer seems appropriate or useful, and staff opportunity to acquire a repertoire of skills which might reduce "burnout."

5) Heuristic management. The best programs seemed to take a problem-solving, trial-and-error attitude to guide new initiatives.

Man suggests that effective programming also requires 1) supporting various treatment alternatives with more documentation of effects in the many naturally occurring experiments, and 2) consideration of substantial reforms in other parts of the justice system (e.g., restricting the court's overreach, expanding due process guarantees, and reducing discretion).

STRASBURG'S FRAMEWORK

Drawing a parallel with the treatment of cancer, Strasburg (1978: 130) explains that in the absence of specific knowledge about the causes of violence (or cancer), treatment tends largely to be pragmatic, that is, techniques used in treating similar "disorders" are borrowed and those with little or no apparent effect are discarded. We too will draw on a medical analogy to make a somewhat different, though related, point. Some medications have proven very effective in treating a problem the causes of which are not wholly understood. Moreover, in some instances no one is sure precisely how a particular medication works; it is only known that it will help. Finally, as is true with many medications, they will not affect everybody in the same way. Some people will have adverse reactions and side effects; for others there may be no effect. The point we wish to make is that a full knowledge of causes may not necessarily be a requisite to finding an intervention which can be used successfully to ameliorate a problem. It is primarily for this reason that the distinction between theories of causation and theories of change is important. Some argue not only that knowledge of cause is unimportant to treatment, but that such knowledge may, at best, get in the way of treatment, and, at worse, may make the client's problems more difficult to treat. It may well be the case, of course, that the degree to which treatment must rest on understanding of causation will vary with differences in particular psychological attributes or other contextual considerations. We will return to this point shortly.

Strasburg presents a review of some of the most common treatment modalities. His framework rests on a different set of assumptions than does Mann's. In this review, we supplement it with additional points taken from Haley (1980), Glasser (1965), and Whittaker (1974).

Strasburg first describes three general psychiatric categories of delinquents committing or attempting such acts as homicide, forcible rape (or sodomy), robbery, and assault. Psychotic delinquents, numerically the smallest of the three groups, are youths with a marked degree of disorganization of mental processes (schizophrenia being the most common). Disturbed delinquents include those who either commit or attempt frequent or serious violent acts (i.e., homicide, forcible rape, robbery with a weapon or victim injury committed, and assault where the victim requires a doctor's treatment) but who are not psychotic. While this category is larger than that composed of psychotics, it is still relatively small. It includes antisocial psychopathic personalities or any of the interchangeable labels for this group: sociopath, character disorder, antisocial personality, etc. Such psychopaths are technically neither psychotic nor neurotic.

Finally in Strasburg's framework, there is the largest numerical category of juveniles who occasionally commit violent acts but who are not seriously disturbed. These offenders are variously labeled as manifesting "adjustment reaction," "acting-out," "unsocialized aggressive reaction," etc. Strasburg notes that some authorities report that this third group may include youngsters with neurotic character disorders who are either "sociosyntonic" (i.e., offenders with no appreciable defects of impulse control but whose cultural status, environment, and social milieu enable or influence them to engage in antisocial, assaultive activity expressing their inner neurotic conflicts), or "impulsive," with brittle ego defenses and likely to react assaultively when their defenses are threatened.

Strasburg notes that, regardless of classification, certain characteristics frequently appear in psychiatric descriptions of violent delinquents: repressed feelings of rage, low self-esteem, inability to form bonds or empathize with others, low impulse control, low frustration thresholds, and difficulty in communicating verbally. Referring to environmental influences and situational pressures as triggering the expression of violence in most cases, Strasburg (1978: 70-71) concludes "the psychology of violence appears to involve a complex interaction between internal impulses and controls, on the one hand, and external factors on the other."

According to Strasburg, the most common model for many intervention techniques remains the treatment of psychiatric disorders, in spite of the rarity of its demonstrated success in dealing with adolescent violence. Psychiatric treatment must contend with the impediment of the "normal insanity" of adolescence, characterized by emotional turmoil, impulsivity, fluctuating identity, and limited capacity for introspection and self-appraisal. These factors clearly place one-to-one psychotherapeutic treatment on precarious grounds at the outset. Moreover, the personality disorders most often found in violent adolescents (Strasburg's third and numerically largest category) are neither grounded in clinically detectable mental illness, nor are they perceived by the youngsters as a problem. In addition, much of the destructive and antisocial behavior comprising the second and numerically smaller category (i.e., psychopathic) is not amenable to the standard techniques of psychiatric intervention. Consequently, Strasburg suggests three limited but vital functions psychiatrists and psychotherapists can play: 1) assessment and diagnosis, 2) treatment of the mentally ill, and 3) providers of psychotherapy in cases in which antisocial impulses are under control, other basic needs are met, and youngsters are, in fact, suitable for such demanding treatment.

Various forms of individual psychotherapy, according to Whittaker (1974), draw from an eclectic theory base. Many, though not classically psychoanalytic in nature, still rely heavily on a psychoanalytic framework. But, precisely because of the present tremendously wide range of associated methods and individual therapies, and the richness of the theory, problems arise when it comes to definitive evaluation. There are numerous ways to explain behavior, and operational definitions for inner personality states are not easily derived. Heavy reliance on insight, causality, and latent meanings can result in an excessively time-consuming process and require a high degree of intelligence and verbal ability on the part of the client. In addition, psychotherapy has been considered by many to so overly emphasize individual change that the inescapable inference all too frequently drawn is that the client must be "sick." Thus, attention is all too readily and too frequently withdrawn from handicapping or crippling factors in the sociocultural environment—factors that may be both more criminogenic and more accessible to change than is the client's personality structure.

As a response to these kinds of limitations, numerous other strategies have evolved. Some remain basically psychodynamic, though discarding particular tenets (e.g., Gestalt psychology snubs the illness/medical model to focus on the here-and-now while still relying on dream and fantasy interpretation and reflection), and others entirely reject the importance of any unconscious conflicts or reasons for them. William Glasser (1965), the creator of reality therapy, believes, for example, that all people obviously have reasons of which they are unaware for behaving as they do. Nonetheless, he claims that in therapy (rather than research) knowledge of cause has no relevance, and recourse to unconscious motivations can only serve as a means for clients to evade personal responsibility:

> Emphasis upon the unconscious sidetracks the main issue of the patient's irresponsibility and gives him another exuse to avoid facing reality. We cannot emphasize enough that delving into a man's unconscious mind is detrimental to therapy (1965: 53).

In much the same vein, Haley (1980: 1), the widely acknowledged authority and theoretician-practitioner of family therapy, has written that how an individual is evaluated (e.g., schizophrenic, depressive, acting-out) may have importance for those interested in devising differential diagnostic systems and in conducting research, but "for the clinician, the differences are largely irrelevant, unless the diagnosis determines a special way of doing therapy (which certainly has not been so in the past)." Haley goes on to say that the "metaphoric function" (i.e., exploring multiple meanings or interpretations for behavior and feelings), while valuable for research, is likely to antagonize key participants, impede change, and encourage the shifting of responsibility to other people or circumstances. Haley, like Glasser, advocates that the therapist take a forceful, highly directive, and structured role, 2) acknowledge that the client and perhaps others as well are behaving irresponsibly, 3) focus on the problem person and his behavior, not on family relations, 4) ignore, not explore the past and past causes of problems, and 5) ignore and minimize conflict between parents or among other family members.

We wish here to stress the fact that there are literally countless variations in ways to perform various modes (i.e., individual, group, and family) of counseling or therapy. It remains essential that discussions about the different therapeutic approaches or strategies used in ongoing programmatic efforts describe their use as

they are actually reflected in practice, not as they may be ideally envisioned or even spelled out in grant proposals. If a number of different techniques are used concurrently with a particular client, this needs to be carefully spelled out and recorded. If trial-and-error switching among various methods is practiced, then we need to know this. While the pure application of a particular theoretical approach may occur in some programs, there are sure to be many others which typically respond in more individually tailored ways. It is important to move away from pat labels and toward the use of specific and concrete descriptions of what actually takes place and how it takes place. There are discernible differences between programs which can be identified and described, though it will not always be the case that any particular component (e.g., counseling) will be either highly differentiated according to a specific theory or knowledge base, or that the strategies will represent only one orientation. Techniques utilized may not even be linked by staff and administration to identifiable schools of thought in which some professionals may be highly trained and about which they tend to talk.

GROUP THERAPY

Strasburg describes selected group-based techniques, commenting that while the objectives of some are to produce insight or the understanding of causes, others are used to directly alter behavior. He begins with the "umbrella concept" of group therapy, a term referring to a variety of techniques employing periodic meetings of a fixed group of peers, nearly always guided by professional or paraprofessional staff. Goals may include coming to grips with internal conflict, venting emotions, understanding how behavior affects others and hinders the development of close personal attachments, and/or impulse control. Objectives are often mixed, although development of self-awareness and internal controls or more straightforward training to improve behavior may be emphasized.

Guided Group Interaction (GGI) is a somewhat more specifically delineated type of group therapy used in a number of well-known juvenile correctional programs (e.g., Highfields in New Jersey, Silverlake in Los Angeles, the Provo Experiment in Utah, Red Wing Juvenile Correctional Institution in Minnesota, etc.). It is a method originally developed after World War II for work with recalcitrant prisoners in army disciplinary barracks. According to Whittaker (1979: 67-71), a GGI group leader alternately supports, confronts, interprets, and summarizes, but the peer group serves as the primary vehicle for change. The group meets daily and is typically composed of seven to eleven adolescent members, all facing each other in a semicircle. Sessions begin by each member reporting their problems. Individual problems are considered group problems and the leader forces the group to develop solutions. "Conning" or refusing to accept responsibility for one's actions, and other negative behaviors (e.g., running away, physical aggression) are punished by the group. The group is also involved in making decisions on rewards or progress for individual members. Following problem solving, the leader summarizes, recapitulates, and defines the effort. Whittaker reports that GGI is less effective with the younger troubled child who tends to be less dependent on the peer group, and with psychotic or severely emotionally disturbed juveniles.

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION

Behavioral modification, as employed in corrections, involves the provision of positive and negative reinforcements to encourage prosocial behavior and discourage expression of antisocial impulses. It deals quite directly and actively with visible behaviors, considering them the primary problem. Its basic tenets are rooted in social learning theory. Occupying one end of the theoretical intervention spectrum and in direct contrast with psychodynamic theory, behavioral approaches assume that behavior has been learned and therefore is susceptible to change through the use of learning techniques and principles. It disregards the notion of "inner states" and "drives," believing observable and measurable actions constitute personality. This should not be taken to mean, however, that aspects of behavioral modification are not used in combination with other techniques that focus on insight and self-awareness; they are, in fact, frequently so intermingled. As Strasburg points out, behavioral modification techniques can be found in nearly all correctional programs, but in the more formal and refined applications the strategies are packaged into elaborate systems (see, for example, Levitt et al. 1979).

> Contracts may be written detailing exactly what behavior is desired and how it will be rewarded. Group roles may be highly stratified and regimented to permit visible movement up (or down) the ladder of responsibility and authority, as progress dictates. The basic point is to make all expectations and all consequences as explicit as possible (Strasburg 1978: 137).

Whittaker (1979: 65) notes that individual behavioral programs can be difficult to establish, particularly those calculated to deal with complex interpersonal behaviors, and that the transition to the home community can pose further obstacles. Strasburg adds that in the opinion of one child psychoanalyst the technique appeared effective in bringing under control aggressive antisocial impulses, but only to a point at which a supportive environment may be expected to sustain changed conduct. Subsequent to this, additional individualized psychotherapy might usefully be applied in preparation for eventual autonomy.

MILIEU THERAPY

"Milieu therapy" is seen by some as the ultimate in group techniques. Regarding it as a catchall category, Strasburg identifies two common features: twenty-four hour residential care and reliance on intensive peer pressure. Some well-known examples (e.g., Synanon) have been largely self-contained, remaining rather removed from contact with the outside community. These so-called "therapeutic communities" differ widely. Whittaker (1974: 221) explains, for example, that some milieu approaches may stress individual psychotherapy and others rely on dealing with behavioral and emotional problems in a group context. Still others may use sophisticated token economy systems or engage in various forms of highly confrontational and abusive attack therapy. Not surprisingly, none is likely to admit to having a nontherapeutic milieu.

While behavioral modification techniques (e.g., highly stratified organizational structures and systems of rewards and punishments through which residents progress)

are almost universally employed, milieu therapy can differ along numerous dimensions including: 1) nature and variety of therapy techniques, 2) amount of authority accorded the peer group, 3) nature of rewards and punishment, 4) formality and rigidity of organizational structure, 5) level of involvement by psychiatric and social work professionals, 6) degree to which autonomous functioning outside the group as contrasted with adjustment to the group itself, is a goal, 7) amount of contact permitted with the community outside the program, and 8) amount and nature of supportive inputs such as education and vocational training. In spite of these enormous differences, however, Strasburg considers there to be a widely shared viewpoint among people working with hard-core violent offenders that milieu therapy affords the best chance for success of all methodologies. However, he does comment that some problems or personality types may respond better than others, and that variation on each of the possible dimensions needs to be controlled for the purposes of research.

BROADER SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION AND OTHER INTERVENTION APPROACHES

Strasburg concludes that both group therapy and individual psychotherapeutic techniques tend to locate the source of antisocial behavior inside the individual. Therefore changes are sought within the individual. In contrast, however, broader social service provision reflects the viewpoint that the provision of shelter or substitute family care, income and jobs, and basic education and vocational training will best meet problems that may often be rooted in a deficient social structure. Strasburg observes that most of the social services probably necessary are insufficient inputs by themselves:

> By the time a child's life situation has deteriorated to the point where he or she resorts to violent antisocial behavior, it is reasonable to assume that the task of rehabilitation involves more than replacing missing material necessities. Perhaps the most convincing evidence of this comes from the self-report studies ... which point out the limited correlation between delinquency and social class. ... At the same time, concentration on psychological, moral, or spiritual reconstruction is likely to be wasted effort if nothing is done to improve the basic resources available to a child (and his or her family) for surviving and advancing in the real world (1978: 148).

The existence of situational stresses prior to delinquent behavior, according to Strasburg, may partially explain why some success is achieved by so many different kinds of intervention. It may also explain why the temporary gains registered while in treatment programs are frequently lost when the youngster leaves (see, for example, Coates, Miller, and Ohlin 1978: 109-145).

Finally, we would be remiss not to mention two other intervention approaches discussed by Strasburg: conflict resolution and restitution. Rather than assuming there is a deficiency in the individual or that resources are lacking, "conflict resolution attempts simply to create an atmosphere that produces alternatives to violent behavior as a solution to problems, while restitution aims to develop a more relevant,

equitable, and efficient response to crime" (1978: 153). Some already existing treatment programs do incorporate aspects of these approaches in their constellation of service offerings. Recently, these approaches have begun to receive much more attention and study (see, for example, Armstrong 1981).

In recognition of the many methods referred to above and the complex interplay between environmental forces and an individual's behavioral, emotional, and cognitive makeup, Whittaker (1974) advocates change efforts directed at macro systems (i.e., organizations, communities, society) as well as micro systems (i.e., individuals, families, and small groups). Moreover, and most important for programs pursuing goals concerned primarily with the latter, Whittaker espouses techniques of interpersonal helping which emphasize both direct, face-to-face, client-worker encounters, and indirect activities undertaken on behalf of the client.

These indirect goals subsume two basic roles and include a number of functions. As advocate-ombudsman, Whittaker includes anything from championing civil rights to helping the client negotiate various bureaucratic systems (e.g., obtain legal services, in seeking or holding a job, going to court, entering a school, procure public assistance). Active involvement with other persons in the youngster's real world, whether it be with the family around discharge planning, home visits, or progress reports or with court intake staff to discuss overfrequent use of secure detention, is clearly extremely important in trying to affect postprogram transition and adaptation. In the second role of resource broker, workers might undertake a variety of collateral contacts for the client. This may involve referrals elsewhere for some kind of specialized service during program participation or for aftercare. It might be comprehensive case management such as the type Strasburg recommends or that which the Illinois Unified Delinquency Intervention Service practices (Reamer, McKeon, and Shireman 1981).

Both direct and indirect helping programs may defy easy and clear-cut categorization based on pure theoretical models and distinct staff roles. At the same time, however, care must be exercised in not simply haphazardly concocting "a bit of everything conceivable" for each client. Noting that shotgun approaches which try to do everything are no better than single shots expected to hit multiple targets, Strasburg (1978: 195) suggests that programs should be "putting together combination of inputs based on the best available diagnosis of individual problems and needs." Similarly, while cautioning not to fall prey to theoretical pluralism based on bits and pieces of theory, research practice, isolated techniques, and highly personalized approaches, Whittaker (1974: 108) recommends "use of as many theoretical models as possible in order to ensure a broad range of interventive strategies to fit the particular problems of the client."

KEY CHARACTERISTICS FOR "PEOPLE-CHANGING" PROGRAMS

This brings us to the question of what features or operating principles should be combined when designing programs for offender populations. Leaving aside the issue of what kind of offender (e.g., personality traits, degree of psychopathology, the roots of causation) would potentially be helped the most by particular approaches, a recent review (Romig 1978) of 170 evaluation studies on treatment programs for all kinds of juvenile offenders attempted to identify the effective ingredients common to those efforts appearing successful. All selected studies met the criteria of utilizing either a

randomly assigned control group or a matched comparison group. A number of Romig's conclusions and some of the individual studies are particularly interesting and worthy of discussion.

Based on fourteen behavioral modification studies involving 2,000 delinquent youths, Romig concludes that differential reinforcement and contingency contracting (e.g., written contracts with specified rewards for improved behavior) can be used to change unacceptable behavior if the desired alternative is fairly concrete, behaviorally simple and observable, and realistically "do-able." While behavioral modification was not found to specifically reduce delinquency or arrest rates, it did appear useful in changing such behaviors as school attendance, test scores, promptness, and classroom behavior. It therefore can be viewed as an approach helpful in motivating youths to change.

An overall "positive relationship" (e.g., empathetic counselor) with the youths not accompanied by some form of contingency contracting (i.e., "noncontingent contracting") was deemed inadequate in bringing about behavior change. Informing the youth of the behavior targeted for change and the desired alternative was thought crucial both on ethical grounds and as a means of maximizing the client's involvement and support. Romig concludes from one of the studies that getting the youth involved in constructive activities (with rewards for achievement) can be expected, at that particular point, to leave no time or energy for delinquency. Also, at the beginning of a program youngsters are more likely to be responsive to external or material reinforcement (e.g., cigarettes, candy bars, cash) rather than social approval alone.

Academically oriented education in which understanding instructors teach basic academic skills was found effective in increasing classroom learning. This draws on Romig's observation in the behavioral modification studies where the pursuit of a concrete goal by way of differential reinforcement is considered beneficial. However, Romig predicts that such education will not, by itself, reduce recidivism. In sixteen studies utilizing academic education as a primary method, he notes that three ingredients consistently appear not to have made much measurable difference: 1) manipulation of teacher expectancies, 2) behavioral modification techniques to improve grades when the behavior or task is clearly neither achievable nor within the student's behavioral repertoire, and 3) understanding teachers providing problem-solving type discussion groups.

The various studies reviewed by Romig suggest a number of reasons for these observations. While educational gains can be made when youngsters are exposed to curriculum which is systematic and sequential and when rewards are provided for appropriate behavior and educational performance, subsequent delinquency or arrests is a more "global" goal, subject to many more influences and much more variability. Nonspecific approaches involving teacher expectancy focus neither on a youth's deficiencies nor upon remediating them; therefore, no substantial changes will result. Large group discussions about relevant issues were deemed insufficient as a means to learn how to deal effectively with those issues outside the classroom; this requires social and practical skills of varying sorts. However, the acquisition of a diploma or certificate provides the concrete means to improve employment potential. In short, behavioral modification techniques combined with quality teaching could probably increase achievement. Romig isolates ten composite program ingredients for effective correctional education: an understanding teacher, individualized diagnosis, a specific

learning goal, individualized program, basic academic skills, multi-sensory teaching, high-interest material, sequential material, rewards for attention and persistence (initially), and differential reinforcement of learning performance. Romig believes that classroom education combining at least four of the ingredients is likely to succeed.

Romig reviewed twelve studies of vocational and work programs involving 3,300 youths. Once again, common themes emerge. Employment, by itself, will not prevent delinquency, but employment can provide strong hope for movement up a career ladder. Vocationally trained youth in better jobs with some possibility for upward promotion are in a better position to stay free from continued delinquent behavior.

> The implication is, of course, that when an individual finds meaning, status, and the opportunity for learning and advancement in a job, negative behaviors such as delinquency decrease. Jobs and job placement do not necessarily make a significant difference. However, jobs that have value to the individual and provide an opportunity for advancement can help reduce crime and delinquency. The goal is to utilize career decision-making skills that help the youths relate their values to potential jobs. The second goal is to initiate career ladder training that teaches the individual how to advance on a job (Romig 1978: 47).

However, while understanding and empathetic supervisors (much like the "warm" teacher) can provide a positive relationship for a youth, such relationships do not necessarily mean that skills necessary to success in the community are being imparted. As with schooling, vocational training and work programs cannot by themselves reduce violative behavior, but clients provided with requisite skills (job advancement, educational, money management and saving, vocational, interpersonal), a career-ladder frame of reference, the opportunity for advancement, and follow-up may acquire motivation to improve and not recidivate. The importance of follow-up cannot be underestimated, since support after job placement is vital in order to facilitate the transfer of the effectiveness of the program to the real world.

After reviewing twenty-eight group counseling studies involving over 1,800 youths, ten studies on individual psychotherapy, and twelve on family therapy, Romig concludes that while each approach has some value in getting input from the youths (and their families when involved) regarding the problem, it is then essential to take the next logical steps of 1) specifying problems (i.e., diagnosis), 2) devising individualized interventions, and most important, 3) allowing the client to practice, test out, and receive continued support and advice in the problem setting. The group therapy program Romig found most successful was one possessing the following ingredients:

1) Group therapy with teaching focus
2) Individual therapy
3) Therapist initially supportive then gradually more conditional in praise
4) Therapist used verbal praise and criticism to shape behavior
5) Therapist focused on the youth's past and present self-defeating behavior
6) Role playing used by therapist and group
7) Significant focus upon community adjustment
8) Attention given to helping the youth develop interpersonal skills

It incorporates behavioral principles, teaching requisite skills, an overall framework which is specific and comprehensive, and a focus on community readjustment.

The most successful application of individual counseling and psychotherapy was also one in which the youths' own view of their problems and experiences was one element in a program which additionally emphasized setting behavioral goals, practice in the problem setting, close observation, and evaluation and modification. Finally, Romig recommends family therapy when it is determined that it is actually a part of a client's delinquency problem, and when it focuses upon teaching improved communication, crisis intervention as a means to impart systematic problem solving, and parent education in the areas of discipline and decision making. In short, common to all the approaches recommended are: 1) diagnosis on specific interpersonal, educational, and vocational needs, 2) systematic instruction and practice in the skills needed, 3) reinforcement for success, and 4) transitional opportunities to practice new behaviors in the actual or approximate problem setting.

CONSTRUCTIVELY INTEGRATING "CONTROL" AND "SUPPORT": A PROGRAM ILLUSTRATION

One of the problems in developing a continuum of alternative program types and varied orientations for juvenile offenders in general and more serious offenders in particular is the widely held notion that programs are, on the one hand, community based and therefore unable to exert high levels of control and supervision (i.e., maintain order, impose limits, encourage respect for authority), or, on the other hand, institution based (i.e., closed and mechanically secure) and consequently unable to generate a supportive atmosphere, impart empathy, increase a sense of security, and resolve emotional problems. In fact, however, a well designed, appropriately staffed, and carefully monitored program for juvenile offenders can be one in which clients are gradually weaned from a more structured and restrictive environment to one of increasing responsibility, independence, and freedom. There are myriad ways in which programs can be designed, organized, and implemented for this purpose. Here, however, we discuss only a selection of the more useful writings on serious offender programs and the principles underlying them.

Agee (1979) reports on the Closed Adolescent Treatment Center (CATC) in Colorado. Designed specifically for the so-called aversive treatment evader (ATE), this program, like many of those we visited, was initially funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). Since Agee thoroughly describes the actual workings of the program, we will confine ourselves to discussing principles and observations which bear on some of the issues referred to above. The ATE, according to Agee (1979: 1), are those youths:

> that combine hostile, aggressive, acting-out behaviors with an amazing resistance to change, usually to the point that some frustrated treater terms them "incorrigible" or "untreatable" .... They hurt, and occasionally kill, people. They steal and/or destroy a great deal of property, and they repeatedly harm themselves. At the very least, they are extremely disruptive to the people they are around—in their homes, in schools, in placements, and in institutions.

While they cross all psychiatric categories and other differential diagnostic systems, the majority are labeled as "character" or "personality disordered" (Strasburg's middle category). "Aversive" refers to the effect these youths have on people, and "treatment evader" describes their ability to sabotage or resist attempts at intervention. Unlike the "emotionally disturbed" offender, who may be psychotic or neurotic, the character disordered youth "are generally thought of as having no conscience, little if any human emotion such as warmth and caring, an inability to profit from experience, illogical thinking, and a deep resistance to treatment" (Agee 1978: 15-16). Agee writes that many mental health professionals are inclined to prescribe a correctional setting for these youngsters, believing that firm controls, structure, and custody rather than more subtle treatment are needed. In addition, ATEs are often lower-class or minority group youths who are more likely to be labeled "not motivated or amenable for treatment." Some of the youth in CATC had essentially never broken the law, although their case histories are replete with assaultive, belligerent, uncontrollable, and dangerous behavior.

Even though all ATEs are very definitely not alike, they are a fairly small proportion of the adolescent population needing treatment, and it is thus most feasible to place them in one treatment setting. Youth of varying interpersonal maturity levels are then placed in one of two groups: "expressive" or "instrumental." Diagnosis for this purpose is based on the I-level classification system devised in California's Community Treatment Project (Warren 1961; Palmer 1974; Lerman 1975) and the work of Parsons (1951). Each diagnostic grouping reflects similar "sets" of responses to the environment. "Expressives" are youths who are overtly vulnerable, hurting, dependent, hypersensitive, and amenable to circumspection and self-appraisal. (In spite of the capacity for circumspection, it is seldom utilized by these youth for behavioral change.) "Instrumentals" appear cool, tough, independent, and nontrusting; blame is frequently externalized. Both groupings have poor self-images, expressives manifesting it through feelings of worthlessness and distress, and instrumentals appearing hard and autonomous.

Agee points out that in this program matching youth and workers on this same dichotomy has been effective. While, ideally, workers should demonstrate high levels of interpersonal maturity, Agee believes most, reared themselves as one or the other, will generally feel more comfortable and work better with youths with their own general tendencies. Thus, expressive staff are open with their own feelings and offer support and nurturance while expecting youth to accept personal responsibility for their feelings and behavior. Instrumental staff are more alert to behavioral issues and even though they can be quite critical and pointed, they tend not to violate the ATE's need for autonomy. While both ATE groups can benefit from being around the other, they do not have to be together for therapy, education, or other endeavors. Some degree of staff mixture also has its benefits:

> Although staff should be matched with youth, it is extremely difficult to have a well-run treatment setting without both instrumental and expressive staff. Very simply, it is very difficult to have structure and organization without instrumentals, or group processing without expressives. When these natural groupings work through their conflicts, they gain a great deal from each other (Agee: 30).

Regarding the issue of control versus support, Agee rejects the view that the presence of limits, structure, and control requires the absence of individual respect or caring, and vice versa. The two concepts are not distinct entities, each at opposing ends of the disciplinary technique continuum; they, in fact, merge together. The objective is to apply "concerned" controls and not "impersonal" controls. Put differently, given a decision on the level of security (i.e., heavy to light) that is necessary, the critical determination is the manner and method in which the specified level of security is reached.

A report on security issues prepared for the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services (1977) observes that the most desirable and effective method of maintaining security is through program size, adequate staffing, and program content, rather than dependence on high-level mechanical and physical constraints, e.g., brick, mortar, locks, and bars. High staff-to-client ratios permit staff the time to stay active with the youngsters while simultaneously keeping close tabs on developing negative subcultures and abuse. Agee suggests that while a secure building is needed for ATEs, it cannot be relied upon to prevent escapes. She, therefore, recommends an effective program plus a sufficient number of quality staff. The importance of intensive staffing for the exercise of control in a program is highlighted in a statement made by Vachss (1979: 318):

> We're talking about people security not mechanical security. In other words, we believe, like take a homosexual rape—that is not going to go down if personnel are on the job. Those kinds of things happen because you rely on mechanical security.

Thus, daily structured peer therapy controlled by a group leader in a closely supervised milieu lies at the heart of the CATC. Group participants are matched on the expressive-instrumental continuum. The leader who controls the session is similarly matched. The entire program is organized to support the group process. The therapeutic peer milieu is predicated on the idea that the clients, because of their poor self-images, are more easily influenced by peers:

> One of the keys is to temporarily bypass the conflict with authority and approach him through those he most wants to impress—his peers. That involves creating a peer milieu ... one in which peers can show open caring, can confront harmful, self-destructive behavior, can teach each other self-discipline, and can have fun (Agee 1979: 43).

Preliminary changes in clients in this relatively long-term program (average length of stay is fourteen months) are viewed as initially behavioral. Internalization of the changes requires a longer time of acting the part and receiving the reinforcement from others. The program maintains a series of promotional levels with increased responsibility and privileges, and advancement requires peer treatment group approval. There is also an early warning system whereby peers can "check and book" another youth. If validated by a staff member, a staff and peer discipline committee decides on the sanction (e.g., writing assignment, work detail). This process is intended to assure early identification of any developing problems and to provide prompt consequences. If peers do not "check and book" an acting-out youth and have no reasons for not doing so, they all can be penalized.

There is also a "time-out" room typically used for ten-minute intervals allowing youths time to regain control. Use of the room is predicated on the assumption that it is the frequency of "time-outs," not duration, which affects the learning of control over impulsivity. The purpose is to remove social reinforcement and decrease impulsive behavior. A point system is employed, with points (0 to 13) assigned twice a day in seven areas. The absence of negative points, while not ruling out negative reinforcement, keeps students from "getting in the hole" and emphasized a positive orientation. Concrete reinforcements (edibles and privileges) and social ones (praise) are used. This is based on the idea that concrete reinforcements initially convince the student to behave differently. As new behaviors are practiced they are reinforced socially and, hopefully, are internalized. The daily points are applied toward privileges unique to each level as well as to level promotions. Interestingly, youth begin the program in the middle of three levels. This is to provide an initial message that they are OK and will have a chance to prove they can act responsibly, and that there are privileges which can be lost if they are demoted to a lower level.

Students attend two hours of school daily in separate groups (instrumental and expressive) and receive points which can be exchanged for money. Occupational (i.e., crafts) and recreational therapy is provided in order to work on perceptual and sensory problems, build self-esteem, work cooperatively, teach basic skills, channel aggressions, and motivate avocational interests. Life skills are part of the structured time and they include consumerism, hygiene, nutrition, job hunting, budgeting, etc.

Individual therapists are assigned to each of the approximately twenty-six clients. The individual therapist decides whether or not to have regularly scheduled meetings. Sessions are ordinarily problem solving or "rapping"; this is in keeping with the assumption that the youths' major problems are interpersonal and best dealt with in group. The therapist is responsible for seeing that the treatment plan is completed and carried out. Family therapy is attempted with all families, though the goal may be to facilitate a positive termination.

One staff member at the program is assigned the job of facilitating reintegration (e.g., community survival skills, placement in a job or school) and providing follow-up crisis intervention and ongoing counseling for six months. Termination from the group involves dealing with separation from close friends, fear of the unknown, and possible behavioral regression. The program tries to provide opportunities for test situations and continuing pressure so that maladaptive behavioral reactions will emerge and can be dealt with promptly. There are increasingly longer community visits, and attempts are made to minimize separation anxiety from the program by encouraging calls, letters, or visits; letting students know that if possible they can see others who have been released; and scheduling periodic returns to attend group sessions.

ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL MODELS AND SETTINGS

Thus far, we have seen a number of different ways to classify and understand variations in the techniques and methods used in the treatment of more serious offenders. We have examined their assumptions and reviewed some opposing formulations. Briefly, we will now turn to several attempts which have been made to differentiate among facilities on the basis of overall goals and more generalized means, as opposed to the specific methods already discussed. These will later be incorporated into

sorting out some of the significant similarities and differences encountered in the services provided by the programs visited.

Street, Vinter, and Perrow (1966), in a study of six institutions for delinquents, distinguished between three major organizational goals: obedience and conformity, reeducation and development, and treatment. A fourth model, a mixed goal type which emphasizes custody and treatment goals simultaneously was not clearly identified with any of the institutions studied. It should also be noted that exposure to the outside community (e.g., school off grounds) was not a dimension specifically reflected in the various models.

Characteristic features of obedience and conformity included surveillance, frequent use of negative sanctions, discipline, hard work, order and conformity, high level of staff domination, and other corollaries of custody. Reeducation and development involves change through training, the acquisition of skills, involvement in work, study, and recreation, and the development of personal resources and new social behaviors. Treatment, both individual and milieu, focuses on psychological reconstitution and more thoroughgoing personality change.

Encompassed by these three models are five sets of beliefs which can imply causes and certainly implies change strategies. They are incarceration and deprivation, authority and obedience, learning, socialization, and therapy. Learning assumes that change will emerge from the acquisition of skills, knowledge, mental discipline, and responsible hard work. This is accomplished in the context of a structured environment and is best illustrated by the examples of military academies and religious orders. Socialization is built around the notion of nurturance. The idealized example is the family whereby little mass handling, individualization of reward and punishment, and normal development in a secure, supportive, patterned environment (with a well-rounded variety of activities in the company of house parents) can take place. In therapy, rehabilitation takes place through extensive changes in character and personality. The therapy model is highly dependent upon psychologically or psychiatrically trained professionals.

Ohlin (1974) distinguishes between three models: protective custody, clinical treatment, and therapeutic community. Protective custody merges Street's obedience/conformity and reeducation/development categories, because of their common paternalistic styles. Street's subtypes of treatment comprise separate categories in Ohlin's formulation. This is intended to emphasize the distinction between individual and group forms of treatment ideology and practices.

Feld's (1977) typology incorporates Ohlin's treatment-organization distinction and Street's custody-institution dichotomy. This typology identifies four different types of organizations.

TABLE 5

TYPOLOGY OF CORRECTIONAL STRATEGIES

	Custody	Treatment
Group-Oriented Intervention Strategy	Obedience/Conformity Protective Custody	Treatment (Group) Therapeutic Community
Individual-Oriented Intervention Strategy	Reeducation/Development Protective Custody	Treatment (Individual)

The typology reflects the relationship between organizational goals (ends) and intervention strategies (means). The four types of organizational alternatives can also be viewed in a historical context.

The group-custody or maximum-security model is based on assumptions of inmate free-will and deterrence, with historical analogues to the earliest institutional response to juvenile deviance in the nineteenth century. The individual-custody organization or industrial training school model, based on the assumptions of inadequate socialization, can be traced to the juvenile reformatories of the last third of the nineteenth century, which were organized around the cottage plan and emphasized moral development and vocational education. The individual treatment institutions, based on assumptions of individual pathology and a medical model, can be traced to the influence of Freudian psychology and the emergence of professional social work at the beginning of the twentieth century. The group-treatment model, based on assumptions of peer group dynamics, has only gained prominence within the past half-century (Feld 1977: 40-41).

Finally, in a study of residential institutions for emotionally disturbed children, Smucker (1975) points to two major categories of residential programs, one emphasizing "treatment" goals and the other focusing on "socialization." While both give primacy to behavioral change goals, the means for accomplishing them are quite distinct. According to Smucker there are two major philosophies out of which residential "treatment" emerges, clinical service and milieu. In the former, group living facilitates and supplements an individual therapeutic relationship. In milieu treatment, the total therapeutic environment (e.g., counseling, education, recreation, meals, limit setting) is utilized as the decisive treatment variable. Residential "socialization," on the other hand, also relies on a milieu, except that

the socialization milieu consists of concerned adults who are good role models and who balance kind discipline with helpful instruction and guidance. The residents spend most of their time in school, studying, and participating in "constructive" activities including both work and recreation. The therapeutic effort of the clinical staff in socialization institutions is directed toward helping the residents adapt to the institutional environment. Thus, the clinical program serves to facilitate the operation of the socialization milieu (Smucker 1975: 7-8).

In conclusion, we have looked at a variety of theoretical perspectives and typologies. They can be used singly or in various combinations as a means to analytically sort out what is taking place in particular correctional settings and why. In recognizing that real practice tends toward the eclectic, these different frameworks can only serve as guides for understanding what may be most appropriate for a given young offender under a particular set of circumstances. To the extent that these frameworks and principles can help in differentiating among the many methods carried out in various efforts—those currently contemplated, ongoing, or defunct—we can perhaps begin to more knowledgeably and systematically approach the formidable task of distinguishing what settings and approaches might best be used with distinct kinds of offenders.

CHAPTER IV

MODES OF ARTICULATION: ISSUES IN THE ORIGINS AND FUNDING OF PROGRAMS

A topical area crucial for understanding the nature of human service programming—one especially germane for developing a sense of the problems and issues associated with planning and implementation—is the larger environment within which specific programs emerge. In order to convey the idea that this area of inquiry entails the identification and exploration of a wide variety of interrelated factors which have played some role in shaping all eleven programs, we have coined the term "modes of articulation" to describe the overarching framework for this section of the report.

Contained within this framework are two primary sets of variables. First, there are those factors which are directly involved with the social ecology of these programs. They include: (1) dates of origin, (2) principal actors, (3) the support environment, and (4) the catchment area. Second, there are those factors which are directly involved with program financing, including: (1) annual operating budget, (2) sources of funding, and (3) public/private status of programs.

For purposes of comparison we have decided in our discussion of modes of articulation to examine key variables by program grouping. Each variable will be considered in terms of its relevance for, first, residential programs and, second, nonresidential programs. If we feel that additional comparison of particular variables across the total range of programs might be valuable, such analysis will be included following the two initial comparisons of each variable. This wider comparison of variables will only occur in some cases.

START-UP DATES

The first variable we will examine in this section of the report is dates of program origins. This initial step should provide the reader with some sense of the comparative time frames when various programs were being developed and implemented.

DATES OF ORIGIN: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

The dates when the five residential programs we visited were established and began to accept clients ranged from as early as 1973 to as late as 1979. Two began in 1976 and one in 1978.

TABLE 6

START-UP DATES AND LOCATIONS: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Residential Programs	Location	Start-up Date
1. Vindicate Society	Newark, New Jersey	July 1973
2. ARC Residential Treatment	Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	January 1976
3. PORT Boys' Group Home	Rochester, Minnesota	May 1976
4. Esperanza Para Manana	Salt Lake City, Utah	March 1978
5. Florida Keys Marine Institute	Key West, Florida	July 1979

Other than in New Jersey, none of these efforts was initiated early in the widespread move to develop community-based programs for juvenile offenders who were either being removed from correctional institutions or being diverted from further penetration into the system. This fact suggests an early reluctance by most program planners and administrators to allow this difficult juvenile population to be placed in community-based settings. Most early programming of this sort was designed to provide services for so-called "lightweight" youngsters such as status offenders, who were generally thought to be more manageable. Not until later in the "alternatives movement" did programs for serious offenders begin to come into being.

DATES OF ORIGIN: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

The period during which the six nonresidential programs were being initiated ranged only from 1977 to 1978. One program began early in 1977, and the other five programs were launched at various times in 1978.

TABLE 7

START-UP DATES AND LOCATIONS: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Nonresidential Programs	Location	Starting Date
1. Project Vision	New Haven, Connecticut	February 1977
2. Copper Mountain Adolescent Day Treatment Center	Murray, Utah	January 1978
3. Key Tracking Plus	Springfield, Massachusetts	February 1978
4. Katahdin: A Workshop for Youth	Minneapolis, Minnesota	May 1978
5. Transitional Center	Gretna, Louisiana	June 1978
6. Viable Alternatives to Institutionalization	St. Petersburg, Florida	October 1978

It is obvious that the six nonresidential programs selected for our visits were all established within a remarkably short period of time—less than twenty-one months. Both they and the residential centers were opened rather late in the nationwide move to develop community-based programs, again reflecting the early priorities placed upon the alternative treatment of less serious offenders.

Our sample of both residential and nonresidential programs for serious juvenile offenders suggests that, as a group, the nonresidential programs were launched several years after the residential programs had already been established. This pattern suggests that the treatment of this difficult population was early thought to require close supervision and a rather intense level of control best achieved in residential settings. Only quite recently has it been decided that certain such offenders could be retained in their own family settings and be placed in day treatment programs.

PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN SERIOUS OFFENDER PROGRAMS

The second important variable which will be considered in the context of the development and implementation of alternatives is those actors directly involved in the creation of specific programs. These individuals will be examined primarily with respect to the roles they played in the emergence of serious offender programs in specific settings. In general, the efforts to create new programs assumed one of two forms in terms of the particular set/s of actors involved in planning, development, and

implementation. On occasion, there occurred collaborations representing the collective actions of two or more groups of individuals with different organizational interests and allegiances. At other times, the emergence of a program resulted from the largely isolated activity of one or several persons who designed an alternative program without much direct outside collaboration or assistance.

RESIDENTIAL PROGRAM PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT, AND IMPLEMENTATION

Of the five residential programs, only Vindicate Society was launched as a non-collaborative endeavor through the work of a single individual, Benjamin Amos. As early as 1971, Amos, who had worked earlier as a community worker for the YMCA in Newark's inner city, developed Vindicate Society's essential elements while running its precursor for two years without funding in a public housing project. When LEAA initiated the High Impact Anti-Crime Legislation in 1973 and selected Newark as one of the eight target cities, Amos obtained a three-year grant with which to set up an incorporated program. Although Amos did receive technical assistance from the Newark Office of Criminal Justice Planning in developing a proposal for the LEAA grant program, the creation of the Vindicate Society model and its actual implementation in the inner city of Newark was largely the result of the work of one individual.

The four remaining residential programs all involved some degree of collaboration between individuals who wanted to put together an operational program and other sets of persons who had professional interests in seeing alternative programming set up; for example, the development of a residential program by Florida Keys Marine Institute (FKMI) involved collaboration with the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS), which has authority over juvenile corrections in Florida. FKMI, one of seven statewide agencies affiliated with Associated Marine Institutes, had been operating as an alternative school since 1976 and was interested in enlarging and further consolidating its operations. HRS wanted to establish a small residential program to serve as an alternative for seriously delinquent youngsters in District 11, which consisted of Monroe County (the Florida Keys) and Dade County (primarily the city of Miami). HRS was willing to close a cottage at the State Training School in order to provide money to fund the new program.

The development of Esperanza Para Manana represented a close collaboration between two well-known and respected Hispanic community organizations in Salt Lake City, the Institute of Human Resource Development (IHRD) and SOCIO, and the Division of Family Services (DFS), the branch of state government exercising control over youth corrections in Utah. IHRD and SOCIO, which had for several years been active in procuring social services for the Hispanic community, became increasingly involved in developing a role as an actual service provider. When in 1977 the state received a large LEAA grant with which to create an alternative network for juvenile offenders, DFS developed a mechanism, Community Alternatives for Troubled Youth (CATY) to dispense this funding. When bids were issued for establishing community-based placements for severely delinquent youths, IHRD and SOCIO responded with a proposal for the creation of a Hispanic group home for delinquent adolescent males, namely Esperanza Para Manana.

In the case of ARC (Alternative Rehabilitation Communities) Residential Treatment Program, the collaboration involved two sets of actors. Two young men from

Harrisburg with entrepreneurial spirits and an interest in human services, Daniel Elby and Robert McKendrick, responded to a public announcement issued by the Center for Community Alternatives (CCA) for the development of community-based alternatives for incarcerated juvenile offenders who were being removed from a large, secure facility, Camp Hill Penitentiary. CCA had been created by Jerome Miller, who was serving as commissioner of the Office of Children and Youth (the agency having responsibility for youth corrections in the state), for the purpose of relocating youths who had been incarcerated at Camp Hill into a network of community-based programs. This particular effort represented part of Miller's greater strategy to deinstitutionalize Pennsylvania's juvenile correctional facilities. Elby and McKendrick met with Miller about the possibility of establishing a program to be funded by CCA.

PORT, likewise, represented the collaboration of various actors from the private sector and the local justice system who were interested in seeing the development of community-based alternatives for delinquent youngsters. Although the Boys Group Home, which is our primary concern, was started in 1976, largely through the individual efforts of the PORT corporation, the establishment in 1969 of the larger umbrella was a truly collective endeavor. The move to create the parent corporation represented a recognition on the part of a number of prominent citizens in Rochester, Minnesota, that a need existed for community-based programs to provide alternatives to incarceration for juvenile offenders. At this point in time—the late 1960s—the deinstitutionalization movement was only beginning to have an impact on the thinking of concerned citizens in Minnesota.

Initial efforts to generate interest in this kind of juvenile justice programming were made in 1967 by two local judges. Once PORT was launched with private foundation money, a very prominent criminal justice expert, Kenneth Schoen, was chosen to be the first executive director of the agency. Within a few years he was to serve as commissioner of the Department of Corrections for the state of Minnesota during a period of major reform and to be instrumental in the passage of the Minnesota Community Corrections Act of 1973.

In comparing the role of various actors in planning, developing, and implementing the five residential programs, several issues other than that four of the five programs involved collaborative efforts present themselves readily and seem to be worthy of comment. First, there is an apparent dichotomy which seems to revolve around whether the efforts to organize these programs relied primarily upon persons who were prominent and/or held key positions in the local community and constituted some sort of social service elite or relied primarily upon persons who had strong ties to local neighborhoods and could best be described as "grass roots" organizers. This opposition between an elitist orientation and a grass-roots orientation for program development was sharply drawn in most of the programs.

Both PORT and Florida Keys Marine Institute were examples of programs having ties to elite elements, either in terms of the prominence of the program organizers themselves or in terms of professional ties with important actors in the criminal justice/human services establishment. While PORT originated in a setting where there was widespread community support among prominent citizens such as businessmen and judges, FKMI was part of a large human service corporation, Associated Marine Institute, which worked closely with that agency of state government, the Department

of Health and Rehabilitation Services, responsible for developing alternative programming for youthful offenders.

In contrast, both Vindicate Society and ARC were examples of programs with strong grass-roots orientations. In the case of Vindicate Society, one perceives a situation where the director not only was almost solely responsible for his program's existence but also strongly identified with the inner city of Newark from which he himself had sprung. Likewise, ARC was a program which depended for survival upon the grass-roots efforts of its two founders, one of whom also had strong ties with the ghetto neighborhoods of Harrisburg. The emergence and persistence of ARC resulted from the ability of these individuals to develop community support and professional credibility, based upon their success with a difficult delinquent population. Before this program enlarged its scope of operation and moved to a middle-class neighborhood, it operated in a marginal fashion for a number of months in a small apartment above a neighborhood bar in one of the city's worse ghetto areas.

Finally with respect to the dichotomy we have been discussing, Esperanza fits into a separate category in tl.at it exhibits qualities of both elitist and grass-roots orientations. Although the intention behind organizing Esperanza was clearly tied to the goal of providing badly needed services to a minority group population in Salt Lake City and was part of a larger community organizing strategy, those actors (IHRD and SOCIO) who represented the Hispanic community in planning and developing the program were representatives of the social and intellectual elite of that community. The kind of social hierarchical mix present in the origins of Esperanza is not especially surprising, since elite segments of ethnic minorities frequently assume brokerage roles as grass-roots managers for human service delivery. For the purposes of our analysis, we will refer to Esperanza as a program with an elite orientation in origins.

NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAM PLANNING, DEVELOPMENT, AND IMPLEMENTATION

Of the six nonresidential programs, only Katahdin and Transitional Center were largely noncollaborative endeavors. In the case of Katahdin, five outreach workers for various youth-serving agencies in Minneapolis had decided there was a need to develop a day treatment program for severely delinquent youngsters in the local area, since no such services were available at that time. They were able to obtain planning funds from two local foundations. Eventually, implementation monies were obtained through the state planning agency, the Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board. This endeavor did not involve in any significant way collaboration between the founders of Katahdin and any of the important organizational actors from the local juvenile justice arena. Nor did the establishment of Katahdin entail any support activities on the part of the prominent citizens in the city of Minneapolis.

Although the development of Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court Transitional Center was also a rather isolated undertaking in terms of the surrounding social environment, the circumstances for the creation of this program were quite different from Katahdin. The idea for establishing the program originated with Lois Foxall, Director of Juvenile Court Services in Jefferson Parish, who wanted to initiate a day treatment program providing a wide array of services for youths who had been adjudicated delinquent but would benefit from not being placed in secure, custodial care. In 1976,

when the idea for this program was germinating, no alternative programs for adjudicated delinquents in Jefferson Parish existed.

Aided by her staff, Foxall undertook an extensive survey of day treatment programs in operation in the U.S. for delinquent youngsters. Based upon this search, the Foxall team designed what they felt was an appropriate model for the needs of the local jurisdiction. Funds for launching the program were obtained through the state planning agency (Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice) in the form of a three-year federal grant. Although Transitional Center was developed by Jefferson Parish Court Services as an alternative resource for the court system and operates as a public agency, the founder did not rely upon other organizational actors in the local juvenile justice system or upon community support in the form of prominent citizens to achieve her ends. Although both sources of support were easily available, she chose not to use them, at least not in any obvious fashion.

The origins of the four remaining nonresidential programs can all be traced to collaborative activity. The founding of Project Vision depended upon the collective work of various organizational actors including the Youth Division of the New Haven Police Department, the South Central Criminal Justice Supervisory Board (the local planning unit for LEAA), and the New Haven Boys' Clubs. The police and the planning board had recognized the lack of any community-based, day treatment services for "hardcore," juvenile offenders under the active supervision of the juvenile court or the Department of Children and Youth Services. Up to that point in time, local youth-serving agencies focused their attention on less severely delinquent offenders.

The administrator of the Boys' Clubs agreed to operate a day treatment program for youthful offenders who had traditionally been placed in residential settings, frequently even in secure, custodial facilities. An appropriate model was located in Massachusetts, the Community Advancement Program (CAP), which had been used as an outreach mechanism in that state's deinstitutionalization efforts. Funds for implementing the model were obtained from the city of New Haven through the Community Development Act, a federally funded project providing grants for working with delinquent youth.

As a collaborative effort, the origination of Key Tracking Plus entailed the combined work of representatives of the Key Program Inc., the umbrella corporation which designed the program, and staff members from Region I of the Department of Youth Services (DYS), the state agency responsible for operating youth corrections in Massachusetts. The discussions between these two sets of organizational actors centered upon DYS's interest in developing a highly supervised nonresidential program as a last step before ordering secure institutional care for Region I's most difficult cases. Since DYS relies exclusively upon a purchase-of-service model for providing treatment for the state's entire population of adjudicated delinquents who have been committed to its care by the juvenile courts, it was necessary to locate a service provider who could develop an innovative day treatment program for severely delinquent youths. The Key Program Inc. possessed considerable expertise in developing community-based programs of various types, dating back to the initial closing of Massachusetts' training schools in the early 1970s. Consequently, DYS contracted this large-scale vendor to develop such a program, namely Key Tracking Plus, in the Springfield/Holyoke metropolitan area.

The nature of collaborative activity in the creation of Viable Alternatives to Institutionalization of Juveniles Program (VAP) closely resembled that which occurred in the development of another Florida-based program, Florida Keys Marine Institute, discussed earlier under the heading of residential programs. As was the case with FKMI, the process of program development was based upon a negotiation between a parent vendor corporation—in this instance Juvenile Services Program Inc., which operates six other youth programs under a single administrative umbrella in St. Petersburg, Florida—and the Department of Health and Rehabilitation Services, which frequently sought to enlarge its network of community-based alternatives for delinquent youngsters committed to its custody. In 1978, HRS had decided that there was a gap in its array of services, specifically in its day treatment programming for seriously delinquent offenders. The program was launched as a pilot project with LEAA funding made available through the state planning agency.

Another example of collaborative program planning and development within the same state occurs with the Copper Mountain Mental Health Adolescent Day Treatment Center. Here the similarity traces to Esperanza Para Manana, a residential program discussed earlier, which is also located in the state of Utah. As with Esperanza, a call for alternative programming issued by the Division of Family Services through the granting mechanism of Community Alternatives for Troubled Youth led a group to respond and to a request for the development of a broad-based community program utilizing as many already existing public and private resources as possible and offering a variety of services.

In responding to the DFS announcement, several individuals at Copper Mountain Mental Health Center (CMMH), a public agency falling under the auspice of the County Department of Social Services, developed a proposal entailing the participation of several other service providers. In addition to CMMH, Odyssey House and the YMCA of Utah were to be involved. CMMH offered to serve as the primary contractor with DYS and in that role to take responsibility for the day-to-day administrative operations and to provide psychological/psychiatric services. Further, CMMH would subcontract with Odyssey for the provision of educational and tracking components and with the YMCA for recreation. This service framework was unlike any other we encountered in our site visits in that it combined both public and private agencies within a single vendor format. This structure was negotiated with DFS and eventually agreed upon as an acceptable model for implementation. The day treatment program began in January of 1978 as one of CATY's pilot projects.

In comparing the nonresidential programs with respect to the elite/grass-roots dichotomy, five of the six programs clearly had their origins rooted in an elite orientation. Only Katahdin emerged as an essentially grass-roots effort. In that program, all five founders had occupied line staff roles as outreach workers for various youth-serving agencies and had minimal contact with the higher echelons of the juvenile justice/human service hierarchy in their local community. Although aided by planning grants from local foundations, they had to depend entirely upon their own ingenuity and competence in order to sustain the program.

In contrast to Katahdin, the five other programs had support from elite elements in their environments in terms of linkages with larger, parent corporations already engaged in service delivery for delinquent youngsters and/or in terms of established channels of communication with important organizational actors in the juvenile justice

arena. Two of these programs, Transitional Center and Copper Mountain, were spin-offs of public agencies. This fact placed them in a somewhat advantageous position with respect to obtaining funding and clients. In addition, their organizational affiliations provided them with some degree of credibility prior to and during implementation. The principal difference between the public affiliation of the two programs is that Transitional Center is tied to a juvenile justice auspice, Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court Services, whereas Copper Mountain is linked to a county mental health center.

The three remaining nonresidential programs with elite ties (Project Vision, Key Tracking Plus, and Viable Alternatives) are all linked to larger corporate umbrellas each of which had long-established, working relationships with key bureaucratic actors within the juvenile justice system. In the case of Project Vision, the affiliation is with the New Haven Boys' Clubs; Key Tracking Plus is affiliated with Key Program Inc.; and Viable Alternatives is affiliated with Juvenile Services Program Inc.

THE SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENT

The next variable to be examined in terms of all eleven programs is the nature of the support environment. Essentially, this will be an inquiry into certain important characteristics of the social ecology of the jurisdictions in which these programs are located. By support environment we are referring specifically to those organizational/bureaucratic forces, individual actors, historical patterns, and regional demographics molding that sociocultural climate in which all juvenile justice activities for a particular jurisdiction take place.

A number of the more general characteristics of the local support environment have already been described in some detail in the preceding discussion of the principal actors. These accounts have touched upon most of the factors listed above. However, it is important to extend this description to include documentation of the relative time frames in which these programs were put into place. Was a particular program created when a deinstitutionalization strategy was initially being implemented in a specific jurisdiction; at a later date when some sort of alternative network was already in existence; with no reference to any such broad program development?

A sense of the relationship between the launching of an individual program and the stage of evaluation of the deinstitutionalization process in the jurisdiction in which it is situated can be helpful in understanding the internal/external dynamics of the programs in question. Insight into programs' structures, procedures, goals, and articulations with the wider systems can thus be facilitated. For purposes of categorization we will talk about this temporal relationship through the use of the terms, first- and second-generation programs, although these designations will, to some degree, distort the intricacies of the process.

THE GENERATIONAL FACTOR IN RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Of the residential programs, three (Vindicate Society, ARC, and Esperanza) were first-generation programs, and two (PORT and Florida Keys Marine Institute) were second-generation programs. Of course, within these groupings are a number of

interesting and important patterns, especially with respect to variation, or lack of it, in each of the categories.

The acceptance of clients by Vindicate Society in July of 1973 was a venture into largely uncharted waters in New Jersey. Money and planning were only beginning to be channeled into deinstitutionalization projects in the state. The LEAA High Impact Anti-Crime grant program (especially to the extent it affected the juvenile justice arena) became a major stimulus for the development of community-based programming. A number of alternative programs for various kinds of juvenile offenders were funded in Newark simultaneously with the beginning of Vindicate Society.

The establishment of ARC was a first-generational endeavor and reflected the impact of Jerome Miller in his swing through three northern, industrial states—Massachusetts and Illinois being the other two—as a radical change agent. In each of these states he held a crucial appointive position overseeing certain aspects of child welfare in state governmental bureaucracy. From these vantage points he attempted to effect fundamental change in juvenile justice practices, namely, closing the state juvenile reformatories and offering as an alternative a set of community-based programs serving the vast majority of delinquent youngsters. The response of the founders of ARC to Miller's deinstitutionalization effort in Pennsylvania led to the program's emergence in January of 1976. Although a first-generation program, the development of ARC benefited from the learnings from the Massachusetts experiment several years earlier.

As a first-generation program, Esperanza was also an example of a pilot project being launched in a state where serious attempts to deinstitutionalize youth corrections had begun quite late in relation to developments in a number of other states. The move to develop a broad-based alternative network did not begin until 1977, with LEAA's awarding an $800,000 grant (discretionary funding) to the Division of Family Services for the purpose of constructing a network of community-based programs (the CATY project). Yet, as was the case with ARC in Pennsylvania, those persons who were actually involved in the planning of pilot programs such as Esperanza were able to proceed with a sense of direction, since they could readily build on the experiences of programmers in other states in which the deinstitutionalization movement had begun much earlier. In fact, the impact of Jerome Miller was felt directly in the early stages of the Utah experiment, since he spent considerable time in 1977 in the state consulting with officials in DFS on the subject of developing an alternative network for delinquent youngsters.

The two second-generation, residential programs (PORT Boys' Group Home and Florida Keys Marine Institute) were in some important ways quite similar in origin. Both were part of large corporate umbrellas which had early been involved in their respective jurisdictions in the arena of alternative programming for juvenile offenders. In the case of PORT Boys' Group Home, its sponsoring corporation, PORT, had been founded in 1969 in the initial effort to introduce alternative programming in Rochester, Minnesota. The development of the Boys' Group Home followed a fairly long tradition of community-based programs for delinquent youngsters. Likewise, FKMI was affiliated with a larger corporation, Associated Marine Institutes, which had begun operations at a time (1969) when the first experiments with community-based programming for delinquents were being tested in Florida. Perhaps the most important

departure for FKMI from previous AMI experiences was that it was the first residential program developed within the framework of this umbrella.

In looking for patterns in this distribution of residential programs, one notes that among the first-generation programs two (Vindicate Society and ARC) were grass-roots, noncollaborative effort. Both of the second-generation programs (PORT Boys' Group Home and Florida Keys Marine Institute) had been elite, collaborative endeavors.

THE GENERATIONAL FACTOR IN NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Of the nonresidential programs, two (Copper Mountain Mental Health Adolescent Day Treatment Center and Transitional Center) were first-generation programs, and four (Project Vision, Key Tracking Plus, Katahdin, and Viable Alternatives) were second-generation programs. As was the case with the residential programs, interesting variations occurred within the two generational groupings.

The appearance of Copper Mountain as a first-generation program in Utah occurred essentially under the same circumstances which led to the creation of Esperanza. To avoid redundancy, one can simply say that Copper Mountain was one of the pilot programs funded by CATY in the first wave of deinstitutionalization efforts for juvenile offenders in the state of Utah. Transitional Center represents another endeavor (similar in this aspect to Copper Mountain and Esperanza) which started in the vanguard of deinstitutionalization efforts in its own jurisdiction but was launched, comparatively, quite late in terms of the evolution of community-based programs nationwide. In fact, Transitional Center, which was opened in June of 1978, is apparently the only formal alternative program for juvenile offenders in the entire Jefferson Parish. At the time of our site visit, the use of such programs for delinquents was apparently not widespread in Louisiana.

Of the four nonresidential programs which were second generation in origins, two (Katahdin and Key Tracking Plus) emerged in states (Minnesota and Massachusetts, respectively) which have developed national reputations as forerunners in the early efforts to develop community-based alternatives for juvenile offenders. Katahdin was developed in Minneapolis in 1978 in response to a perceived gap in community-based services already in existence. In that locality most alternative programming had been designed to provide residential placement for delinquents. The appearance of Key Tracking Plus as a second generation in Massachusetts' alternative programming experiment resulted from a collaborative effort between the program's parent corporation and the Department of Youth Services with the goal of adding an innovative element.

The two remaining nonresidential programs with second-generation origins (Viable Alternatives and Project Vision) also arose in states (Florida and Connecticut, respectively) where deinstitutionalization efforts can be traced to the end of the 1960s. These states were part of that group which were involved in the first wave of deinstitutionalization experiments. In the case of Viable Alternatives, the parent corporation was already operating six other community-based programs for delinquent youngsters, representing a wide range of services and distinct offender populations. The effort to develop such networking originated with the Department of Health and

Rehabilitative Services conducting community-based experiments as early as 1969. The development of Project Vision in New Haven, Connecticut, was tied to a circumstance just cited in the discussion of Katahdin. The recognition by various organizational actors that a gap in alternative services existed and could best be remedied with the creation of a day treatment program designed for a special population set the stage for Project Vision's emergence. Although a number of residential alternatives for seriously delinquent youngsters had arisen in the local jurisdiction, no program treating these kinds of offenders but allowing them to remain in their own homes had been designed. In this instance a very early model (Community Advancement Program) from the neighboring state of Massachusetts was selected for implementation.

In looking at the generational pattern of these nonresidential programs from the perspective of two other aspects of their origins: the collaborative/noncollaborative dichotomy and the elite/grass-roots dichotomy, we found the following distribution: Of the two first-generation programs, Copper Mountain was collaborative and elite in origins while Transitional Center was noncollaborative and elite in origins. Of the four second-generation programs, three (Project Vision, Key Tracking Plus, and Viable Alternatives) were collaborative and elite in origins while the fourth program (Katahdin) was both noncollaborative and grass roots in origins.

COMPARISON OF FACTORS IN THE ORIGINS OF THE ELEVEN PROGRAMS

In looking at all eleven programs with respect to the distribution of the principal variables in origins discussed to this point, one finds the following distribution of characteristics.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS ACROSS THE GENERATIONAL FACTOR

	First Generation	Second Generation
Total Number of Programs	5 programs	6 programs
Residential/Nonresidential Dichotomy	3 residential programs 2 nonresidential programs	2 residential programs 4 nonresidential programs
Elite/Grass Roots Dichotomy	2 elite, collaborative programs 2 grass roots, noncollaborative programs	5 elite, collaborative programs 1 grass roots, noncollaborative program
Collaborative/Noncollaborative Dichotomy	1 elite, noncollaborative program	

Probably the most interesting aspect of this distribution of characteristics concerns the patterning of the elite grass-roots and collaborative/noncollaborative dichotomies across the generational factor. Clearly, a wider range in combination of characteristics occurred in first-generation programs. Although the two elite, collaborative efforts in the first generation were divided into a residential (Esperanza) and a nonresidential program (Copper Mountain), both were alternatives launched in the state of Utah. In contrast, both of the grass-roots, noncollaborative efforts in the first generation (Vindicate Society and ARC) were residential. In terms of second-generation efforts, five programs were elite, collaborative efforts, and only one program was a grass-roots, noncollaborative effort. Of the five collaborative efforts, two were residential programs (PORT and Florida Keys Marine Institute—the only residential programs in the second-generation grouping), and three were nonresidential programs (Key Tracking Plus, Viable Alternatives, and Project Vision). The second-generation program which fell outside of both patterns (grass roots and noncollaborative) was nonresidential (Katahdin).

Finally, in discussing the origins of these programs from a generational perspective, it is crucial to realize that in most instances, whether the program was a first-or second-generation effort, it was usually the only alternative designed for the serious juvenile offender to have been introduced in its jurisdiction. This fact caused most such efforts to have a pilot project aura about their emergence. Only in the case of the development of two second-generation serious offender programs were there clear antecedents in the local support environment, namely Katahdin in Minnesota and Key Tracking Plus in Massachusetts. Yet, the fact that both were nonresidential and necessarily innovative in nature also produced an air of experimentation about their creation. Certainly the lateness in emergence of all nonresidential programs points to the innovative quality which must have characterized all of these efforts.

THE CATCHMENT AREA

The next variable to be examined from the realm of issues regarding these programs' environments and origins is the nature of the catchment area. In each program we visited, we found, not surprisingly, the presence of guidelines governing where clients could be drawn from. For our purposes we will label this as the formal catchment area. Sometimes programs will receive clients from all parts of these carefully delineated zones of origin, but often, referrals are regularly received from only certain parts of the total catchment area. We are labeling this area of actual referral as the primary service area. In the two following tables are presented the nature of these arrangements for both residential and nonresidential programs.

TABLE 9

THE GEOGRAPHIC STRUCTURING OF REFERRALS:
RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Program	Formal Catchment Area	Primary Service Area
1. Florida Keys Marine Institute	Dade and Monroe Counties	Dade County, especially the Greater Miami Metropolitan Area
2. Esperanza Para Manana	State of Utah	Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Provo
3. ARC	26 counties in Central Pennsylvania	The 8 counties which have been referring regularly since 1978
4. Vindicate Society	State of New Jersey	Urban areas in New Jersey outside of Essex County (city of Newark)
5. PORT Boys' Group Home	Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmstead Counties	Olmstead County, especially the city of Rochester

TABLE 10

THE GEOGRAPHIC STRUCTURING OF REFERRALS:
NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Program	Formal Catchment Area	Primary Service Area
1. Project Vision	New Haven County	The Hill and Dixwell communities in the city of New Haven
2. Katahdin	Hennepin County	Inner city Minneapolis

TABLE 10 (Continued)

Program	Formal Catchment Area	Primary Service Area
3. Copper Mountain	State of Utah	Salt Lake County which consists primarily of Salt Lake City and Murray
4. Viable Alternatives	Pinellas County	The 10 square miles of St. Petersburg surrounding the program site
5. Key Tracking Plus	Region I of DYS's Statewide Organization (Western Massachusetts)	Greater Springfield/Holyoke Metropolitan Area
6. Transitional Center	Jefferson Parish	Jefferson Parish

THE FORMAL AREA: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

With respect to the size of the formal catchment areas, the residential programs varied enormously. Two of the programs (Esperanza and Vindicate Society) had mandates to accept juvenile offenders from anywhere in their respective states of Utah and New Jersey. ARC also possessed a large formal catchment area consisting of twenty-six counties in central Pennsylvania. This area was isomorphic with the central region of the state's Department of Public Welfare, which exercised authority over juvenile correctional facilities and programs. Florida Keys Marine Institute and PORT Boys' Group Home had considerably smaller formal catchment areas, with the former theoretically drawing youngsters from Dade and Monroe Counties in south Florida and the latter from Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmstead Counties in southeast Minnesota.

Each of the formal catchment areas for the five residential programs contained a mix of urban and rural settings. Four of these programs (Esperanza in Salt Lake City, ARC in Harrisburg, Vindicate Society in Newark, and PORT in Rochester) were actually located within the city boundaries of the largest urban locality in the formal catchment area. The remaining program, Florida Keys Marine Institute, was located in the city of Key West, but the largest metropolitan area from which clients were drawn, the city of Miami, was located 160 miles north at the head of the Keys.

THE PRIMARY SERVICE AREA: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

None of the residential programs had primary service areas which corresponded exactly with the formal catchment areas. In the case of the two programs which had

statewide formal catchment areas (Esperanza and Vindicate Society), clients were drawn overwhelmingly from a smaller set of geographical locations within these states. Ninety percent of Esperanza's clients come from the cities of Salt Lake and Ogden, and the remaining 10 percent came from the city of Provo. Most of the severely delinquent Hispanic youths in Utah resided in these three urban areas. The vast majority of Vindicate Society's clients come from urban settings in New Jersey other than Essex County, which consists primarily of the city of Newark. This situation represents a radical change from the initial geographical mix of clients from the primary service area, which coincided closely with the referral pattern specified in the definition of the formal catchment area. The original mix of clients consisted approximately of 57 percent from Newark, 23 percent from elsewhere in Essex County, and 20 percent from elsewhere in New Jersey. Reasons behind a marked shift in the primary service area will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

The remaining three residential programs, which had smaller formal catchment areas consisting of specified numbers of counties, tended to draw most clients from only one or several areas within the larger county designations. For example, Florida Keys Marine Institute's primary service area consisted of only Dade County (especially the Greater Miami Metropolitan Area) in spite of the fact that Monroe County had been included in the formal catchment area. This divergence in referrals primarily reflected the fact that the juvenile courts in Monroe County (consisting of all the Florida Keys) adjudicated as delinquent only those youngsters whose cases were extremely severe in terms of presenting offenses. Based upon the degree of seriousness of these cases, most adjudicated juvenile offenders in Monroe County who had been committed to the custody of HRS were only eligible for placement in the state's juvenile training school. This situation represents an example of regional values and customary court practices affecting dramatically the structuring of the primary service area of one of the programs in our sample.

ARC's primary service area consists of those eight counties (Dauphin, Lancester, Cumberland, Lehigh, York, Franklin, Lackawanna, and Centre) from which all clients have been referred over the past several years (1978 to 1980). Prior to that time (1976 to 1978) a few clients had been drawn from some of the other counties in the formal catchment area. Clients currently participating in the program come from a mix of urban, small-town, and rural settings.

In the case of PORT, the primary service area is Olmstead County where the city of Rochester is located. In fact, at the time of our site visit all clients had been residents of Rochester prior to their placement in PORT.

THE FORMAL AREA: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

With respect to the size of the formal catchment areas, the nonresidential programs also varied enormously. Only one of the programs (Copper Mountain Adolescent Day Treatment Center) had a mandate to accept clients from anywhere in the entire state. In addition, only one of the programs (Key Tracking Plus) had a formal catchment area designated as multicounty. This area corresponded to the boundaries of Region I of DYS.

The other four nonresidential programs possessed formal catchment areas consisting of a single county (or, as in the case of Transition Center, its equivalent under the Napoleonic code, the parish). The formal catchment area of Project Vision was New Haven County; Katahdin's was Hennepin County; Viable Alternatives' was Pinellas County; and Transitional Center's was Jefferson Parish. It is important to note that with the vast majority of the programs—both residential and nonresidential—the defining unit for the catchment area is the county, a fact suggesting that in almost all programs the judicial machinery for processing delinquent youngsters was also defined by county. Juvenile courts tend to be embedded in some apparatus of the county level of government, although there are exceptions.

Formal catchment areas for only two (Copper Mountain and Key Tracking Plus) of the six nonresidential programs contained a mix of urban and rural settings; in both instances clients were referred to the programs from rural areas only on rare occasions. The remaining four programs (Project Vision in New Haven, Katahdin in Minneapolis, Key Tracking Plus in Springfield, and Transitional Center in the Greater New Orleans Metropolitan Area) were located within the city boundaries of the largest urban locality in the formal catchment area. It should be noted, however, that Transitional Center is, technically, located in a satellite community of New Orleans directly across the Mississippi River on "the West Bank." Demographically, this locality is essentially identical with New Orleans with respect to violative behavior on the part of juveniles.

THE PRIMARY SERVICE AREA: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

None of the nonresidential programs had primary service areas which corresponded exactly with the formal catchment areas although Transitional Center seemed to draw clients from most of Jefferson Parish. This service area included neighborhoods on both the east and west sides of the Mississippi River. Clients who were coming from the east side of the river were eligible for participation, however, only if they resided in those parts of the Greater New Orleans Metropolitan Area lying outside of Orleans Parish, which contains most of the city proper. Of the other nonresidential programs which possessed single-county formal catchment areas (Project Vision, Katahdin, and Viable Alternatives), all seemed to draw their clients primarily from small surrounding areas not extending more than several miles in radius. For example, the primary service area for Project Vision is the Hill and Dixwell neighborhoods in the city of New Haven. They are both economically deprived, inner-city areas lying side by side, with the program's being located in the northwest sector of the Hill community. In the case of Katahdin, the primary service area is two inner-city neighborhoods on the near south side and north side of Minneapolis within several miles of the location of the program. The primary service area for Viable Alternatives is the ten-square-mile zone of St. Petersburg surrounding the program.

The two remaining nonresidential programs which had larger formal catchment areas (Copper Mountain and Key Tracking Plus) possessed primary service areas which, in each instance, consisted of several urban localities. In the case of Copper Mountain, clients were usually drawn from either Salt Lake City or Murray, Utah. In the case of Key Tracking Plus, clients were usually drawn from Springfield or Holyoke. These two localities were contiguous and together constituted the Greater Springfield/Holyoke Metropolitan Area.

COMPARISON OF FORMAL CATCHMENT AREAS AND PRIMARY SERVICE AREAS FOR THE ELEVEN PROGRAMS

In comparing the total array of programs with respect to the formal catchment area, one quickly discerns a striking pattern. With the exception of Copper Mountain and Key Tracking Plus, the nonresidential programs tended, typically, to have smaller formal catchment areas than did the residential programs. This feature of the distribution in size of catchment area across the two major program types is shown in the following table.

TABLE 11

SIZE OF FORMAL CATCHMENT AREA

Scale of Referral	Residential Program	Nonresidential Programs
Statewide	1. Esperanza 2. Vindicate Society	1. Copper Mountain
Multicounty	1. Florida Keys Marine Institute 2. ARC 3. PORT	1. Key Tracking Plus
Single County		1. Project Vision 2. Katahdin 3. Viable Alternatives 4. Transitional Center

The pattern is perfectly logical when one considers the fact that clients for non-residential programs have to commute daily between their homes and the program as opposed to clients of residential programs who have no travel problems.

In looking at all eleven programs with respect to the size of the primary service area, one sees the following distribution.

TABLE 12

SIZE OF PRIMARY SERVICE AREA

Scale of Referral	Residential Programs	Nonresidential Programs
Statewide	1. Vindicate Society	
Multicounty	1. Esperanza 2. ARC	1. Copper Mountain
Single County	1. Florida Keys Marine Institute	1. Key Tracking Plus 2. Transitional Center
Smaller Units (such as immediate neighborhoods)		1. Project Vision 2. Katahdin 3. Viable Alternative

The nonresidential programs tended, typically, to have smaller primary service areas than did the residential programs. Furthermore, in the case of the primary service area the size of the referral zone was even smaller for the nonresidential programs. In half of these programs the referral zone consisted of those neighborhoods immediately surrounding or within several miles of the program site.

A final substantive comment concerning these matters of formal catchment/primary service areas must be made. Only in the case of one program, Vindicate Society, did a marked change occur in the dimensions of the primary service area between the time of the program's founding and our site visit. This change alluded to earlier seems to have been the result of a dispute between the program's administrators and juvenile justice officials from Essex County; the dispute led to the program's not receiving referrals from its own home base of Newark. The original mandate, consequently, seems largely unrealizable.

FISCAL ISSUES IN PROGRAM PLANNING AND OPERATION

The next set of variables to be compared across both residential and nonresidential programs are derived from the sphere of program start-up and operation related to fiscal affairs. Variables which will be examined include (1) annual operating budgets, (2) sources of funding, and (3) public/private status of programs.

THE ANNUAL OPERATING BUDGET

First in this set of variables is the annual operating budget. Whenever possible, we will present the operating budgets for the calendar year of 1979 since that year was selected as our principal temporal baseline in data collection procedures for all eleven site visits. This examination of operating budgets will be extended to include per diem costs. In this way one can gain some sense of the comparative costs of the two types of programs with respect to the rate of expenditure for individual clients. Given the wide variation in number of clients served by different programs, that analysis is essential.

Residential Programs

There is a broad range of variation in the costs of residential programs both in terms of total annual budgets and per diem expenditures. This variation is shown in the following table.

TABLE 13

ANNUAL OPERATING BUDGET: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Program	Yearly Budget for 1979	Per Diem Costs
1. PORT Boys' Group Home	$ 52,360	$23.05
2. Esperanza Para Manana	$ 100,000	$36.00
3. ARC	$ 240,667	$80.00
4. Florida Keys Marine Institute	$ 254,711	$40.62
5. Vindicate Society	$ 530,000	$30.00

Since per diem cost is the most accurate indicator of how expensive an individual program is, ARC was, by far, the most costly residential program we visited. Given the number and intensity of services provided in that program, this fact is not surprising. The per diem costs in the other four

residential programs varied only by a total of $17.57 with Port being the least expensive and Florida Keys Marine Institute being the most expensive next to ARC.

Nonresidential Programs

As was the case with the set of residential programs, there is a broad range of variation in the costs of nonresidential programs both in terms of total annual budgets and per diem expenditures. This variation is shown in the following table.

TABLE 14

ANNUAL OPERATING BUDGET: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Program	Yearly Budget for 1979	Per Diem Costs
1. Project Vision	$ 84,500	$ 4.22
2. Viable Alternatives	$ 93,776	$ 6.93
3. Katahdin	$ 123,800	$42.00
4. Transitional Center	$ 142,739	$24.00
5. Key Tracking Plus	$ 185,000	$42.00
6. Copper Mountain	$ 210,000	$31.94

In terms of per diem costs, Katahdin and Key Tracking Plus were the most expensive nonresidential programs, a not surprising fact given the range of services offered by these programs. Of the total set of six nonresidential programs, two (Project Vision and Viable Alternatives) had extraordinarily low per diem costs. In the case of Viable Alternatives, this could be explained in large part by the fact that a number of services were made available to clients free of charge from other programs in the wider organizational umbrella of Juvenile Services Program Inc., operating out of the same facility. However, in the case of Project Vision, it is difficult to understand how a severely delinquent client population could be provided with a very intense level of services at such a low per diem cost.

SOURCES OF FUNDING

The next budgetary variable to be examined is sources of funding. In terms of this variable we are concerned primarily with the principal source of funding for each of the eleven programs during the calendar year of 1979, although auxiliary sources of funding will also be noted. In addition, we will explore the extent to which and the ways in which the principal sources of funding for these programs have changed since their inceptions.

RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

During 1979, three (Florida Keys Marine Institute, ARC, and Vindicate Society) of the five residential programs were supported primarily by some element of state government while one program (Esperanza) was supported totally through a federal grant, and the remaining one (PORT) was supported primarily by an agency of the local county government. Of the state government-supported programs, FKMI was being funded primarily by the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, which provided 77 percent ($196,127) of the total budget; the County Board of Education paid 16 percent ($40,754) of the total, and private contributors provided 7 percent ($17,830) of the total through donations. In the case of ARC, a purchase-of-service arrangement with the eight counties in central Pennsylvania referring delinquent youngsters to the program was the principal source of funding. However, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare reimbursed these counties for 75 percent of their costs, so that state government was the principal source of monies. During 1979, the state's share amounted to $180,500. The third state-funded program, Vindicate Society, received $480,000 from the New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services out of a total budget of $530,000. Smaller sums came from several small private foundations, which supplied $20,000, and the County Board of Education reimbursed the program in the amount of $30,000 for meals served to clients.

Of the two remaining programs, Esperanza was supported entirely by a grant from LEAA in the amount of $100,000. This money had been channeled through the state planning agency to the Utah Division of Family Services, which dispersed it to the program through the mechanism of CATY. In 1979, Esperanza was in the second year of the three-year LEAA grant upon the expiration of which the state government would have to make some decision about whether or not to absorb the cost of Esperanza. The last residential program, PORT, was supported primarily with funding provided by the Olmstead County Department of Social Services. Out of a total budget of $52,360 in 1979, this agency supplied $48,360. The remaining funding, $4,000, came from state government through the Minnesota Community Corrections Act.

Among the five residential programs, three (ARC, Vindicate Society, and Esperanza) had been funded by LEAA grants at the time of their inception. One of the programs (Esperanza), which is quite new (March 1978) is still being funded by the federal government. The other two programs previously funded by LEAA were picked up by agencies of state government. In contrast, both PORT and Florida Keys Marine Institute have continued to be supported by their original funding sources.

NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

During 1979, five (Transitional Center, Viable Alternatives, Copper Mountain, Katahdin, and Project Vision) of the six nonresidential programs were supported primarily through federal, LEAA funding, and the remaining program (Key Tracking Plus) was supported totally through funding from an agency of state government. Of the LEAA-supported programs, Transitional Center was operating on the second year of a three-year grant. Of the total budget of $142,739 in 1979, LEAA provided $79,437; state government provided matching funds in the amount of $50,326; and Jefferson Parish supplied $12,976 in matching funds. Viable Alternatives was receiving $74,476 from LEAA out of a total budget of $93,776. The County Juvenile Welfare Board provided matching funds in the amount of $3,800; the County Board of Education provided $12,000 in in-kind teaching services; and CETA supplied $3,500. Federal, LEAA monies were only available for the program through the end of 1979, and in 1980 Viable Alternatives closed since no decision had been made at that point in time by either state or local government about assuming fiscal responsibility for the program. Copper Mountain was also being funded primarily with an LEAA grant. Like Esperanza, it was in the second year of a three-year grant being channeled through the state planning agency to the Utah Division of Family Services. In a budget of $210,000 the LEAA grant provided 77 percent ($161,700) of the total; the county mental health system provided matching funds in the amount of $8,400; and the State Board of Education provided $40,000. Likewise, Katahdin was being supported primarily by an LEAA grant. This grant provided approximately 99 percent ($118,334) of the total budget of $123,000. The remainder of the funding came from small donations from individuals, fund raisers, and private foundations. In 1979, Project Vision was also being supported primarily by an LEAA grant. In the second year of a three-year grant, federal monies amounted to $54,000 in a total budget of $84,500. The city of New Haven provided $19,000 in matching funds which came from the Community Development Act, another federal granting program. A local private source, the New Haven Foundation, provided $12,500 to pay the salary of one teacher.

The one nonresidential program supported by funding other than federal was Key Tracking Plus. This program received its entire operating budget from a purchase-of-service arrangement with an agency of state government, the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services. This budget amounted to $189,000 in 1979.

Since the nonresidential programs as a group had emerged quite recently, most (Key Tracking Plus being the only exception) were still being funded by the same source, namely the federal government, as at their inception. Important decisions about the future funding of these programs will occur within several years following the expiration of the LEAA grants. In fact, one program (Viable Alternatives) had already been forced to close once LEAA monies were no longer available.

PUBLIC/PRIVATE STATUS OF PROGRAMS

The last fiscal variable to be examined is the public/private status of these programs. In looking at this variable, we will be especially concerned about whether the programs are autonomous organizations or are part of larger, umbrella operations.

RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

All five of the residential programs are private, nonprofit corporations. In addition, four (PORT Boys' Group Home, Florida Keys Marine Institute, Esperanza Para Manana, and ARC) of the five programs are part of a larger corporate umbrella. In the case of one of these programs, Florida Keys Marine Institute, this affiliation is with a quite large, statewide corporation, Associated Marine Institutes. The remaining three programs which operate under larger organizational umbrellas (PORT Boys' Group Home under the auspices of the PORT Programs Inc., Esperanza Para Manana under the auspices of the Institute of Human Resource Development, ARC Residential Treatment at Woodlawn under the auspices of Alternative Rehabilitative Communities) are part of corporations currently operating only in the local communities in which these programs are located. None are operating as part of a system on the scale of Associated Marine Institutes in Florida.

NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Five (Key Tracking Plus, Copper Mountain Adolescent Day Treatment Center, Viable Alternatives, Katahdin, and Project Vision) of the six nonresidential programs are private, nonprofit corporations. Only Transition Center, which operates under the auspices of the Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court, is a public agency. Of the five privately operated nonresidential programs, three (Key Tracking Plus, Viable Alternatives, and Project Vision) are part of a larger corporate umbrella. In the case of one of these programs, Key Tracking Plus, this affiliation is with a quite large, statewide corporation, Key Program Inc. The other two programs which operate under larger organizational umbrellas (Viable Alternatives under the auspices of Juvenile Services Program Inc. and Project Vision under the auspices of the New Haven Boys' Clubs Inc.) are part of corporations currently operating only in the local communities in which these programs are located. Neither is operating as part of a system on the scale of Key Program Inc. The two primarily operated nonresidential programs which are not part of a larger corporate umbrella are Copper Mountain and Katahdin. It should be noted that the organizational formal for Copper Mountain is unique among all eleven programs. Although the principal contractor is Copper Mountain Mental Health Services (a public agency), the collaboration which involves several other agencies as subcontractors is handled as a private enterprise.

COMPARISON OF FISCAL ISSUES ACROSS THE ELEVEN PROGRAMS

It is significant to note that out of a total of eleven programs start-up funding for eight of them (Vindicate Society, Esperanza Para Manana, ARC, Transitional Center, Viable Alternatives, Copper Mountain, Katahdin, and Project Vision) had come from federal, LEAA grant programs. In the case of the other three programs, two of them (Florida Keys Marine Institute and Key Tracking Plus) were parts of larger, statewide corporations which had already been engaged in providing alternative programming for delinquent youngsters for several years. The third program (PORT Boys' Group Home) was part of a local service umbrella, PORT Programs Inc., which itself had been launched some years earlier partially with federal monies. Although the fate of many of these programs is still unclear due to the current financial pinch in funding human service activities throughout the U.S., the role of the federal

government as a catalyst in promoting the establishment of community-based alternatives for serious juvenile offenders is clearly evident.

Equally important in the financial structuring of these programs is the fact that ten of the eleven programs were initiated as private, nonprofit efforts. This feature is consistent with most sentiments expressed in professional and academic circles about the kind of auspices offering the best chances for success in treating this difficult delinquent population. These recommendations favoring private sponsorship and operation argues that a higher level of innovation and personal commitment usually occurs in such settings. In the case of the one program which operated in the public domain, Transitional Center, conscious efforts had been made by the parent agency, Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court Services, to avoid much of the organizational red tape and staffing constraints usually associated with civil service guidelines and regulations. An attempt had been made to retain the flexibility often characterizing private sector activities.

CHAPTER V

CLIENT MOVEMENT INTO PROGRAMS: SOURCES OF REFERRAL, INTAKE CRITERIA, AND CLIENT PROFILES

A number of factors play roles in the movement of youngsters into community-based programs for serious juvenile offenders. In this section of the report we will examine three distinct sets of such factors. First, there are those actors, usually organizational in nature, which are located in the jurisdictions of these programs and serve as primary referral sources. Usually, when referral is made by such an actor, the client enters the program with a specified legal status denoting the nature of his/her relationship with the referral source. Second, there are frequently a set of intake criteria, more or less precisely expressed, which indicate what kind of clients the program has been designed to serve. Statutory guidelines defining which youthful offenders are to be retained for treatment in the juvenile justice system play a major role in shaping such criteria. Third, there are client profiles which reveal what categories of juvenile offenders in terms of age, gender, race, and criminal behavior are actually moving into these programs.

SOURCES OF REFERRAL: REFERRING AGENCIES AND LEGAL STATUSES OF CLIENTS

In addressing the general topic of sources of referral, one encounters two distinct though clearly related issues crucial to any discussion of these matters. The first and more obvious is the nature of the referring agencies. In those jurisdictions where the eleven programs were located, individual/multiple organizational actors regularly channeled to them juvenile offenders over whom they held legal responsibility. Depending upon the specific jurisdiction, such organizational actors might operate at the local, county, or state level.

The second issue of concern in the referral process is the legal status of these juvenile offenders with respect to the particular actor who is working the program referral. In the case of each offender, this designated status is supposedly an objective reflection of the behaviors leading to his/her formal processing in the system. This factor of legal status is often informative about the relative severity of delinquent behavior among offenders participating in these programs.

RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Among the five residential programs, two (Florida Keys Marine Institute and ARC) receive referrals from a single source, while three (PORT, Vindicate Society, and Esperanza) receive them from multiple sources. (In referring to single and multiple sources of referral, we are primarily concerned with distinguishing between different types of referral sources. For example, if a program is receiving clients from several juvenile courts and nowhere else within the larger jurisdiction, we would classify this as a single source of referral.)

Amongst our residential programs, one (ARC) is an example of this kind of situation. ARC currently receives clients from juvenile courts in eight different counties of the central Pennsylvania region from which it is legally authorized to accept referrals. All juveniles referred to ARC have been adjudicated delinquent and placed on probation, with entry into the program being a court-imposed condition. This court order can result from two sets of circumstances: first, direct referral of the client to ARC at point of disposition, or second, referral to ARC after the client has failed to adjust in one or two other community-based placements. Failure to adjust at ARC usually results in commitment to a secure treatment unit.

The other program having a single source of referrals (Florida Keys Marine Institute) received clients only from the regional office (representing Monroe and Dade Counties) of District 11 of the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services. All juveniles referred to FKMI have been adjudicated delinquent and committed by the juvenile court to the custody of HRS. HRS places them in FKMI as an alternative to incarceration in the state training school. As an autonomous youth authority, HRS has the right to exercise this discretion.

All three of our residential programs accepting referrals from multiple sources receive clients from two principal sources. PORT accepts most of its clients from juvenile courts (in Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmstead Counties) and from the Olmstead County Department of Social Services. On very rare occasions youngsters are referred to the program by school officials or parents. At the time of our site visit no one with this status was participating in the program.

Juveniles entering PORT via the courts had all been adjudicated delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to participate in the program as an alternative to incarceration. In contrast, youngsters referred by the Department of Social Services had rarely been charged with serious offenses; in fact, they had usually engaged in various misbehaviors such as truancy, ungovernability, and runaway, qualifying them as status offenders. This kind of offender is referred to the program because social service caseworkers were having trouble maintaining them in their own homes and PORT Boys' Group Home was an available resource.

Ideally, PORT aimed for a mix of approximately 75 percent juvenile court and 25 percent social service referrals. However, during 1979, the ratio of admissions was almost the opposite. Out of a total of twenty-three youngsters admitted that year, sixteen had been sent to PORT by social services and only seven had been sent by the juvenile court. This reversal suggests an important change of referral policies with major implications for the kind of clients participating in the program. The client population appears to be much "softer" in terms of committing offenses than before, thereby raising question as to whether the program actually qualifies as a serious offender program at this time.

Vindicate Society also accepts referrals from two principal sources. The vast majority of those accepted come from juvenile courts throughout New Jersey outside Essex County. (This peculiarity of excluding the program's home county has already been discussed.) The other source is the State Department of Corrections.

With only a few exceptions, youths entering the program are placed there as a result of a court order and are on probationary status. They have been adjudicated

delinquent, placed on a suspended commitment status by the judge, and sent to Vindicate Society in lieu of incarceration. The other principal group participating in the program is made up of parolees from various state correctional facilities still legally under commitment status to the Department of Corrections.

There are several exceptions to these patterns of referral to Vindicate Society, but they involve only very small numbers of clients. First, there are a small number of preadjudication cases placed in the program by the courts while awaiting disposition; these youngsters have all been charged with serious offenses. Individuals from this group frequently remain at Vindicate if adjudicated delinquent. Second, a small number of youths in the program had initially been processed through the courts as status offenders. They were adjudicated as JINS (Juveniles in Need of Supervision) cases and placed in Vindicate because they lacked satisfactory home settings. In most instances, they had had extensive contact with law enforcement agencies and were thought to be in need of close supervision. Finally, an extremely small number of youngsters are referred directly by their parents, school officials, and welfare workers. These youths must be involved in misconduct of a sufficient degree to warrant their placement in a residential facility. As part of their referral process to Vindicate, they are first directed to the juvenile court and are placed by the court on a conditional probationary status.

Without exception, all offenders entering the program fall under the custodianship of the Division of Youth and Family Services, the state agency responsible for administering child welfare. Most youngsters referred to Vindicate are already under the jurisdiction of this agency. In cases of youths of whom this is not true, at the point of adjudication youths are placed under the custody of DYFS as a precondition for placement in Vindicate. This step is mandatory, since the program relies almost entirely on DYFS funds and can accept only clients who are legally in DYFS custody.

In the case of Esperanza, the two sources of referral are the juvenile courts, which are responsible for referring most clients, and the Division of Family Services (DFS), which refers a smaller number of clients from the Youth Development Center (YDC), the state training school.

Youngsters who are placed in this program enter under a number of different legal statuses but have all been adjudicated delinquent. Among those entering from the courts are youths who have been so adjudicated and sent to Esperanza with a "suspended commitment" to YDC. Another group from the courts have been adjudicated delinquent, placed on "stayed commitment" to YDC and sent to Esperanza. The principal difference is that in the case of "stayed commitment" if a subsequent offense is committed, the youth can be sent directly to YDC without another court hearing being required. Offenders tend to be given a "stayed commitment" status for community-based placement when the judge feels there is a reasonable chance of continued criminal misconduct on the part of the youth. Other types of court referrals to the program include "short-term commitments" to YDC for observation and placement as part of regular probation supervision. This range of legal statuses under which youngsters are referred by the courts represents a highly calibrated system for assessing rehabilitative possibilities. The major practical consequence is that offenders with various kinds of behavioral problems and offense histories are referred to Esperanza.

Youngsters who have been committed to the custody of the Division of Family Services and who enter Esperanza after serving a regular ("long-term") commitment to YDC enter the program as part of their parole obligation and are still under the legal custody of DFS.

As a group, the residential programs—with the possible exception of PORT Boys' Group Home—seem to be serving primarily as community-based alternatives to incarceration. The vast majority of youngsters entering these programs have been adjudicated delinquent and in many cases appear to be prime candidates for placement in state training schools. It also seems that some of the residential programs are seeking a blend in the client population which includes quite serious as well as minor cases. More details about specific mixes in chronicity, severity of individual offenses, and overall arrest histories will be presented in the section of the report in which we examine client profiles in particular programs.

NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Among the six nonresidential programs, three (Key Tracking Plus, Viable Alternatives, and Transitional Center) receive referrals from a single source and three (Copper Mountain, Katahdin, and Project Vision) receive them from multiple sources. In Key Tracking Plus, all youths are referred by the Department of Youth Services (DYS), which has placement responsibilities for all youngsters adjudicated delinquent by the juvenile court and committed to its custody. All youngsters referred to Key Tracking Plus have been adjudicated delinquent, committed to the custody of DYS, and sent to the program as an alternative to placement in a secure treatment unit.

All youths referred to Viable Alternatives have been placed there by the regional office (responsible for Pinellas County) for District 5 of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services. Technically, these youngsters are still under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court—given their legal statuses—but under the Florida system HRS has responsibility for placement. This point will become clearer in the following discussion of the legal statuses of this client population.

All offenders participating in Viable Alternatives have been adjudicated delinquent by the court. They have been placed in the program either on a "suspended commitment" or a regular probationary status with subsequent felony charge. Although answerable to the court for their conduct, these youngsters are handled by HRS for purposes of placement. As an autonomous youth authority, HRS participates in a wide range of activities associated with all aspects of the juvenile justice system in the state. Among these activities is management of the probation services, a function often carried by the courts.

As wards of the court, youngsters in Viable Alternatives will only become officially tied to HRS if they are apprehended for another serious charge. Thus, although they are deeply involved with the justice system, youths in this program have not formally penetrated that system as far as have those youths participating in the other Florida program in our sample, Florida Keys Marine Institute, where they have been actually committed to the custody of HRS.

Youths entering Transitional Center have all been referred by the Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court. As a public vendor designed especially for the use of the court services of Jefferson Parish and falling under its auspices, Transitional Center is readily accessible to its sole referral source.

All clients entering the program have been adjudicated delinquent by the court, placed on probation, and court ordered to participate in the program. A unique feature in this situation is that parents are legally obligated to cooperate with the program staff during the period of their children's participation in the program.

Among the three programs having multiple referral sources, Katahdin has the widest range of possible sources, although for practical purposes the program depends upon two principal sources. The Hennepin County Juvenile Court refers most clients, while a much smaller number enter from the Minnesota Department of Corrections. An extremely small number of clients came from two other sources: (1) in rare situations, a parent, a school official, or a youth already in the program will refer a potential client to Katahdin, and (2) in a similar fashion, a small number of referrals of youths believed clearly in need of tighter controls and more intense treatment are channeled to the program by caseworkers with the Hennepin County Department of Public Welfare when youths are under their supervision.

Of those youths coming from the court, some have been adjudicated delinquent, given a "stayed commitment," placed on probation, and referred to Katahdin as an alternative to incarceration; others have been adjudicated delinquent, placed on regular probationary status, and referred to the program by their probation officers. Adjudicated offenders referred by the Department of Corrections are legally under its custody and are on parole status during their participation in the program. In those much rarer instances when referrals have been made by parents, schools, or other program participants, clients have no legal status attaching them in any way to the juvenile justice system. Likewise, referrals from the Department of Public Welfare have not had, in many cases, official court contact. However, all referrals must meet the program's intake criteria (this issue will be explored later in this report).

Project Vision received the vast majority of its referrals (70 percent) from the New Haven County Juvenile Court. The remaining 30 percent of clients are sent by the local offices of the Connecticut Department of Children and Youth Services (DCYS). However, this last group of clients must be divided into two groups since referrals come from two separate divisions of the department. This referral pattern occurs because DCYS is responsible for child welfare as well as youth corrections in the state.

Those youngsters entering the program from the court have been adjudicated delinquent, placed on "probation with special condition," and referred to Project Vision as an alternative to incarceration. Of the youths coming into the program through DCYS, some (20 percent of all clients) are juveniles who are under the custody of DCYS as a result of being officially labeled dependent, abused, or neglected. If these wards of the state exhibit delinquent behaviors and meet the admission criteria for the program but have not been referred to court for their current misbehavior, their DCYS workers can refer them directly to Project Vision. Other youngsters entering the program via DCYS (approximately 10 percent of the total in the program) have been adjudicated delinquent, have been committed to the custody of DCYS and placed in

Long Lane, the state's training school. As part of their parole plan, they are referred to Project Vision as a condition of parole.

In the case of Copper Mountain, the referral system is the same as that described above for Esperanza (both programs being CATY community-based alternatives). Both receive clients from two primary sources, but the process involves a variety of legal statuses for clients. Most referrals are made by the juvenile court, with a much smaller number of clients entering the program from the Division of Family Services.

Again, much the same pattern of legal statuses of clients in the program exists here as in Esperanza. One can simply note that the statuses of youths entering from the courts include a YDC suspended commitment, a YDC stayed commitment, a subsequent disposition following a short-term commitment to YDC for observation, and regular probationary supervision. Those entering from DFS are on parole status following release from YDC.

As a group, the nonresidential programs seem to serve client populations which could be characterized as severely delinquent, at least in terms of the legal statuses of the clients. Four of the programs (Key Tracking Plus, Transitional Center, Copper Mountain, and Viable Alternatives) accept only youngsters who have been adjudicated delinquent and are required to participate. In each instance, the next step in processing would be further penetration into the system and commitment to secure treatment, or for those on parole status, a return to training school. In the two remaining programs (Project Vision and Katahdin), the majority of clients have been adjudicated. In the case of Project Vision, 80 percent of the referrals have been adjudicated (70 percent from the courts and 10 percent from the Department of Corrections). In addition, the majority of those coming from the courts have been placed on a special probationary status, "probation with special conditions," and are clearly referred as an alternative to incarceration. Likewise, in the case of Katahdin most clients come from the juvenile court and have been adjudicated delinquent. Within this group of court referrals are two categories of legal statuses, "stayed commitment" and regular probation. The former represents those youngsters who are being referred to the program as a last step before incarceration.

COMPARISON OF SOURCE OF REFERRAL ISSUES ACROSS ALL PROGRAMS

When considering the kind of delinquent populations being served by both residential and nonresidential programs, one might suppose the chances are much greater that serious juvenile offenders would be found in residential settings. Partly, this assumption reflects the fact that in residential treatment the level of control and supervision which could be exercised over all facets of the lives of clients can be much greater. In fact, the probability of finding any such offenders in day treatment settings was quite low until relatively recent years. However, as we have just pointed out, it appears that at present the nonresidential programs in our sample are roughly equivalent—at least in terms of the legal statuses of clients—to the residential programs we visited. Ironically, the program serving the least severe population in terms of legal status is a residential program, PORT Boys' Group Home.

Another rather different issue which should be commented upon in terms of the entire set of programs is the extent to which they provide services for parolees. The

fact that the referral eligibility for some of these programs frequently extends to youngsters who have already been placed in secure treatment settings and are preparing to be reintegrated into the community causes such programs to provide "add-on," as contrasted with alternative services. This type of referral occurs in both kinds of programs within our sample: Vindicate Society and Esperanza among the residential programs; Katahdin, Project Vision, and Copper Mountain among the nonresidential programs. Although this referral policy obviously increases the level of severity of the delinquent populations being served, such practices do not technically qualify as alternative programming. An analysis of the performance of this group of clients would be extremely informative although outside the scope of the present study.

INTAKE CRITERIA: AGE SPECIFICATIONS, LEGISLATIVE GUIDELINES, AND ADMISSION STANDARDS

An examination of any set of criteria used to specify who is eligible for participation in a particular juvenile offender program must take into consideration two factors which always play some role in defining who can be officially labeled as a juvenile offender in that setting. These factors, both external to the operation of any program but instrumental in determining the structure of admissions, are: (1) the ages defining a youth at risk for processing in the juvenile justice system, and (2) those statutes (commonly referred to as serious offender legislation) which enable/require youths who would otherwise be labeled as juvenile offenders to be processed in the criminal justice system.

THE AGE FACTOR

That aspect of age of greatest interest in talking about serious juvenile offender programming is the upper age limit for defining a youth as a delinquent in a particular jurisdiction. As we pointed out earlier in this report (see p. 16 of The Serious Juvenile Offender: Statutory Concerns, Definitional Issues, and Incidence), violent behavior among adolescents tends to be concentrated in the upper age ranges of delinquent populations. Exactly how the age limit is set in the various jurisdictions in which serious juvenile offender programs are located will determine, to some extent, the kind of offender population eligible for participation in these programs.

TABLE 15

MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM AGES FOR JUVENILE COURT JURISDICTION

State	Minimum Age	Maximum Age
1. Connecticut	No specified lower age limit; possible for 7 year olds to be adjudicated	16th birthday

TABLE 15 (Continued)

State	Minimum Age	Maximum Age
2. Louisana	Traditionally, the 10th birthday; recent legislation has removed this lower limit	17th birthday
3. Massachusetts	Lower age limit is 7th birthday	17th birthday
4. Minnesota	13th birthday for adjudication; cannot be detained until 14th birthday	18th birthday
5. New Jersey	No specified lower age limit; customary is 10th birthday	18th birthday
6. Pennsylvania	10th birthday is legal limit; customary is 12th birthday	18th birthday
7. Utah	No specified lower age limit; customary is 12th birthday	18th birthday
8. Florida	10th birthday is legal limit; customary is 12th birthday	18th birthday for initial entrance; 19th birthday for previous adjudication

Most jurisdictions (five, in which eight of our eleven programs were located) set as the upper age limit, the 18th birthday. Two jurisdictions (two programs in total) set the 17th birthday as the upper age limit, and only one jurisdiction (one program) utilized the 16th birthday as the upper age limit. With the possible exception of Connecticut, all of these jurisdictions retain authority over older juvenile offenders up to an age when violent crime has become a widespread form of criminal misconduct, occurring at quite high rates in comparison with other age groups.

THE STATUTORY FACTOR

In every state, the nature of the legal code with respect to defining juvenile offenders and specifying the procedures for processing them is crucial in determining which serious offenders are retained under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court and

which are transferred/waived to the criminal courts for prosecution. Especially important to the fate of the serious juvenile offender are those parts of such codes which specify the circumstances under which extraordinary measures may/must be taken in their processing.

Traditionally, most states had established some discretionary guidelines for imposing severe sanctions on those adolescents whose criminal misconduct had brought special attention to them. Each of the states we visited possessed some type of statutory guideline for the special processing of certain serious juvenile offenders. These guidelines, to varying degrees, influenced the patterns of eligibility for alternative programs. Usually, the procedures were discretionary and only infrequently used. However, in some of these states the legislatures had recently enacted revisions or amendments to the juvenile code resulting in the removal of greatly increased numbers of juvenile offenders from the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts. These changes in the juvenile codes involved both discretionary and mandatory procedures for waiving youngsters to the criminal courts. In this section of the report we will examine both those traditional statutes for special processing, ones in effect in most of the jurisdictions we visited, and those new serious offender statutes which are beginning to have an impact on some of these jurisdictions.

In those six states where new legislation had not taken effect in 1979, special processing of particular juvenile offenders had always been based on the use of discretion in deciding whether to initiate a waiver hearing. No guidelines existed for initiating such hearings, and only in Pennsylvania did a legislative exclusion procedure exist, one calling for automatic waiver only in the case of a murder charge.

In five of the eight states visited (Louisiana—effective September 1, 1980; Minnesota—effective August 1, 1980; Pennsylvania—effective July 1, 1980; Connecticut—effective October 1, 1979; and Florida—effective July 1, 1979), recently enacted serious offender legislation is beginning to have an impact on determining which youthful offenders are retained under the auspices of the juvenile justice system. For the purposes of this report, we will review in detail only the legislation for those two states (Connecticut and Florida) where such legislation had gone into effect prior to our site visits and might have had some impact on the pattern of referrals to the programs (Project Vision in Connecticut and Florida Keys Marine Institute and Viable Alternatives in Florida).

In Florida, new juvenile offender legislation was passed in 1978. Among its provisions was one for "Direct Filing" enabling the state's attorney to move to have a youth with a particular offense history in combination with certain presenting offenses transferred to criminal court for prosecution. This is not a mandatory waiver statute in that the state's attorney had discretionary power whether to initiate the process. But the new legislation totally bypasses the juvenile court judge and places the state's attorney in an immensely more powerful role in the juvenile court. Prior to the passage of the legislation, only the judge could initiate the waiver process. The criteria for initiating direct filing are that the youth has reached his 16th birthday, is being charged with a felony, and has been referred to court twice before—at least once with a felony charge. The new legislation also contains provisions for mandatory waiver hearings for certain offenses: murder, rape, sexual battery, armed robbery, or aggravated assault with two previous charges. Waiver may or may not ensue following the hearing.

TABLE 16

STATUTES WITH DISCRETIONARY PROVISIONS FOR SPECIAL PROCESSING EFFECTIVE IN 1979

State	Nature of Non-mandatory Waiver Procedures	Specified Charges Qualifying for Nonmandatory Waiver	Nature of Mandatory Waiver Hearing Procedures	Nature of Legislative Exclusion Procedures	Minimum Waiver Age
1. Louisiana	Initiated by either juvenile court judge or prosecuting attorney	Specified serious crimes against persons	None existed	None existed	15 years old
2. Massachusetts	Initiated by district attorney	Crimes against persons or previous delinquency commitment	None existed	None existed	14 years old
3. Minnesota	Initiated by state's attorney	None specified	None existed	None existed	14 years old
4. New Jersey	Initiated by prosecuting attorney	Crimes against persons, treason, and drug-related offenses	None existed	None existed	14 years old*
5. Pennsylvania	Initiated by either juvenile court judge or district attorney	None specified	None existed	Automatic for murder	14 years old
6. Utah	Initiated by state's attorney	Any felony charge	None existed	None existed	14 years old

*Age of eligibility had been lowered from the 16th birthday by a 1977 amendment to the juvenile code.

CONTINUED
1 OF 3

In Connecticut new, serious juvenile offender legislation has gone into effect, containing conditions for a number of waiver procedures. Among the statutes is one requiring that youngsters charged with Class A felonies (index crimes against persons) or with any other serious juvenile offense (a wide range of crimes against persons and property) have a waiver hearing if the child has been previously adjudicated delinquent for a serious juvenile offense. The youngster must be at least 14 years of age. This legislation also contains a mandatory transfer clause which specifies that any youth referred for the commission of a murder committed after the child attained the age of 14, or any child referred for the commission of any Class A felony (provided that child was '14 years old at the time and has a prior adjudication for a Class A felony), or any child referred for a Class B felony (provided that child was 14 years old at the time the offense was committed and has been previously adjudicated delinquent for two violations of either an A or B felony) must be transferred for prosecution in the criminal court. This last statute is an example of a broadly defined, legislative exclusion provision.

ADMISSION CRITERIA

Each of the eleven programs possessed a stated set of criteria specifying what kinds of youngsters were eligible to participate. These criteria ranged from vaguely stated to highly detailed characteristics of potential clients and usually focused on the following features: sex, age, nature of criminal behavior (severity of offenses and chronicity being the principal dimensions), and automatic exclusions.

Residential Programs

Among the residential programs, Esperanza had the shortest listing of conditions for participation. Those eligible were Hispanic males who were seriously delinquent and between 12 and 18 years of age.

In the case of PORT, the criteria were male youths between the ages of 13 and 17. No one would be admitted who was retarded, severely emotionally disturbed, or chemically dependent.

The intake criteria for Vindicate Society stated that males between the ages of 15 and 18 who had offense histories including either index crimes against persons or breaking and entering were eligible. No one would be admitted who was a homosexual or had a history of arson. Also excluded from the program were youngsters who have been designated by the courts as JINS cases (Juvenile in Need of Supervision). It should be noted, however, that several such clients were participating in the program at the time of our site visit.

The basis for participation in ARC included being a male youth between the ages of 15 and 18 and having been adjudicated delinquent. Automatically excluded from admission were arsonists, psychotics, armed robbers, and rapists (the latter two exclusions resulting from the nature of the zoning code in Harrisburg).

Florida Keys Marine Institute accepted males between the ages of 15 and 18 whose delinquent backgrounds included chronic property crimes and/or nonchronic

assaultive behavior. Also stated was the condition that clients were accepted when placement out of the home community was desired by the referring agency (HRS). The program required an agreement to participate both by parents and clients.

In comparing intake criteria across the five residential programs, one notes that all of the programs provided services exclusively for males, three specified the admission of older adolescents (15 to 18 years of age), and three listed particular reasons for automatic exclusion. Only one program, PORT, made no mention of delinquent behavior serving as a basis for participation.

Nonresidential Programs

Among the nonresidential programs, Project Vision had the shortest listing of conditions for participation. Those who were eligible were males and females (referral patterns, however, indicating an almost totally male client population) under the age of 16 with a history of serious delinquency.

In the case of Transitional Center the intake criteria included both males and females between the ages of 13 and 17. All clients must be adjudicated delinquent and also have been diagnosed as learning disabled or emotionally disturbed.

The intake criteria for Key Tracking Plus specified males under the age of 17 who had been adjudicated delinquent and committed to the custody of DYS. Special emphasis was placed on clients' being severely delinquent with a history of repeated serious offenses. A minimally viable home environment was also required.

The basis for participation in Viable Alternatives included being a male or female between the ages of 13 and 17. All clients had to be adjudicated delinquent with a legal status either of suspended commitment to HRS or of probation with a subsequent felony offense. The need for a minimally stable home situation with some degree of family cooperation was specified.

Copper Mountain specified that males and females between the ages of 13 and 18 were eligible. Clients must be willing to assume responsibility for getting to and from the program. Also included in the intake criteria were a series of automatic exclusions: exhibiting overtly aggressive, violent, or homicidal tendencies as determined by previous institutional behavior or offense history; actively psychotic or overtly suicidal; and severely handicapped or chronically physically ill.

The intake criteria for Katahdin stated that males and females between the ages of 14 and 18 were eligible. Clients must be adjudicated delinquent with a history of at least three previous juvenile court contacts for non-status offenses and/or prior placement in a residential facility. A viable home setting is required, and the client must exhibit a willingness to work on positive personal change and to continue educational activities. The single automatic exclusion is that the client must not be chemically dependent.

In comparing intake criteria across the six nonresidential programs, one notes that all programs except one (Copper Mountain) make mention of delinquent behavior in some way constituting a basis for admission. In fact, four programs (Project Vision,

Key Tracking Plus, Viable Alternatives, and Katahdin) indicate seriously delinquent behavior is a criterion. Three programs (Key Tracking Plus, Viable Alternatives, and Katahdin) state that a viable home environment is a requirement for participation. Finally, all of the programs except one (Key Tracking Plus) accept both male and female clients.

CLIENT PROFILES

In discussing the kinds of youngsters who are actually participating in these serious juvenile offender programs, it is important to examine two distinct sets of variables. On the one hand, there are those factors of age, gender, and race exhibited by these clients. On the other hand, there are the factors of delinquent behavior, especially arrest histories and presenting offenses. Together, these factors constitute the most critical dimensions of the demographic and behavioral with which we are concerned.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The following table contains client demographics regarding age, gender, and race.

TABLE 17

CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Program	Range in Ages	Average Age	Number by Gender	Number by Race
1. Esperanza	11-15 years old	13.8 years old	4 males	4 Hispanics
2. PORT	13-16 years old	14.3 years old	7 males	6 whites 1 Native American
3. Florida Keys	14-17 years old	15.6 years old	18 males	12 whites 6 blacks
4. Vindicate	14-17 years old	16.0 years old	40 males	36 blacks 3 whites 1 Hispanic
5. ARC	15-18 years old	16.3 years old	10 males	8 whites 2 blacks

Among the features evident in this table is the fact that the three programs (ARC, Vindicate, and Florida Keys) which specified older adolescents as an intake criterion are, indeed, providing services to that population. The total range in ages of clients participating in these programs as a group is slightly broader than was specified in the formal intake criteria. This discrepancy results from the fact that Esperanza had accepted a youngster as young as 11 years old in spite of the program's specifying that its lower age limit was 12 years. However, Utah possesses no specific lower age limit for adjudication, and it is possible for juveniles younger than 12 years of age to be processed through the juvenile justice system. As stated in the intake criteria, all of the residential programs were designed to provide services only to male clients; this is reflected in the above table. In addition, all of the programs contained racially mixed populations except Esperanza, which was designated as a Hispanic group home.

TABLE 18

CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Program	Range in Ages	Average Age	Number by Gender	Number by Race
1. Project Vision	12-16 years old	14.1 years old	27 males 1 female	27 blacks 1 Hispanic
2. Katahdin	12-17 years old	15.2 years old	10 males 3 females	6 whites 6 blacks 1 Native American
3. Transitional Center	13-17 years old	15.2 years old	28 males 3 females	20 whites 11 blacks
4. Viable Alternatives	13-18 years old	15.8 years old	Information Not Available	
5. Key Tracking Plus	15-17 years old	15.9 years old	11 males	11 whites
6. Copper Mountain	14-18 years old	16.3 years old	13 males 1 female	12 whites 2 Hispanics

All of the nonresidential programs except one (Key Tracking Plus) were coed, but in every case the client population was overwhelmingly male. Similarly, all of these programs were racially mixed except one (Key Tracking Plus). The racial mixes extended from mostly white to mostly minority. The range in ages fell within the

limits specified in the programs' intake criteria. Somewhat surprisingly, the average age of clients participating in all of the nonresidential programs was somewhat higher (15.4 years of age) than that of clients in the residential programs (15.2 years of age). This occurred in spite of the fact that three residential programs had specified age criteria in the upper range for juvenile offenders (15-18 years of age) while none of the nonresidential programs possessed such an intake criterion.

CRIMINAL BEHAVIORS

In an examination of the extent and nature of criminal behavior having been exhibited by clients in these programs, we will confine our inquiry to those two behavioral dimensions which are widely used in determining which youthful offenders are severely delinquent: severity of individual offense and repetitiveness of criminal behavior. Unfortunately, these proved to be the most difficult data of all to collect from the programs we visited (availability of such data is notoriously poor throughout the entire juvenile justice system), and in many cases we were able to obtain only fragmentary information.

Residential Programs

Most of the residential programs had client populations exhibiting a mixture of both crimes against persons and property. For example, although we were able to obtain details about referring offenses for only the eighteen most serious offenders at Vindicate Society, this group was severely delinquent, consisting of four youths who had been referred for armed robbery, six for breaking and entering, two for possession of a dangerous weapon, one for manslaughter, one for possession of stolen property, one for sexual assault, one for purse snatching, one for robbery, and one for violation of probation involving an original charge of assault and battery on a police officer. Due to the unavailability of official records, we were unable to reconstruct the individual arrest histories of these offenders. However, the executive director stated that about 60 percent of the clients in the program at the time of our visit (twenty-five youngsters) could be classified as serious offenders with histories of involvement in index crimes against persons and/or breaking and entering. The remaining fifteen clients had been referred for lesser property crimes or were JINS cases having less serious arrest histories.

In the case of Florida Keys Marine Institute, we were able to obtain information about referring offenses and offense histories on seventeen out of eighteen youngsters participating in the program. Following is a breakdown in terms of the two categories for each of the seventeen clients: one referral for attempted robbery and aggravated battery with seven prior arrests: one referral for attempted armed robbery with nine priors; four referrals for burglary with four, six, seven, and ten prior arrests respectively; one referral for burglary and theft with eleven prior arrests; one referral for burglary and grand theft with eight prior arrests; one referral for battery with three prior arrests; one referral for carrying a concealed weapon with three prior arrests; three referrals for violation of probation with two, nine, and eleven prior arrests; three referrals for violation of community control (juvenile court supervision) with two, six, and eleven prior arrests; and one referral for violation of a commitment placement with eleven prior arrests. Unfortunately, we are able to describe previous arrests only

in terms of number. But, there is clear evidence of chronic delinquent behavior in most instances.

At ARC, there were three referrals for burglary, one for theft, one for auto theft, one for breaking and entering, one for receiving stolen goods, one for probation violation involving an original charge of aggravated assault, and two for failure to adjust in previous program placements. While prior arrest records were not obtainable, previous placement data indicated that all but one youngster had histories of at least one earlier placement.

Reasons for referral at PORT included one case of aggravated assault with a previous arrest for theft, one case of auto theft with a previous arrest for burglary, five social service referrals (four cases of status offenses—two instances of truancy and two of incorrigibility—and one case of deviate sexual behavior—incest) with no prior records.

In the case of Esperanza, there was one referral for burglary, one for theft, one for burglary and shoplifting, and one for burglary of a nondwelling along with a burglary of a vehicle. Although detailed arrest histories were not available, we were told that each client had had numerous previous arrests for crimes against property.

In comparing the five programs in terms of referring offenses, four (Vindicate Society, Florida Keys Marine Institute, ARC, and PORT) of the five had client populations characterized by a mixture of crimes against persons and property, although both PORT and ARC had only one active client with a referring charge involving an assaultive act. Esperanza was only serving clients who had been referred for property offenses. However, in terms of the overall severity of referring offenses, PORT seemed to occupy that spot at the least serious end of the continuum. Most PORT clients (four of seven) had been referred by the Department of Social Services on the basis of only status offenses. With respect to repetitiveness or chronicity of criminal behavior, information was more fragmentary. The clearest example of large numbers of clients with chronic contact with the courts was Florida Keys. At the opposite extreme was PORT, where such information was available but indicated very few previous arrests on the part of the seven clients. Based upon what we were told by administrators at Vindicate Society and Esperanza, clients seemed to have had fairly extensive contact with the courts although reasons for previous arrests of clients at Vindicate Society were probably much more severe, with a higher incidence of crimes against persons.

Nonresidential Programs

Most of the nonresidential programs had client populations exhibiting mixtures of both crimes against persons and property. For example, reasons for referral at Key Tracking Plus included three instances of failure to adjust in another program (one of Key's other programs) with prior arrests in the case of the first youth for burglary, three charges of larceny, and two drug possessions; in the case of the second youth for two charges of burglary; and in the case of the third youth for two charges of burglary and a single charge of breaking and entering. Reasons for referral and accompanying arrest histories for the other eight clients were: one referral for violation of probation with prior arrests for larceny and two arrests for breaking and entering; one referral for possession of drugs and attempted suicide with prior arrests for auto theft,

burglary, assault, and possession of a deadly weapon charge; one referral for auto theft and prior arrests for burglary and larceny for more than $100; two referrals for auto theft and burglary with prior arrests in the first case for auto theft, burglary, larceny, and reckless driving and in the second case for three charges of auto theft, three charges of burglary, and larceny; one referral for firebombing with prior arrests for larceny, malicious damage, and assault and battery; one referral for assault and battery of a parent with no prior arrests; and one referral for possession of drugs with intent to distribute and a prior arrest for conspiracy to violate the Controlled Substance Act.

In the case of Copper Mountain we were unable to obtain a breakdown of either referring offenses or arrest histories for the youngsters participating in the program at the time of our visit. However, a final evaluation of Copper Mountain, covering the period from January to June of 1978, indicated that offenders in this program were the most severely delinquent of any of the seven CATY alternative programs examined, based on the severity of youth offenses prior to and during CATY enrollment and on the number of felonies committed prior to and during CATY enrollment. Another evaluation, covering the period from July to September of 1979, reviewed the mix of adjudicated offense types for clients occurring before program enrollment and showed that 48 percent of Copper Mountain's population was adjudicated either for trespassing, burglary of a vehicle, damage by arson, receiving stolen property, theft under $100, joyriding, passing a bad check, destruction of property, public intoxication, contempt of court, or escape from custody. Twenty-nine percent of the clients were adjudicated either for burglary, theft, shoplifting, or forgery.

At Katahdin, there were two referrals for prostitution, two for aggravated assault, one for burglary with a previously unsuccessful placement, one for robbery with a previously unsuccessful placement, three others for burglary, one for multiple charges of robbery and assault and battery, one for robbery, one for theft, and one for theft, possession of drugs, and assault. Without exception, all program participants had chronic arrest histories involving crimes against both persons and property. Included were prior arrests for charges of robbery, armed robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, auto theft, vandalism, and trespassing. It should also be noted that although prostitution is generally classified as a victimless crime, it is characterized on the part of these adolescents by extensive involvement in crimes against persons and property.

In the case of Transitional Center, we were able to obtain extensive information regarding the referring offenses and arrest histories of the fifteen most serious offenders. The referring offenses for these clients were: one case of attempted simple burglary, two cases of burglary, four cases of simple burglary, one case of attempted burglary, one case of probation violation for truancy, one case of theft, one case of probation violation for an unspecified status offense, two cases of probation violation for unknown reasons, one case of attempted simple rape, and one case of battery. Although this list of offenses leading to referral does not appear to be very serious overall, an examination of their records revealed arrest histories characterized by frequent violent crimes as well as major crimes against property. These youngsters were, indeed, serious habitual juvenile offenders.

Reasons for referral to Project Vision included nine cases of larceny, one case of arson, two cases of status offenses, one case of auto theft and possession of drugs, two cases of shoplifting, one case of sexual assault, one case of assault on a teacher, two

cases of robbery, one case of dependent and neglected (associated history of unlawful acts), one case of trespassing, two cases of assault and larceny, one case of larceny and trespassing, and four cases of larceny and truancy. All of the clients had arrest backgrounds characterized by multiple contacts with the courts usually reflecting a number of crimes against both property and persons.

Since Viable Alternatives was not in operation at the time of our visit, the records of eighteen randomly drawn clients were surveyed out of approximately ninety offenders served during fiscal year 1979/80. A review of these records indicates the following reasons for referral: one case of attempted robbery and battery; two cases of breaking and entering; one case of armed robbery; one case of shoplifting and violation of community control; two cases of burglary; one case of grand theft; one case of petty larceny and aggravated assault; one case of two charges of breaking and entering; one case of petty theft, loitering, and resisting arrest; one case of attempted petty theft and armed robbery; one case of violation of probation; one case of possession of drugs and burglary; two cases of violation of community control; one case of petty theft and armed robbery; one case of three burglaries; one case of two burglaries and trespassing. The offense histories, for the most part, reflected a large number of previous delinquency charges. Only four of the clients had less than five previous charges; the average number of prior arrests was 8.2. Most of these charges were for property crimes although aggravated assault and battery charges were present among prior offenses for seven of the eighteen clients.

In comparing the six nonresidential programs in terms of referring offenses, four (Key Tracking Plus, Katahdin, Project Vision, and Viable Alternatives) of the six programs possessed a client population characterized by a mixture of crimes against persons and property. In the case of Copper Mountain and Transitional, both of which had virtually no referrals involving violent crime (one case of attempted rape in Transitional Center), interesting circumstances seem to lie behind these referral patterns. Regarding Copper Mountain, it should be noted that the profile of crimes in this program did not vary greatly from those of juvenile offenders incarcerated in the state training school. The explanation to this seeming paradox is that the most seriously delinquent acts occurring in Utah tend to be felonies against property and not serious or life-threatening felonies against persons. These property crimes are much more widespread and generally alarming to the public than are those rare acts of violence committed against persons by juveniles.

In the case of Transitional Center, the almost total lack of violent crimes against persons among the referring offenses in spite of the fact that the program is clearly directed to a serious offender population poses an interesting question. When one looks at the arrest histories of the group, it is revealed that numerous clients had been previously arrested for violent index crimes. One possible explanation is that somewhere in the processing of these youngsters through the court, charges were downgraded in order to allow them to be eligible for participation in the program. Since Transitional Center is the only major alternative available to the Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court and is also a public agency operating under the auspices of this court, the downgrading of charges is a reasonable strategy to retain certain kinds of offender within the jurisdiction of the local court.

As providers of services to this delinquent population, these programs as a group are more appropriately meeting their mandate than are the five corresponding

residential programs. The proportion of serious juvenile offenders is greater in these programs.

A final note must be made concerning the offense histories characterizing these programs as a whole. Although fragmentary in several cases, these data suggest fairly repetitive criminal behavior on the part of clients. Backgrounds including crimes against persons and property are found among the clients of virtually all of these programs.

CHAPTER VI

INTAKE PROCEDURES AND SERVICE PLAN DEVELOPMENT

In addition to the formal guidelines for admission listed in intake criteria, there are several other factors which are involved in deciding whom to accept for participation in programs for the serious youthful offender. Procedures vary enormously, both in the complexity of the decision-making process and in the number of persons participating in making the decision. With respect to the former factor, the decision is often made quickly after only a brief consideration of the suitability of potential clients, but in some cases reaching a final decision will entail a number of separate steps spread over a considerable length of time. With respect to the latter factor, deliberations over the acceptance of the potential client will sometimes involve the participation of only a single staff member while at other times the procedure will involve a team of persons from the program, often conferring with individuals outside the agency. When outsiders participate in the admission process, they are usually representatives of the referral source.

INTAKE

Residential Programs

Among the five residential programs three of them (PORT, ARC, and Vindicate Society) utilized a team of individuals to make the admission decision while in two programs (Florida Keys Marine Institute and Esperanza) the decision is made basically by one member of the staff. At PORT, potential clients are interviewed by the program's intake committee composed of the Boys' Group Home's two codirectors, PORT's executive director, and a representative of the agency making the referral. Admission of any youngster requires a majority vote of this committee. Usually, the decision of whether or not to admit is made within twenty-four hours after the youth is referred. Approximately 90 percent of all candidates for admission are accepted.

In the case of ARC, the admission decision is made by the executive director of the ARC corporation with significant input from the program director and the program coordinator/president of the ARC corporation. With rare exception, all youths referred to the program are admitted.

The decision concerning the acceptance of clients is usually made at Vindicate Society by an admission team composed of the program's social worker and one Counselor in Training (CIT). CITs, who are junior staff members and former clients, are selected to assist the social worker in this task because of their street experience and ability to relate to potential clients' problems and outlooks. In addition, they provide a unique perspective for new clients about the operation of the program. Once the candidate has been interviewed and his records have been reviewed, the social worker, with input from the CIT, makes the final decision about admission. If any unusual circumstances are uncovered regarding the youth's behavior or past history, he will be interviewed by the executive director before any decision is made. Approximately 90 percent of all candidates are accepted into the program.

Of the two programs which involve only one staff member in the admission decision, Florida Keys Marine Institute possesses the more complex procedure. In this program all candidates are sent by the placement coordinator for HRS in District 11, which is the sole source of referrals. This placement coordinator maintains close contact with FKMI through the program's liaison counselor, who is technically on the payroll of HRS but serves as a member of the program staff. This counselor notifies the placement coordinator about the availability of slots in order to initiate referral. Since it is usually decided beforehand who is appropriate for referral, the vast majority of candidates are accepted without any question. If the program staff decides that a referral is obviously inappropriate, the director of FKMI must send a written justification for this decision to HRS.

In the case of Esperanza the admission decision is made by the clinical director. The majority of candidates are referred by the juvenile court, and with very rare exception all cases are accepted.

Nonresidential Programs

Among the six nonresidential programs, four of them (Transitional Center, Project Vision, Katahdin, and Key Tracking Plus) utilize the services of several persons in making the admission decision while in two programs (Viable Alternatives and Copper Mountain) the decision is essentially made by one member of the staff. At Transitional Center an elaborate set of procedures is employed in making this decision. When the staff at Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court Services, the only source of referrals for the program, considers making a referral, the program coordinator at Transitional Center is consulted about the potential client's profile before referral process is initiated. At this early point a battery of testing procedures and rating devices is used to identify appropriate youths who can be shown to fall into the two acceptable diagnostic categories, learning disabled or emotionally disturbed. Administered by an outside evaluation team affiliated with the University of New Orleans' Special Education Research and Evaluation Center, the Competent Authority Evaluation (CAE) test screens out these youngsters who may be suspected to be appropriate but have not been diagnosed as such. The CAE may also be administered to other potential clients to Transitional Center.

The final admission decision is made by the program coordinator with input from the assistant coordinator who has gathered other information about the candidate in a preadmission interview. Ordinarily, at least one parent and a probation officer accompanies the youngster to this interview. Inappropriate referrals are never made to the program since such great care is taken at the beginning of this process by both the court services and the program to select only appropriate candidates.

In the case of Katahdin, an even more elaborate system for selecting clients has been developed. However, in this instance the system strongly reflects the program's commitment to giving clients a strong voice in decision making. In addition, Katahdin is unique among the programs we visited in regard to the careful scrutiny given to potential clients and the tendency to reject large numbers of referrals. For example, during the calendar year of 1979, Katahdin accepted only about 50 percent of all youths referred.

At the initial point in Katahdin's admission process a brief interview is held by the program's executive director with a representative of the referring agency in order to identify the major problems troubling the candidate. If this meeting is satisfactory, a staff member—whoever has available time—will examine the youth's case records to determine if the candidate meets all of the intake criteria. If the results of this inquiry are positive, an interview is arranged for the youth with the director or counselor who decides upon the basis of this meeting whether or not a final admissions interview should be scheduled.

If the potential client clears all of these hurdles, a final interview is held at the program to make a final evaluation of appropriateness for placement and to familiarize the youth with program rules and procedures. The interview is conducted by an intake team composed of two staff members and one program participant. A majority vote of this team can tentatively admit the candidate to the program. However, before final approval is given, an important meeting with the parents must take place. This interview is crucial since the staff of Katahdin, which is nonresidential, must be certain that excellent communication can be established with the family, that the youth will be able to reside at home without severe disruptions, and that the family will agree to participate in family counseling on a regular basis. Again, the interview team by majority vote can either approve or reject the candidate's admission on the basis of this interview with parents.

If approval occurs at this point, the client spends his/her first week in the program becoming familiar with the details of daily life at Katahdin. At the end of the one-week orientation period the entire program staff, the youth's family, and a representative of the referring agency convene at the facility to review the appropriateness of the youth for further participation in Katahdin. If fully accepted into the program, the client is placed on a three-week probationary status. At the end of this period a probation review is held by the staff, and if no problems have arisen, the youth is promoted to regular client status.

At Project Vision, potential clients are referred directly to that staff member who will serve as the individual counselor if the youth is accepted into the program. This person makes an initial decision about the suitability of the candidate based upon an interview and various case records. Once this step is completed, the counselor confers with the program director who then makes the final decision about admission. Only very rarely are potential clients denied admission to the program.

The decision concerning admission at Key Tracking Plus is largely a responsibility shared by program staff and the DYS regional office. Regularly scheduled meetings occur each month between the program service coordinator and the DYS placement coordinator. During these sessions discussions take place concerning potential referrals and the status of the four slots used in the initial residential stay period. Final acceptance of a client generally reflects a joint decision by the program service coordinator and/or the program supervisor and the DYS supervisor. Very few candidates are rejected, since the referral process is closely coordinated between Key Tracking Plus and DYS.

Both of the programs which utilize basically a single staff member to make decisions regarding admissions have quite simple procedures and very rarely refuse candidates referred to them. At Viable Alternatives the decision is made by the senior

counselor who is responsible for administering the program on a day-to-day basis. Under extraordinary circumstances the executive director reserves the authority to override this decision. In the case of Copper Mountain the admission decision is made by the program director with recommendations from the staff.

SERVICE PLAN DEVELOPMENT

This step in the process of moving clients into participating in program activities and in observing program rules and regulations is crucial to most programs. Treatment in these settings is usually rooted in the notion that each participant has special problems and needs arising from a variety of possible causes. Thus the client must be perceived and responded to in an individualized fashion. The importance attached to the necessity of responding to a distinctive set of behavioral and cognitive features in each client's movement through the program is first addressed at this initial point in planning. This act of specifying what is expected of each client can draw on the advice of numerous actors such as staff, parents, and probation officers, can utilize various kinds of information in gaining some fix on the previous misconduct of clients, and can generate various kinds of goals and objectives in placing the client on a particular treatment path.

The Residential Programs

Among the residential programs, four (Esperanza, Florida Keys Marine Institute, ARC, and PORT) rely heavily upon the development and implementation of service plans for guiding clients as they progress through required activities en route to graduation. Only Vindicate Society did not utilize an individual service plan. The four programs with service plans all require that the plan be written and be agreed to by the client. Collectively, these programs involve a range of from two to four actors in this process. For example, the development of the service plan at Esperanza is guided by the clinical director, always with the participation of the client and a representative of the referring agency; the parents are also frequently involved. In contrast, in the case of both Florida Keys Marine Institute and ARC the process is carried out mostly through the interaction of only the staff and the client. Parents are never involved in this activity in either program. PORT resembles more closely Esperanza in this activity in that an attempt is made to involve a large number of persons with widely varying perspectives, namely the client, the codirectors of the group home, a representative of the referring agency, and the parents when available.

In drawing up the conditions of the plan, various kinds of information obtained from outside sources are utilized. For example, Esperanza is careful to incorporate those conditions spelled out in the court order, especially if a restitution agreement was attached. Florida Keys relies heavily upon a commitment packet compiled by HRS and accompanying the client to the program. This packet contains a social history, a predispositonal report, a psychological profile if available, and a face sheet from the arrest. In fact, most of these programs utilize a social history which is sent by the referring agency. Of course, these materials are almost always supplemented with the results of tests conducted early on at the program.

With respect to goals and objectives, these programs as a group tend to emphasize the importance of behavioral change as reflected in certain specified accomplishments such as attending school, obtaining part-time employment, overcoming authority figure problems, curtailing anger, and dealing successfully with provocative peers. In the case of ARC, the service plan is periodically updated as the client progresses through the program.

Once completed, service plans are usually shared with representatives of the referring agency. At PORT, the completed service plan is shared with the client's parents.

It should be noted that Vindicate Society's decision not to develop an individual service plan is a deliberate act. As conceived by its director, the program is a therapeutic milieu in which peer pressure and collective action constitute the essence of intervention and change. Exceptions made for individual variation are viewed as deflecting from the overall goals of the program.

Nonresidential Programs

Among the nonresidential programs all utilize service plans to chart the movement of clients through their programs. Several of these programs such as Key Tracking Plus and Copper Mountain involve a number of persons such as program staff, family, the client, a representative of the referring agency, and sometimes personnel from the client's school in the development of the plan, while other programs such as Project Vision and Transitional Center rely primarily upon the collaboration of staff and the client to produce a plan.

Various kinds of information are utilized in developing the service plan, as is the case with the residential programs. At one extreme is a program such as Transitional Center, which draws up a wide range of testing results including the Wechler Intelligence Scale for Children, Visual-Motor Assessment (Bender-Gestalt), Wide Range Achievement Test, Spache Diagnostic Reading Scales, Detroit Tests of Learning Aptitude, Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and the Competent Authority Evaluation. By contrast, another program such as Project Vision makes much less use of testing procedures as a basis for service plan development. Usually, these programs as a group combine some information drawn from outside sources such as the referring agency's social history and the results of certain testing carried out at the program during the initial stages of the client's participation.

The statements of goals and objectives in the service plans of nonresidential programs tend to be quite similar in form to those developed in the residential programs. Emphasis is always placed on positive behavioral change defined in terms of meeting certain specified obligations such as attending school, obtaining part-time work, resolving family disputes, and improving relationships with peers. At Copper Mountain these objectives are stated in terms of identifiable, measurable goals with time frames attached for reaching these goals. At Viable Alternatives the service plan can be revised and renegotiated as the client progressed through the program.

In all cases, the completed service plan is shared with the referring agency to show exactly what course of action would be taken with the particular client.

CHAPTER VII

PROGRAM SERVICES: STRATEGIES AND COMPONENTS*

Frequently, in order to achieve insight into why people behave as they do, under what conditions, and with what meaning and implication, we construct explanations based upon "idealized types" and "heuristic abstractions." Such analytical devices are both helpful and necessary in deriving assumptions of human behavior and the implicit value positions they contain, in sorting out possible implications for intervention, in predicting and projecting likely consequences, etc. The danger, however, is in mistakenly assuming that the various concepts and frameworks in their pure form will be found in the phenomena they are intended to help explain.

To take a concrete example, social workers, criminologists, psychologists, and social researchers are wont to differentiate between various theories of delinquency intervention, the manner in which each theory views human nature and behavioral causation, and the way in which such views influence worker roles, client roles, and the structure and nature of potential intervention settings. Sharp contrasts are made, for example, between intervention strategies emphasizing behavioral modification and those reflecting psychodynamic techniques. Animated discussions between proponents of each strategy are commonplace in schools and in professional circles. Certainly, given that the basic assumptions and views of change embraced by each appear so starkly in opposition, it is not at all surprising to wonder how it is possible for practitioners of either persuasion to agree on anything, much less work together; envisioning a program combining elements of both would seem on the surface to be preposterous.

In fact, however, actual practice frequently cuts across theoretical assumptions and reflects the use of numerous approaches and techniques in, if you will, a kind of hybrid construction. In their hybrid forms, the programs reflect to varying degrees that array of ingredients which can be used simultaneously and/or sequentially. A change or modification in tactics may reflect, on the one hand, an individual client's progress or setback, or on the other, the technique's workability as an overall organizing framework.

A TYPOLOGY OF RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

We begin our analysis by looking at the basic thrust of the five residential programs with respect to their relative emphasis on socialization, a therapeutic milieu, and psychoanalytically oriented clinical service. We first shall differentiate among these three broad program strategies or modalities.

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*The conceptual frameworks in this chapter were developed by David Altschuler for use in this monograph as well as in the dissertation, "Evaluating Community-based Linkages: An Exploratory Comparative Analysis," School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.

Socialization programs tend to reflect a caring, supportive, patterned environment which provides firm and personalized guidance; good role models; and active participation in school, work, and constructive recreational, leisure-time pursuits. Key ingredients are helpful instruction, well-rounded activities, nurturance, and a family-like atmosphere. Unlike Smucker's characterization of socialization (see Approaches and Techniques for Intervention Strategies with Serious Juvenile Offenders, p. 45) which applies to institutional settings, to the extent that the "socialization milieu" in a more community-based setting relies on "therapeutic" intervention, it is an effort devoted largely to helping clients adjust to the experience of assuming new responsibilities and maturely resolving difficulties that are encountered. There is a concern for training and developing capabilities. Youths are viewed as having resources that can be developed. The implicit assumption is that social disorganization and deficient or inadequate family patterns are the principal causes of delinquency.

In milieu treatment, often exemplified by many of the so-called therapeutic communities, the approach is based on more intensive peer group dynamics and involves the active manipulation and control of the overall environment to bring about personality change, psychological alteration, and self-control. In general, deviance is corrected by more thoroughgoing and intensive reorientation and reconstitution. Typically, more extensive and broader changes are sought, such as those relating to personality and fundamental psychological makeup.

Psychoanalytically oriented clinical service, as distinct from milieu treatment (see discussion of Smucker research, p. 45), emphasizes much more the individual therapeutic relationship. It utilizes the group living experience primarily to supplement an individualized worker-client clinical approach.

Vindicate and ARC come closest to exhibiting milieu treatment, though Vindicate permits much more daily exposure to the outside community. Experanza, FKMI, and PORT come closest to exhibiting a socialization milieu though substantial differences exist among these three programs. None of the residential programs fits very well into the clinical service category. This is probably because the major objective of achieving personal, emotional insight and "psychodynamic realizations" through highly professionalized mental health clinicians operating apart from the residential setting has by and large not taken hold in serious offender programs operating in community-based settings.

There are numerous reasons for this, including a widespread rejection of the premise that highly professionalized clinicians engaging in largely individualized (and some group) psychoanalytically oriented treatment are necessary or adequate means to organize intervention for this population. Whittaker (1979: p. 55), in commenting on the effects of using group living only to facilitate and supplement a largely individual psychoanalytically oriented relationship has said, "the concept of the role of child therapist as a professional separate and apart from the child's living space has had a profoundly retarding effect on the development of the milieu as a means and a context for therapeutic gain." Whittaker believes that while some psychoanalytically based approaches to milieu treatment remain viable (e.g., the work of Redl), they remain useful in spite of their psychoanalytic underpinnings and not because of them.

APPLICATION OF THE TYPOLOGY: THE THERAPEUTIC MILIEU

ARC consciously attempts to shape all experiences and the environmental features of the facility to enhance and generate change. The goal is to have the "students" come to the realization that they need to revise their life-style and philosophy in order to fulfill their potentials for growth and maturation. They state in their student orientation manual that "our aim is to use intensely motivating techniques such as individual and group counseling, reality therapy, lectures, movies, and discussions that will enable you to work through your alibis, rationalizations, and lies and to replace defiance and fear with faith that there is a better way of life."

They seek to accomplish this aim by treating the students firmly (they say "nonnegotiation"), decently ("nonintimidation"), and fairly; by moving them in and out of the community under carefully controlled circumstances; and by keeping them intensely busy and active for virtually all waking hours. The program is housed in a rather large, attractive, well-kept home in a residential neighborhood of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Sleeping quarters on the second floor consist of four bedrooms which can sleep one to four students.

The program is a highly structured group home which, according to one staff member, reflects a perfect marriage between a group home and a therapeutic community. Formal group sessions are held twice a week, although mealtimes are also used as a vehicle for some staff-guided discussions. Extended group sessions, sometimes lasting several days, can be called to resolve long-standing or serious problems concerning overall conduct or specific incidents. Each student is also assigned an individual counselor with whom he meets on a formal basis once a week. This provides for each student one staff person who handles paperwork, monitors progress, supplies individualized counseling and support, and guides movement through the program.

A simple point system, functioning much like demerits, is used to determine preference among a variety of chores. Extensive prerelease preparation coupled with placement help and reintegration support is heavily emphasized. Finally, the in-house school is an integral part of the program and counselors closely assist in this component. An individually tailored curriculum is developed for each student. Both GED preparation and remedial instruction are available, as is extensive work on practical skill acquisition.

Vindicate Society, although using a nearby community school and local resources for training and job opportunities also pursues the therapeutic community model, but with a much more aggressively confrontational style and with a staff made up predominantly of former residents. Group sessions occur three times a week. Two of the "guided group confrontation" meetings per week are organized so that three different subgroupings take place. Depending upon the personality and style of each youth, he is placed into either the aggressive, passive, or mixed group. A highly controversial form of boxing is also practiced at the program. Although the executive director regards it as a strong deterrent, he does not consider it punitive, dangerous, or questionable as a therapeutic technique. This point of view is not similarly held by several other state and local agencies, one of which ordered the practice suspended several different times, for varying periods.

Individual sessions, although not formally scheduled, are said to occur daily. Serving a relatively large population (forty residents), Vindicate appears to maintain a high level of control over the youths. Close surveillance is accomplished by both staff and other residents. This appears to equally apply both in and out of the facility. When in school in the neighborhood, a number of other residents (some more advanced in the program) are always around to act as the "eyes and ears" of the program. Even the recreational director at the program is a teacher and football coach at the local school.

Vindicate's desire is to keep youngsters for eighteen months. It is believed that this will provide sufficient opportunity to bring about individual change through the program's collective group process. This is so ardently endorsed that the executive director maintains there are, in essence, no individualized treatment plans, but rather an intensive group experience intended and ideally suited for any potentially eligible client. This notion, plus the length of stay advocated, have been a continual source of conflict between the program and a number of the local and state juvenile justice authorities.

A pervasive feature of the program is the emphasis placed on the value of providing positive role models who culturally, socially, and economically resemble the residents. Progress through the program is marked by movement through three phases, each reflecting successive levels of increasing privilege and autonomy. Considerable emphasis is placed on physical fitness and sports. Specially equipped recreational rooms have been set up in the facility. The building itself is a large, multiple-level, dormitory-type facility located in the heart of downtown Newark. Although surrounded mostly by businesses and commercial establishments, there is little concern about the lack of a more residential-like environment. This was based on the view that even if a program filled with seriously delinquent youth is located in a residential area this hardly approximates a normal or typical living situation. Moreover, nearby residential neighbors can be the source of continued resistance and formidable opposition.

THE SOCIALIZATION MILIEU

When we move on to analyze the three residential programs which demonstrate a greater emphasis on a socialization milieu, we find the degree of change sought and the range of attributes thought to require attention to be discernibly less (see Street, Vinter, and Perrow, p. 43). FKMI focuses on the challenge, inspiration, skill acquisition, and the close supervision provided in their maritime and somewhat isolated residential program. The building (dormitory style) and adjacent grounds occupy a small portion of an abandoned naval base on the island of Key West. Remaining at the facility for approximately four months, youth are kept intellectually busy and physically challenged. Progress is closely assessed by means of a relatively complicated point system. Advancement through the program is dependent upon obtaining sufficient points to reach successive levels of program completion.

During the day the eighteen or so residential students are intermingled with day students. At such times there can be fifty or more youngsters at the program for schooling and instruction. The four instructor-counselors who teach the marine-oriented subjects also serve as counselors for the residential students. Group sessions

for the residents are a mixed affair; twice a week in a group of about ten with a community mental health worker, once a week in a group of five with the designated individual counselor, and a once-a-week overall meeting for level advancement, awards and course completion recognition, and general information dissemination. Individual sessions are not regularly scheduled but consist of informal and as-needed meetings with the counselor.

The instructor-counselors are recruited on the basis of their maritime credentials and expertise and their interest in working in this kind of program. Recruitment is through advertisements in maritime journals and publications. One worker expressed concern over the practice of bringing in persons with little or no background to deal with difficult youngsters and then placing them in a residential program as primary counselors. There are, of course, four other school staff and six dorm counselors who live with the residents. The program tries to make as much use as it can of peer input (required for level advancement), and some group techniques, though the latter falls mainly to two mental health workers who operate somewhat apart from the living space and daily activities of the youths.

Esperanza, an ethnic group-living program for youthful Hispanic offenders, and PORT, a social learning, family-teaching model program, are programs approaching the more traditional conception of a group home setting. Esperanza seeks to provide a homelike atmosphere and "culturally appropriate" treatment models. It is located in a pleasant-looking, well-maintained house in a residential section of Salt Lake City. Also utilizing a point and staging system, Esperanza employs mostly Hispanic staff to monitor, role model for, advise, and stabilize its small residential population. It relies heavily on community schools and on weekly home visits following a short period of more restrictive mobility.

The regularly scheduled once-a-week group and individual counseling sessions are largely conducted by the clinical director. Development of ethnic pride and individual self-esteem, dealing constructively with conflict, and taking and demonstrating responsibility form the basis of the program's overall goals. Deliberate and delicately patterned family intervention is also pursued by the clinical director. This involves several visits each month designed to slowly build up trust and rapport. In this way, somewhat more structured and intensive forms of inquiry, counseling, and advice can be initiated later.

PORT was the only residential program visited which utilized a live-in houseparent model. Located in an attractive housing development in Rochester, Minnesota, the program stresses the teaching of relevant life skills, developing appropriate group living behavior, and the role modeling of the married couple who act as codirectors. The youngsters all go to public schools, some being transported to their home community school at the expense of the home school district.

Individual and group counseling appears to be quite informal and largely unstructured. On a daily basis, some form of individualized feedback in the form of a casual rap session usually takes place. This might involve spending time with the referral agent, a probation officer, a social worker, or the houseparents. Ordinarily, the residents meet as a group twice a week. These sessions tend to focus on household management and adaptive strategies for group living. More formalized and intensive counseling, if needed, can be procured from any number of professionals in the

community. Weekly home visits are commonplace. The houseparents also conduct some sessions with families, largely oriented around "parenting" skills and instruction. Lacking related experience and background in dealing with these kinds of matters and problems, the houseparents are closely supervised by the experienced executive director of the group home's larger controlling agency. The program's overall structure is clearly in keeping with its orientation to have fair-minded, firm role models heading up as homelike a household as possible.

A TYPOLOGY OF NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

In the residential programs which reflect a greater emphasis on milieu treatment, we see an attempt to structure or create a more tightly knit and controlled therapeutic environment whereby all components are utilized and integrated into an actively directed treatment plan. The degree of change sought and the range of attributes thought to require attention are extensive and are reflected in longer lengths of stay. While some milieu approaches may variously emphasize individual psychotherapy, group process, and more elaborate token economy systems, there remains the critical factor of trying to tightly structure and control the events that occur in daily living (i.e., within the facility and outside facility influences and processes) so that they constantly promote, reinforce, and contribute to more deep-seated and thoroughgoing change in personality, psychological constitution, and character.

While the day treatment programs could not create a twenty-four hour living/learning environment, there is no question that they pursued with great intensity the development of maximally comprehensive and intensive intervention strategies involving virtually all aspects of social interaction, conduct, and psychological well-being. The wide range of attributes requiring attention and the extensive client change sought are manifestly recognized in the design and nature of both Transitional Center and Key Tracking Plus.

Three of the nonresidential programs, Copper Mountain, Katahdin, and Viable Alternatives (VAP) pursued rather intensive intervention strategies, but not in quite as all-encompassing a manner. There was not as much emphasis on trying to manipulate and control most of the events that occur in the course of daily living. The level of intervention is more appropriately described as moderate. There remain numerous interesting and distinctive features about each of these three programs, but they do share a common orientation leading them to allow clients more opportunity for unsupervised outside-program time.

This should not be interpreted to mean that events occurring outside the program are not used as a basis for teaching alternate behaviors, but rather that these three programs, by design, either do not keep their clients for a considerable portion of the day or that they ordinarily do not impose close monitoring and strict, specific rules of conduct on the time spent outside the program. The final and sixth day treatment program, Project Vision, falls into a third type. Perhaps best identified as an "outreach worker" program, virtually everything taking place occurs out in the community. Generally, none of the program's components require client attendance at the facility and there are no mandatory group activities, either in or out of the facility.

In short, as we examine the basic strategies and the service components of these six nonresidential programs, we can observe, as we did with their residential counterparts, substantial differences among programs grouped in the same general category. This should once again remind us that broad program typologies or classification schemas frequently obscure significant variation among programs within a particular category.

PROGRAMS WITH MAXIMUM INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Transitional Center, targeted toward seriously delinquent youth who are either learning disabled or emotionally disturbed, provides an intensive learning environment in which clients spend approximately ten hours a day, five days a week. It combines extraordinarily well-rounded special education with daily but brief individualized counseling sessions and behavior-problem-related daily group sessions.

Having totally abandoned a token economy system for a so-called reality therapy orientation, problems and misbehaviors are dealt with immediately by one of the staff members. The aim is to diffuse the situation at the outset and to confront the problem with positively oriented concern. This is facilitated by having counselors spend time in the classrooms and teachers participate in the group sessions. Involving the students and parents directly in monthly case reviews is part of this general approach, which heavily emphasizes clear and immediate feedback regarding irresponsible behavior and its consequences for hindering movement through the program. Self-evaluation by the client is considered of primary importance. This includes soliciting the client's reactions to the comments made by staff in the monthly case reviews, as well as providing the youngsters with an opportunity to express themselves on their progress over the preceding month.

Academic subjects, cultural enrichment activities and events, and vocational/life skills areas are all emphasized and worked on daily. Meals are eaten in small groups which are made up of all the youngsters in a particular counselor's caseload. As with virtually every activity at the program, meals are utilized as a teaching exercise; consequently, the youths help with preparation, serving, and cleanup. The competitive side of recreational activities is consciously deemphasized in favor of activities which foster the mastery of basic skills. An extensive arts and crafts class is held after the dinner hour. Involvement with family takes place in several ways, and there is much use of volunteers for both in-program activities and in some aftercare arrangements where a big brother/sister is thought beneficial.

Key Tracking Plus is also a program predicated on structuring and closely monitoring how clients spend much of their time. It can be grouped into a single category with Transitional Center, since both are organized to provide daily, relatively long hours of support services and close supervision. At the same time, however, Plus is organized on an entirely different basis, thus underscoring the fact that extensive levels of supervision and service can be exerted in a manner which can vary quite extensively.

Tracking Plus, unlike Transitional Center, makes use of community schools. Great care is taken to be sure that the school selected is, in fact, the most appropriate school for the client. Public schools, vocational education programs, and adult

education classes are all possibilities which can be explored during the first several weeks of program participation. This is one of the numerous objectives which make up the so-called "residential intake" phase of the program. For one to four weeks, clients taken into Plus are housed on the second floor of the program facility. During this period, a residential caseworker is assigned to each of the clients. At any one point in time, the maximum capacity for residential intake is four clients. While living at the facility the confinement is highly restrictive and heavily structured. In very short order, the total accountability required shifts to measures based on tracking, trust, and personal responsibility. Initially, however, there is very little room for leeway.

The residential caseworker will see the client daily to work on assessment, development of treatment objectives, arrangement of community tracking plans, and the formulation of a written contract. Three or four family meetings must also be held prior to beginning community tracking. Typically, various problems are explored including limit setting at home, discipline, parenting skills, marital relationships as they relate to the child, etc. Once-a-week formal group meetings are held with all the clients, but the primary emphases for the residential intake clients are the caseworker meetings, the family meetings, and the in-house sessions. While in residence, each youth spends three hours of the morning in school. The school is run by a special education teacher who works remedially with the youngsters and tests for achievement levels. Generally, within the first two days an outreach worker is assigned. This person closely collaborates with the residential caseworker and will be involved in at least some of the family meetings.

Once the community tracking phase begins, the outreach worker assumes primary responsibility though the residential caseworker will continue to maintain contact. As part of the more standard terms of the community tracking contract, clients agree to be "tracking accountable"; to attend school, job training, and/or work; to participate in weekly group counseling sessions; to attend the mandatory program-sponsored recreational and cultural activities; and to comply with a curfew. Tracking is twenty-four hours a day, meaning the client is expected to follow a prearranged schedule seven days a week. At set times every day clients must call in to report their whereabouts, and unannounced spot checks at any time and in any place are possible.

A team structure has been established so that an outreach worker remains on-call all hours of the day and night. This provides coverage for each worker when days off occur and for crisis intervention at any time. Clients are seen by outreach workers three or four times a day, and while some of the contacts may be quite brief, they can also lead to more involved discussions. It is expected that at least twice a week more intensive individual counseling will take place, though it may literally occur anywhere. Family, teachers, and employers are encouraged to call Plus at any time, and they are regularly contacted by the outreach workers. Mandatory group sessions devoted to both problem solving and recreation occur twice a week and twice a weekend.

A critical facet of the program is residential backup. Used in instances when there is a violation of the contract or at particularly trying and crisis-prone times, it is generally used several times per client during program participation. The previously assigned residential caseworker will intensively work with the youth, and the outreach worker will often join them for collaborative sessions.

PROGRAMS WITH MODERATE LEVELS OF INTERVENTION

All three of the moderate intervention programs have at their core an alternative school format with additional components incorporated into the overall program. Katahdin is a coed program which emphasizes in a variety of ways student participation and involvement in the running of the program. Morning meetings, held every day and presided over by the student body president, cover the scheduled activities of the day and any other issues of importance. The student body as a whole is allowed significant input into decision making. This includes a say in the program's intake decision on each and every prospective client as well as on appeals which are made by students who have been suspended. The student body actually sets the conditions which must be met for a suspended student to return. The intent of these "egalitarian gestures" is to create a feeling of ownership in the program. Clients exercise some control over not only what happens to themselves, but also over what happens in the program and to others in it. This extends to the operations of the board of directors where there is a seat reserved for the student body president.

The school curriculum is managed by an accredited secondary school teacher. Each youth is tested and provided with an individually tailored educational plan. Many of the clients are academically well behind most students their own age. Some of them have been out of school for one to two years, while others may have been enrolled, but rarely attended classes. Weekly educational contracts are formulated and much flexibility exists to accommodate other activities and events that may be going on. By meeting the terms of the contract, the youth can earn credits toward completion of their educational requirement. Fractions of a credit are given at the end of five weeks if all the weekly contracts have been successfully completed. Credits earned at the program are accepted by the local school system and many of the students continue their schooling at another alternative school for youngsters who are unable to function in the regular school system structure.

Counseling at Katahdin emphasizes individual and family interaction more than group. In justifying this orientation, the director pointed out that many of the clients tend to be loners, that the peer group at the program is not a "natural peer group" for the students, and that many of the clients have been through group counseling before and have a strong aversion to it. Upon further reflection, however, it was stated that the right facilitator might make a difference. There are group meetings twice a week. In these sessions clients are allowed to vent their feelings, voice complaints, and discuss issues of mutual interest. The session is largely self-directed by the clients. Two treatment specialists are responsible for providing individual counseling to their own caseload once a week on a formal basis and additionally as needed. Specific techniques are left to the discretion of the counselor who decides on a case-by-case basis what basic approach to take.

Family counseling is an extremely important feature of the program. While a few of the more severe cases are brokered out for family counseling, most are handled by the staff. Initially, the families of all new clients must come in for family counseling. For four to six weeks families come in once every one to two weeks depending upon need. After this initial period, the nature and extent of further counseling is renegotiated.

Copper Mountain Mental Health Day Treatment Center also has at its core an alternative school format. Additional components include counseling, organized recreation, and tracking. Schooling at Copper Mountain is also based on an individually formulated curriculum contract. The students are involved in setting specific goals and then work initially with teaching machines in reading, spelling, language arts, mathematics, science, and history. Some group classes are held in social studies, health, and physical education.

The counseling component involves individual, group, and family although the group sessions which involve the participation of most of the staff constitute a major thrust of the program. Occurring four times a week, the community group meeting is generally held to deal with emerging problems, value clarification and exchange of ideas, the determination of negative and positive sanctions, and imparting basic information. At times the discussion of behavior issues is set aside, and value clarification is pursued through discussion of a controversial social or political issue. One of the group meetings is devoted to weekly assessment which involves assigning points to clients for participation and effort in the various components and for overall responsibility. Individual counseling sessions generally occur at least twice a week, and the techniques are mixed. General goals are to build rapport, address behavior and consequences, work to establish credible role models, and deal with problems as they arise. Family counseling is also available though it generally involves only a few cases.

Tracking involves one out-of-center contact a day either through phone calls, a brief informal contact, or a home visit. In addition, one personal activity involving tracker and client per week is expected to take place. Designed both for monitoring and support purposes, tracking duties include crisis intervention, maintaining contact with families and other involved agencies, development of personal rapport with the client, functioning as a member of the treatment team with emphasis on behavioral contracting and crisis management, assisting in identifying needed resources particularly in aftercare, and maintaining records for treatment contracts and for evaluation purposes.

Copper Mountain also possesses a well-developed and elaborately organized recreational component. Once a week, clients are required to participate in a full day of organized recreational activity (e.g., skiing, horseback riding, bicycling, rock climbing, hiking, handball, handgliding), and a second half day a week is reserved for a YMCA activity. A third block of time is also frequently used. In addition, there is typically one longer physical challenge trip per month (river runs, YMCA camping, YMCA National Youth Program Using Honda Mini-bikes, backpacking, etc.). The recreational component is predicated on the premise that sport and recreational pursuits represent an acceptable and meaningful way to channel energy, vent frustration, provide excitement and exhilaration, enhance self-esteem, establish close and at times personal rapport with the recreational director, reward and motivate appropriate behaviors, discourage disruptive and uncooperative actions, and acquire new skills and hobbies that might spark future vocational interests and/or leisure-time pursuits. Following these longer trips, the recreational director meets in a debriefing session with the staff and shares observations about the clients who have participated. The recreational component is run by a director with extensive experience in sports and a graduate degree in recreational therapy.

The third and final nonresidential program in this category is the Viable Alternatives to Institutionalization Program (VAP). Clients are basically involved in three components: alternative education, counseling, and job development. The vast majority of VAP's students attend the in-program school. Several students, however, attended the local vocational technical institute; some worked full time and came to the program only for counseling; others worked and attended some other adult educational program while coming to VAP for counseling.

The school provided instruction for three categories of achievement: basic education through the eighth grade, intermediate (pre-GED), and GED prep. VAP clients attend classes with students from some of the other six programs operated in the same facility by the multiservice umbrella agency responsible for all the programs. Much of the schooling is oriented toward individualized learning modules rather than group instruction. Some group classes are held on specific subjects, such as consumer education. Teaching machines are used to arouse interest and to provide variety in the course of the school day. The school operates as part of the local school system, with students receiving regular credit for their work. Diplomas can be obtained if the final requirements are met at the program school. The school component also uses a token economy point system under which points are awarded to students for exhibiting positive behaviors in school-related activities and group meetings. Initially, points could be exchanged for early departure from school, but this aspect of the award system was later changed. According to one teacher, the early departure award was considered an unfortunate reinforcement of the idea that the program was a place a student would rather not be. In this sense, the program was promoting (or literally rewarding) the notion that the services and guidance being provided represented a burden which clients would prefer to avoid rather than a resource of great value. Consequently, the system was changed so that points were used in an auction with students bidding for goods donated by local department stores and businesses.

Having essentially abandoned an intensive group counseling approach utilizing confrontational techniques, the program relies on group counseling sessions run by counselors for the fifteen to twenty-two clients on their own caseloads. Occurring once or twice a week, these sessions rely upon the peer group and peer pressure to develop in the client an understanding of his own behavior, feelings, and problems. Group dynamics observed by the counselors can later be used in individual counseling sessions as a basis for further inquiry and insight development.

Individual counseling varies from intensive requiring at least three sessions a week, to moderate involving at least two sessions a week, and minimal meeting at least once a week. The frequency of contact is initially determined when the case service is formulated. The selection of counseling techniques and strategies is left to the discretion of individual counselors, although weekly case reviews by the staff allowed counselors the opportunity to solicit help and advice.

Family work is initiated in over half the cases. It is frequently arranged at the outset as part of the case service plan. Regular contacts with family always take place to present progress reports, to make inquiries, and to spot early any developing difficulties. Separate behavioral contracts regarding conduct at home are established for some of the clients, particularly younger ones.

The job developer works with those VAP clients who will be working full or part time. Skills taught to these clients include filling out applications, participating in job interviews, seeking appropriate kinds of work, and determining exactly what kind of work is actually available. The job developer maintains an active listing of available jobs, and takes clients to various locations for job interviews. Once a job is procured, the job developer continues to meet with the youth once or twice a week to monitor progress. Some clients qualify for the CETA-sponsored Youth Conservation and Community Improvement Program, which is run out of the facility. This program places clients in union apprenticeship positions and on construction jobs. Another CETA-sponsored job development workshop for clients meeting the income standards is available at the program site.

OUTREACH WORKER INTERVENTION

The final nonresidential program type we encountered was an outreach worker program called Project Vision. A day treatment program offering services to hard-core, chronically delinquent youths, Vision operates out of a boys' club in New Haven, Connecticut. Counseling, as is typically the case, is not based on any single technique but rather on an eclectic style reflecting the needs and problems of individual clients. Counseling sessions can occur whenever and wherever they appear most needed—in the home, on the street corner, at school, or in the boys' club. No emphasis, however, is placed upon having clients come to the facility once they have been accepted into the program. It is conceivable that once admitted clients will not reappear at the program facility until they are ready for graduation.

Once admitted, clients are considered "primary" cases. This means that the individual counselor must have at least three and ideally five face-to-face contacts with the client each week and also spend some time with the client's family and friends. In addition, the counselors are responsible for keeping tabs on their clients on a twenty-four hour basis and for being available for crisis intervention. Counselors are expected to work closely with the youths' families. Parents are contacted at least once per week, either in person or by phone. In addition, regular quarterly parent meetings are held at the boys' club where an open forum is run to discuss common problems. There is, however, no mechanism (e.g., team system, call-in schedule, or staff on call) to assure continuous monitoring and constant availability of a counselor. Primary status for any client lasts for a minimum of six months. In advancing to secondary status, the client is supervised by the same counselor but is only seen twice per week. Counselors are also responsible for assisting their clients in obtaining jobs and for making referrals, if needed, for more intensive psychological or psychiatric services.

There is limited use of group counseling on an ad hoc and largely voluntary basis. Consequently, it plays a minor role in the program. Activities and field trips are also organized on a voluntary basis.

All educational activity is conducted in the community. Some clients attend an alternative educational program operated by the public school system; others attend a special education program designed for learning disabled youth; while still others are enrolled in the regular public schools. All program participants must attend some type of school, and counselors maintain regular contact with teachers at the schools.

CHAPTER VIII

ORGANIZING AND MONITORING CLIENT PROGRESSION:
INCENTIVE SYSTEMS AND AWARD STRUCTURES

Guiding movement through the various programs is an assortment of staging, leveling, achievement/progress, and point systems ranging from relatively simple mechanisms involving only periodic case reviews to elaborately structured token economies in which particular privileges are tied to the attainment of specific levels or stages. While it is not uncommon for the programs to make use of some kind of point system, points can be used in a number of distinct ways. Further, they are not always applicable in every program component. Consequently, we must be careful to differentiate between point systems which are used primarily as a means to dispense rewards and punishments and those which serve as the principal means by which progression in a program is determined.

Among the five residential programs, FKMI, ARC, and Esperanza use some form of point system, Vindicate relies on stages not involving points, and PORT holds monthly case conferences to gauge progress. FKMI's rather complicated token economy system makes use of points to monitor progress, reward responsible behavior, and guide advancement through four specified levels. One to five points are earned for 1) conduct and 2) participation in each class, task, and activity. In this way, a maximum of ten points can be earned for each of the daily three class/activity periods, and up to forty points can be earned over the weekend.

The number of accumulated points in combination with the completion of assigned courses, peer input in group meetings, and staff approval are the criteria used to determine "level advancement." As students progress from apprentice seaman to seaman, mate and first mate, they are permitted more privileges and responsibilities. Level two (seaman), for example, requires an accumulated 450 points. Once obtained, and provided the other requirements are met, students are ordinarily permitted to leave the base with their families for the day. We should point out that this particular privilege had been suspended when we visited due to a rash of abuses. On level three (mate) which requires 1,400 points, a five-day home visit can be arranged. Points are also used in auctions, which are held to select students for special activities, organized evening trips, overnight camping, and group ventures into town. Every student's accumulated points are placed on the prominently displayed Consistency and Performance Chart. At level four, which requires 1,750 points, plans are made for graduation and furlough.

Esperanza also uses a point system which is similarly based on points which accumulate over time and provide a clear basis by which residents can progress. Each youth is given zero to three points in eleven categories for each of three shifts over a twenty-four hour period. The categories are attitude, relationships with others/arguing with counselors, chores, room, personal hygiene, waking up and going to bed, smoking, radio/stereo, phone, home on time, and extra chores. The points for each of the categories are totaled each day and then summed by week. Advancement through the three stages requires a certain proportion of all possible points. As each stage is acquired, mobility, privileges, and responsibility increase. Certain privileges are also

earned as a specified number of weeks elapse within a particular stage and if a certain proportion of all possible points are accumulated.

In both FKMI and Esperanza, the point systems are used to earn privileges, gain new responsibilities, monitor progress, and guide advancement through specified levels or stages. The emphasis is on the positive, with points awarded as rewards. Unsatisfactory performance brings fewer points, rather than negative points or the loss of points. Points are applied toward earning privileges as well as for advancement among discrete statuses.

ARC's point system operates on a much different basis. The program relies on a point system where one to three points are assessed for various rule infractions and misbehaviors. The points essentially serve as demerits which accumulate over a week's time. They are then used as a means to determine preference among a variety of chores. The system thus tends to emphasize the negative, in the sense that points represent instances of misconduct or rule infraction.

Insofar as the points relate to a choice among chores, they only accumulate over a week. The point totals for a month's time are used, but in a different way. After assessing students' progress and cooperation in the various aspects of the program (including monthly point totals), the staff selects a student of the month. The reward consists of being cited on a house plaque and being treated to a steak dinner. Overall movement through the program is basically a function of treatment plan progress, timing, and the absence of problems. At the sixth month each student comes before the entire staff for a progress review. At this point the student, along with his counselor, the outreach coordinator, and the program teacher, discuss progress toward obtaining prerelease status and preparation for a prerelease hearing held at about eight months.

Vindicate progresses students through three distinct phases—intake, advanced, and advanced-advanced. For at least six but more typically seven or eight months, residents are considered in the intake phase. At this point they are given rooms, dormitory style, on the second floor of the facility. After one month, they are allowed to go clothes shopping with $200 provided by the Division of Youth and Family Services. This lag period is used by the program to provide sufficient time for the residents to "buy into" the program. It allows time for clients to show they are going to remain, is an initial move by the program to inject tolerance and patience, and de-emphasizes the money.

As the resident improves and progress is made in education, employment, behavioral control, value modification, and consistency, they are admitted into the advanced unit. Rooms are taken on the first floor and the restrictions on mobility are eased somewhat. Residents are allowed later curfews and are permitted to wear more "dressy" street clothes. Prior to this, the program consciously attempts to de-emphasize "material things," believing they encourage the residents to take their minds off the real issues and problems.

In the advanced unit, progress is reviewed on various residents in weekly case conferences. In the advanced-advanced group, students are eligible for counselor-in-training positions, involvement in group sessions is reduced to a minimum level,

weekend sign out is permissible, and once a week one-to-one sessions are held with the assistant director.

By way of contrast, in PORT progress through the program is measured by successfully meeting the goals stated in the service plan. Every month a case conference is held on the progress of the client; this meeting regularly involves the conference and a representative of the referring agency. Upon completion of all houseparents and clients are graduated from the program.

The nonresidential programs also reveal a variety of ways in which movement through the program is guided and progress pursued. Viable maintains a point system for particular aspects of their program. Copper Mountain uses one on a once-a-week basis to gauge progress and spur group dialogue. Transitional Center, under a new program coordinator, has completely done away with a previously used extensive token economy system and replaced it with a team concept emphasizing reality therapy (personal responsibility and accountability) and monthly staffings with student participation. Key's system relies on a three-stage process incorporating brief residential intake, community tracking, and residential backup, while Katahdin engages in educational contracting and a deep commitment to "egalitarian" organization and extensive student involvement in the running of the program. Project Vision illustrates a detached counselor/tracker approach allowing workers wide discretion in organizing activities and establishing limits.

Viable's in-house school component relies on a point system to reward students for exhibiting positive behavior in school-related activities and groups. As such, it is more a mechanism for encouraging appropriate behavior than determining program progression. There are eight categories for which points can be earned: on time to class, on time from break, respect for peers, respect for staff, working before 10 a.m., working after 10 a.m., group involvement, and bonus. An "O.K." in any category is given one point and an "X" is given zero points. The points are totaled every day and then summed over the week. Points accrue from week to week and are used as bidding points in auctions for goods donated by local department stores and businesses (e.g., sporting goods, playing cards, albums, tee shirts, concert tickets). The point card is designed to resemble a checkbook and it is balanced by students as their earned points are used. In this way, students get accustomed to using basic math in keeping track of point balances and become familiar with how checkbooks work. The counseling and job development activities are monitored in weekly case reviews.

Copper Mountain utilizes a point system to encourage and reward appropriate interpersonal conduct and involvement in each of the programs' components. It is an interesting system in which points are actually assigned only once a week on the basis of a modal staff vote. During one of the week's regularly scheduled community meetings, each student is rated on a five-point scale from "needs improvement" (1) to "excellent" (5) in five categories: counseling, recreation, school, tracking, and responsibility. The category "responsibility" refers to a student's regard for others and for self. The criteria for all categories are effort and participation. As the votes are taken each student can respond and other students comment. The point score voted most frequently by staff is the earned number of points. A "5" in school all week earns a day off from required school work. Weekly totals of "16" or above earns a soft drink, "20" or above earns a soft drink and a candy bar, and a monthly total of "75" or above means the student is taken out for dinner. Unlike the other point systems, this one

capitalizes on a staff and student dialogue concerning performance and assessment. Staff collectively decide on points and the students are a part of the process. The clients see how it is they are assessed and why.

Transitional Center had completely done away with a token economy system, believing it had become unnecessary as an instrument of social control and counterproductive as a result of its tendency to be used punitively and indiscriminately. Thus, the previous merit system requiring the hourly recording of points was replaced by a system predicated on immediately confronting various misbehaviors and rule infractions and evaluating progress along with each student in monthly scheduled case reviews. The emphasis shifted to placing responsibility squarely on the students and dealing with problems and difficulties as they arose. This was expedited by efforts to secure much closer team work by counselors and the teachers, and by requiring a monthly case review for each student, with his or her active participation. As was also the case at Copper Mountain, this means that each student has a regular opportunity to assess his or her own progress over the preceding month, to hear what the staff members think and recommend, and to respond to staff comments.

Key Tracking Plus quickly moves clients from a brief stage of highly restrictive residential confinement to intensive community tracking. In the latter stage, an assigned outreach worker maintains close monitoring and support for the youngster seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day. Coupled with frequent mandatory meetings and activities at and under the guidance of the program, each student is held closely accountable to a set of agreements carefully specified in a signed written contract. Brief residential backup remains available in the event of crisis or contract violation.

Progress is carefully monitored by the close observation and interaction of the outreach worker. Tracking stringency diminishes somewhat with demonstrated improvement and trustworthiness. However, each client is assessed every month in a case conference. Participants include the program director, the residential caseworker, the outreach worker, and the referring agency caseworker. At least one-half of the clients are involved with another Key program subsequent to participation in Plus.

The system at Katahdin relies to a great extent on the active and close involvement, interaction, and equality between the staff and clients. It is believed that by allowing the students a significant input into decision making the chances are increased the clients will have a greater investment in outcomes. This extends over what happens to themselves, others in the program, and in the program overall. It is through generating the feeling of "ownership" in the program and reasonable equality between staff and clients that the program hopes to foster self-confidence, self-control, trust, and honesty. There is no naive expectation this is an easy course; in fact, the executive director commented that it was day-to-day behaviors that they focused on and worked with most intensively. It is expected that, if any chance for value change exists, it will in all probability follow behavioral change. A youngster's basic value structure may or may not be reached, but by working on creating an atmosphere of trust, honesty, lightheartedness, clear expectations, and a high degree of participation in decision making, it is believed the chances are improved for more fundamental and internalized value change.

The egalitarian system the program employs places a great deal of responsibility on the students. They are given many opportunities to influence the program. For example, after a five-day trial period all the students vote on whether to accept or reject a new client. There are rotating student officers, and a student president participates in board meetings. The student body also sets the conditions and the probationary period extended to suspended and misbehaving students. This collective group decision making imposes a large degree of responsibility on the students, and as stated by one staff member, not every youngster can deal with it. Moreover, it also takes a special kind of staff who are willing to "let some power go" and go along with the students' exerting considerable say in how things are done.

In the educational component, a weekly contract is formulated, spelling out what needs to be accomplished in order to be eligible for credit. After five weeks of work, a fraction of a credit is earned. A separate educational progress report is done every week with one copy going to the parents, the probation officer, and the program counselor. The youngster also completes an assessment on his or her own progress. Weekly progress reports are done by the counselors as well, and each client is more formally staffed once a month.

Project Vision's outreach worker approach places major responsibility on individual caseworkers for work with and tracking the clients on their caseload. Ideally, after six months, the number of contacts per week diminishes from five to two. The detached counselor/trackers are required to keep a log of all contacts. This includes writing up a daily activity log and maintaining school and job performance records for each client. In addition, counselors are required to provide monthly updates of the treatment plan detailing a full analysis of the progress of each client in all aspects of the plan.

CHAPTER IX

IMPOSITION OF CONSEQUENCES AND PUNISHMENT FOR CONTROL PURPOSES

The use of point systems, the acquisition of privileges, and the staging of client progression or advancement through a program are all methods to exert control over a client population. Similarly, vital to the operation of any community-based program are provisions for asserting control, setting limits, and imposing structure in other ways, such as establishing consequences and imposing punishment for rule infractions and misbehaviors. This relates to the dual purposes of trying to maintain order, supervision, and consistency while simultaneously providing support and counsel, education and training, advocacy, service brokerage, etc.

We have already described a variety of ways in which point systems can be used to dispense rewards and punishments. The programs visited also employ additional sanctions to deal with misconduct. Those without point systems rely on other kinds of control mechanisms. Sanctions include reprimand and individualized talk sessions, written exercises, work hours, mobility restrictions and altered curfews, loss of home visits, reduction in allowable activities, brief isolation (e.g., confinement in room), prolonged group encounters, monetary restitution or reduction in allowance, loss of privileges, peer pressure, stigmatizing garb, the threat or use of force, physical restraint in countering aggressive or violent outbursts, reports to probation/youth authority/courts, and program termination, usually accompanied by return to the referral source for additional action.

We turn now to the primary measures used in imposing consequences and punishments in each of the programs under study. We will also point out measures taken to control entry and exit to and from the program site, since such measures are often regarded as one way in which institution-based programs exert impersonal and therefore possibly dehumanizing and overly punitive control. FKMI residents, as was stated earlier, might earn a minimum of only two points (indicating "deficiency") in each of the three daily (Monday-Friday) activity periods. Depending upon accumulated totals, clients may 1) not advance in level, 2) be denied accompanying level privileges, and 3) have insufficient points to bid on participation in special trips and other activities which are regularly auctioned. In addition, however, there is also a "time-out" room, use of work details, and the prospect of an administrative hearing (involving the referral agency) which might result in the recommendation for a transfer hearing. The referral agency does maintain a full-time liaison counselor at the program. At the time of our visit, the position was held by a former FKMI worker. There is a high fence surrounding the outer perimeter of the abandoned naval base and a guard at the entrance to monitor access to and from the property. It should be noted, though, that the fence is located well beyond the actual program facility and is easily bypassed, due to its general disrepair!

Esperanza's point and staging system also provides a means to deny privileges, control mobility, and stage advancement. Similar to FKMI, unearned points are a sanctioning mechanism. In addition, however, a weekly $4 allowance can be reduced, weekly home visits denied, work hours imposed, monetary restitution for any damages to the building or property assessed, recreational trips restricted, and expulsion and

return to the referral source initiated. Permission must be obtained to leave the facility, and overnight awake staff are used.

ARC's point demerit system is linked to a preference among weekly chores and selection of a student of the month. The program also uses reprimand, essay writing, work hours, individual talk sessions, curtailed mobility in the facility, denial of home visits, and as a last resort, program termination. Maintaining much more constant surveillance than in any other program visited, ARC relies on twenty-four hour a day eyeball supervision and close all-night monitoring of the single exit out of the sleeping quarters. Intensive extended group sessions can be called to deal with serious difficulties or a developing negative peer culture. Returned runners and more serious rule violators may be prohibited from wearing street clothes and required to remain in a bathrobe. This sanctioning device operates on two levels. Functionally, it serves to reduce the likelihood of running, or at least make it more difficult. It also impresses upon the youth the fact that he is being singled out and even more closely monitored. On a symbolic level, the robe is used as a stigmatizing mechanism. It can be the source of humiliation and of ridicule by peers. Finally, trips into the community by residents are always escorted, and very careful close supervision is constantly maintained.

Vindicate Society operates on a different basis than the other residential programs visited. Utilizing a much more aggressively confrontational group approach and a high proportion of former residents on staff, the program is designed to incorporate so-called "boxing therapy." Immersed in controversy, boxing is regarded at the program as a strong deterrent which is not punitive, dangerous, or questionable as a therapeutic technique. The executive director states that the boxing cannot be "programmed" (i.e., scheduled in advance) but has to be spontaneous, so as to maximize its effectiveness as an immediate response to a hostile attitude or behavior. A number of staff and the executive director pointed out that during the several periods in which boxing has been suspended the residents' cooperation level markedly changed. They became much harder to control. In contrast, however, an independent evaluation report suggested that the run rate actually diminished with the suspension of boxing.

In addition to the use of boxing, Vindicate Society sanctioning measures included room restriction, "social parole," meaning that residents are not allowed to speak for several days, repetitive sentence writing, a handcuffed return to detention in the presence of the program's own apprehension officer, demotion in level, and referral back to court. Movement into and out of the facility requires signing in and out at the facility's entryway. Surveillance in the immediate vicinity of the facility where clients are permitted to roam is accomplished by other residents and staff conspicuously present throughout the neighborhood.

The final residential program, PORT, responds to negative behavior in a graduated fashion. Minor violations are likely to result in a verbal reprimand. In the case of more serious misconduct, the executive director will intercede and try to resolve the problem. At the most extreme level of sanctioning, youth can be terminated from the program and returned to the original referral source. In some instances, youth can be sent to PORT's other facility for young adult offenders, the correctional center. Developed as an alternative to incarceration and to provide closer control and supervision for high-risk probation cases, the center will take youths with continuing adjustment problems and known acts of illegal behavior for periods of

less than four weeks in duration. Following this stay, the youngster must either be returned to the group home or terminated from the program and sent back to the referral source.

The nonresidential programs reveal a similarly wide assortment of sanctioning procedures used as means to impose control and exact consequences for misconduct. In its educational component, VAP's point system established a means to deny material rewards available by auction for points. In addition, verbal reprimands are delivered by increasingly more authoritative persons. Depending upon the seriousness and persistency of the misconduct, the students are successively dealt with by teachers, counselors, the deputy director of the overall agency, and the executive director. The handling of problems which appeared to be more serious and worrisome ordinarily fell to the deputy director who acted in a kind of assistant principal/disciplinarian role. It was this same deputy director who during the first year ran an intensive confrontationally oriented group (see "Program Services" in program profile). Termination with a return to the referral source remains the most serious sanction available. Since the vast majority of youths in VAP are on a suspended commitment status, the possibility exists of a full-fledged commitment or of revocation of probation and a new disposition order for a much more restrictive placement. However, this kind of action is a last resort employed only when all else has failed.

Copper Mountain's once-a-week modal point assignment can also result in students not acquiring a day off from school work or some food rewards. In addition, there is a variety of consequences or punishments available for control purposes. Regularly scheduled group community meetings are frequently used to discuss youngsters' specific problems. In these sessions the participants are asked to suggest solutions and sanctions. Staff can also invoke such sanctions as work hours, extra school work, and prohibition from participating in a recreational activity. Recreation serves in its own right as a strong motivator for the students to complete school work and behave appropriately. There are frequent student-counselor conferences around the issues of self-control, reaction to provocation, and proper conduct. Brief suspensions, reports to probation officers and police, and expulsion are also possible sanctions for more serious or persistent behavior problems.

Transitional Center is an interesting illustration of a program in which the assignment of points was specifically abandoned due to the new program coordinator's belief that it had become punitive and dysfunctional to the operation of the program. Instead, the new system emphasizes handling problems immediately by directly involving the youngster in a discussion of what has happened, why, and what can be done about it. Placement in detention and referral to court remains as the last resort. The existence of a single probation officer assigned to all of the participating students served to expedite close case management and oversight by the court. It also provided a constant reminder to the youngsters that the court and its ultimate disciplinary authority remained ever present.

Key Tracking Plus is based on tightly structuring clients' time and closely and intensively monitoring to see that the schedule is adhered to. At any time during the community tracking phase, as was pointed out earlier, youth can be brought back into the facility, where their stay is highly restricted and structured. This so-called "residential backup phase" can be invoked whenever there is a violation of the contract or at other particularly trying times. It is ordinarily used several times during a

client's participation in the program. Additionally, outreach workers do have at their disposal several consequences short of residential backup. "Grounding" or lowering the curfew time can be used. At times, the tracker will require the client to accompany him on his rounds or youngsters may be required to remain in the office at the program facility. Also, clients are sometimes restricted from participating in certain activities or trips.

During residential intake or residential backup, sanctioning measures include written assignments, confinement to the office, withdrawal of various privileges (e.g., smoking), and extra chores. The second-floor sleeping quarters is staffed overnight on a shift basis and window alarms are used. When on the second floor, the residents must ask permission to move from room to room. This assures the counselor on duty on the second floor that each resident's whereabouts and activities are known. Its purposes are to maintain safety and general house control and to promote total accountability at all times. This particular kind of intensive supervision is brief in duration and is followed by other supervision measures based on tracking, trust, and personal responsibility.

Katahdin's sanctioning procedures extend from a reprimand or conversation with staff to going before a group meeting for a discussion of possible consequences. A formal behavioral contract can be drawn up with specific restrictions and/or expectations spelled out. Students can also be suspended, with readmittance and conditions being decided in a group meeting. Typically, this will entail a decision on how long to extend a readmittance probationary period. Expulsion from the program involves a return to the referral source for further action. Heavy reliance on group decision making in this aspect of the program as well as in initial admittance is in keeping with the overall commitment to egalitarianism and to instilling in the clients a sense of ownership in the program.

The Project Vision outreach worker program provided very little by way of a specified program-wide system for reacting to client misconduct. Counselors may deny participation in an activity or trip. In the case of severe violations, clients could be terminated from the program and returned to the source of referral for further action.

CHAPTER X

NATURE OF EXTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS AND USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES*

In considering the nature of a program's external relationships and its use of community resources, one must take into account at least two general frames of reference, along with the corresponding sets of operational indicators relating to each. First, there is the perspective that concerns itself with a program's organizational, bureaucratic, and structural characteristics. This approach tends to view community-basedness as consisting of those organizational arrangements which can be established to create or enhance the bond between the program and the community. Consequently, perspectives embracing this definitional framework are more likely to operationalize or measure community-basedness by identifying the degree to which a program's scope of service, its source of funds, its reliance on other organizations, and its staffing patterns and practices connect it to or base it more firmly in the local community.

Alternately, there is the perspective which focuses on actual client life experiences and the efforts being made together by program staff, clients, and the network of persons, groups, and social institutions comprising a community. This client linkage approach is concerned with the extent and nature of the total range of the program's services and activities and with the ways in which they are experienced and qualitatively assessed by the clients and others.

While the precise relationship between these two sets of indicators will be empirically analyzed and discussed in great detail elsewhere (Altschuler, forthcoming dissertation), we can make some preliminary observations that provide a basis for understanding the various ways in which programs may identify themselves as community based, yet still be organized and operate quite differently.

CLIENT LINKAGE PERSPECTIVE

When we consider the ways available to facilitate and achieve client linkages with community support systems and social networks, there are three distinct ways in which important individuals, groups, and social institutions can be reached and involved.

RECIPIENTS OF SERVICE

The various subsystems may be targeted as designated recipients of some kind of service. Groups included may extend to the client's own personal network of family,

friends, and other peers to teachers and counselors in local schools, neighborhood residents, business people, private and public agencies, clergy, community organizations, etc. Such persons and groups may be the indirect beneficiaries of services accorded the client group or may be designated service targets.

Indirect service results from such activities as involving the total family unit in discharge planning or home visitations. It might include negotiating with an agency of health care or welfare, intervening with the court or youth authority to develop a community placement, screening a pool of clients for job placement, and so forth (Whittaker, 1974). The point is that whether the recipient of service is the designated client directly or indirectly through one of the variety of social support systems upon which the client is or may become linked, there is some form of activity, service, advice, counsel, etc., being extended.

A number of the programs we visited demonstrated to varying degrees and in different ways a commitment to working with some of the so-called "significant others" to which we have referred. Among the five residential programs visited, for example, Vindicate and Florida Keys Marine Institute (FKMI) rarely provided service to families. In Vindicate's case, this was due to its expressed belief that the home environments are so chaotic and disruptive that it is futile to devote time to a task which has minimal chances of success at best. For FKMI, the youths virtually all come from 150 miles away and, other than nominal reports on progress, the program assumes no responsibility for family work. This would fall to the Health and Rehabilitative Service home worker, if done at all. We must keep in mind, of course, that both Vindicate and FKMI can be regarded as linking their clients to the community in a variety of other ways, but generally not in terms of extending their services to families. Neither program regards working with families as a goal or responsibility.

FKMI does engage in various community works projects and efforts. This is partially to engender community and business support but is also meant to provide different work experiences for the residents and to raise funds. Vindicate also has residents engaged in cleaning up and watching over the area adjacent to the program. This also serves a dual purpose; neighboring businesses and commercial establishments are assisted and hopefully reassured concerning the program, and the clients are given responsibility for maintenance and upkeep of the property.

The remaining residential programs, the PORT Boys Group Home, Alternative Rehabilitation Communities at Woodlawn (ARC), and Esperanza Para Manana (EPM), all, to some extent, do family work though none could be considered particularly intensive in this area. At ARC, it is generally not until the final month or two in the program that weekly contact between the family and the outreach coordinator occurs. It can also be a rather long distance from the program to the clients' homes, since ARC is a regional program drawing from numerous counties. ARC will intercede with the court on behalf of residents. PORT's houseparents conduct some sessions with families around problem solving and improving relations with the youngsters, but the fact that the houseparents are the only two regular full-time staff members precludes any extensive, ongoing counseling. The contact with family appears largely informational and instructive, in keeping with the program's overall orientation. The program is low keyed, homelike, and clearly not staffed with the intention of providing formalized intervention with families by experienced or trained workers.

The EPM clinical director visits each family two or three times a month. These visits are planned to encourage the building of trust and rapport. This is followed by friendly advice and counsel rather than elaborately structured family therapy. Given that families are generally free to become involved or not with the program, as a matter of course it appears wise to take the easy and low-keyed approach.

When we turn to the nonresidential programs, we can also discern some clear differences with respect to providing service in some fashion to community networks. Key's designated outreach workers not only track clients, but rather regularly actively intervene with family members, peers, school teachers, and employers. They perform an important monitoring and mediating role between the youngsters and their schools and employers. In a very direct sense, the school and employer are receiving service and help from the caseworkers, who will actively hold the youths accountable and assist them in managing their responsibilities. The act of finding schools and jobs for the clients and preparing them for the concomitant responsibilities may very well make the difference between a school or employer agreeing or refusing to take on a young offender. There are also three or four family meetings during residential intake and continued contact with families afterwards. Family cooperation and support can be encouraged by such contact, since the family sees the close supervision their child is getting and experiences the assistance they themselves get with their problems. The almost daily family contact may help to break down distrust and suspicion and generate receptivity to taking advice on family difficulties. The Key clients are placed in public school programs and jobs and are accompanied to court by their caseworkers.

Project Vision is the only other nonresidential program to keep clients in community schools, though their tracking is very informal and no visits to the program or participation in activities is required. Family contact occurs at the homes and on the phone. Vision workers also have the opportunity to meet the client's friends and to work on the streets.

Family work at Katahdin is quite central to the program and sessions are frequently held at the facility in the evening, initially for four to six weeks and thereafter on a renegotiated basis. Attempts are also made to have clients become involved in some outside community activity. There have been problems in getting this component off the ground, probably due to the fact that staff simply do not have the time to actively arrange and monitor it.

Copper Mountain mostly maintains contact with family through its trackers, who do offer advice to families. However, this tends to be largely informal and is not sharply defined. A limited amount of family counseling at the facility by counselors does take place. Viable Alternatives maintains regular contact with families to present progress reports, make inquiries, and spot early and developing difficulties. Regular sessions with families are arranged in roughly half the cases at the beginning of program participation, when service plans are developed. The counselors also accompany the clients to all courts proceedings. Transitional Center has been planning a four-tiered system of family work: twice-a-month counselor/family meetings, parental participation in their child's monthly staffing, monthly parent training groups, and intensive formal family therapy when needed.

The point we wish to make by these selected illustrations is that there are a variety of ways in which programs can reach out and in a real sense extend assistance and support to the personal and community networks of which a youngster is a part. While a variety of reasons may exist for having to place a youngster in a program out of the home community, there are still numerous opportunities for tapping and working with various community networks. Having youth and staff, together, increasingly relate to and work with family, peers, school, and work opportunities constantly focuses attention on resolving both primary and attendant problems having to do with handling actual life situations and difficulties. Emphasis can be placed on making available experiences with the community that provide learning opportunities and social skill development which help youths better cope with the kind of environmental demands and pressures they must face. However, achievement of this goal usually requires investment of staff time to arrange and closely oversee the effort and to reassure and provide assistance to prospective community providers.

PROVIDERS OF SERVICE

The second—and closely related—category of responsibilities and functions used to facilitate and achieve client·linkages involves the utilization of community resources as principal and auxiliary providers of service. This incorporates the notion of bringing in others for the purpose of providing some kind of service or assistance, so that the client increasingly receives services or partakes of activities outside the program facility.

The thrust toward maximum client involvement with community agencies presents the "normalization emphasis," increasingly seen as vital to the reintegration process. It rests on the idea of minimizing overdependence on a particular program in which everything is done to and for clients by the same individuals or sets of people. It also serves as a means for others not necessarily "captured" by program administration to unobtrusively keep watch on the program's climate and practices. Whether the locus of contact is initially in or outside the program facility, it can be conceived as a way to allow for the planned and selected use of normalizing contacts to maximize reintegrative potential. Institution-like patterns can be minimized, more customary modes of interaction experienced, and other segments of the community not typically involved in corrections brought into the process. In short, exposure to and exploration of a wide array of people, groups, and social institutions from and in the general community allow for 1) clients to accomplish a cognitive restructuring of experience which determines their coping style and their internal relationship to that environment (Taylor, 1980: 30) and 2) expanding the arena of youth corrections (Coates, Miller, and Ohlin, 1978). The acquisition of skills required for productive and law-abiding community living cannot be accomplished without exposure (however gradual and closely monitored as deemed necessary) to the variety of influences and forces common to living in free society.

The programs visited provide numerous examples of how this can be accomplished, with what kind of preparation and monitoring. Three of the five residential programs relied on community schools of various sorts including regular public schools, special alternative schools, vocational education programs, and adult education. By making use of already existing resources the program is thereby freed from having to establish and finance a full-fledged educational component, and at the same time, the

youth spends a substantial part of the day in more natural settings, where behaviors can be practiced and tested.

In PORT, for example, the youngsters are sent to public schools in their home communities, and state law requires the home boards of education to make provisions for transportation. Many of the ARC residents walk to the nearby high school, and some of the Esperanza youth attend alternative schools where they get special and intensive instruction. All three programs maintain close and regular contact with the teachers. Two of the six nonresidential programs also utilize public or alternative community schools. Key spends the first few weeks when the clients are in residence to test and work remedially on areas of weakness. The in-house school is also available on a short-term basis for suspended students. Vision has its clients in regular public schools, special education schools, and public alternative schools. Once again, the critical element is keeping continuous and careful track of the youths; otherwise matters can get out of hand quickly. Misbehaviors and problems typically require immediate attention and intervention.

Some programs also rely on community resources to provide a variety of other services to their clients. Vindicate and Key, for example, have many residents engaged in part-time work, sometimes at the program but also in jobs procured by program workers, whose responsibility it is to closely monitor the youths. PORT utilizes local residential resources such as parks, playgrounds, and community centers, and also taps volunteers to help with tutoring and recreation. Esperanza residents use local parks and stores and are taken to various Hispanic-oriented activities in the area and at the University of Utah.

Two of the residential programs operate their own in-house schools: FKMI (whose school is also open to about thirty-five day students) and ARC. FKMI uses the county community mental health service to provide group counseling and some individual help. Also located on the abandoned naval base but down the block, the mental health workers regularly interact with all of FKMI's residents. ARC residents are taken as a group to use local recreational facilities including the YMCA and parks, and for occasional short-term vocational instruction at other locations.

Four of the day treatment programs essentially operate as alternative schools with additional components built in. Copper Mountain subcontracts with private organizations to provide its education, tracking, and recreation components. Viable, being a multiservice agency with a variety of youth programs operating out of its facility, has some overlap among its various programs, including job placement and preparation. Katahdin's experience with a community service component had not successfully gotten off the ground, but local recreational facilities were regularly used and student interns are frequently placed there. Probably the most extensive use of interns and community volunteers was Transitional Center which was able to take maximum advantage of a court services volunteer program. The local board of education also provided for the bulk of the educational services through its contribution of teaching staff and transportation for the youngsters.

PERSONAL, SOCIALLY INTEGRATIVE INTERACTION

The third and final category of functions involved in developing external relationships and using community resources relates to policies concerning other kinds

of permissible interactions and visitations allowed clients. The allocation and monitoring of time allotted for personal, socially integrative interaction and activities has major relevance for residential programs, though several of the nonresidential programs bear some mention in this connection as well. Beyond the more structured and organized aspects of the program, there is the matter of general access to family, old friends, peers in general, and other persons for the purpose of visits, leisure-time pursuits, private time, etc. In the residential programs, the best illustration of this is in the handling of visitation, most notably the home visit. It is typically the case that after a predetermined period of time residents become eligible for home visits. Generally, this is not a right automatically granted at a set time; rather, it is a privilege which must be earned, and when granted, there are established understandings and sometimes signed contracts regarding behavioral expectations.

Both PORT and Esperanza permit residents to visit their homes with the greatest frequency, though Esperanza generally waits five or six weeks before the first visit is allowed. In the Esperanza program, the purposes of the visits are to allow contact with the home community to continue, to lessen any dependency on the program that might be developing, and to provide opportunities for the residents to be faced with and make choices about their conduct and behavior. By the time the visits commence, there have been at least two meetings with parents and specific conditions for the visits have been set. If the families are unwilling to permit their child home, a relative or other "extended family" member is sought. Short forms are filled out by the family following the weekend visit. The home visits are clearly used as a means to positively reinforce proper conduct and behavior; consequently, the visits can be denied and they are tied to the program's point-based staging system. Following two weeks of residence, parents can visit their child at the program, though this can be delayed if restrictions have been imposed on the youth.

PORT allows home visits every weekend, although presistent family problems might result in the staff not actively encouraging a weekend trip home. Restrictions on associating with a particular peer group or with other youngsters within a specific age range (e.g., a group of older youths who may be continually in trouble) can be set. Visits can also be denied on the basis of various misbehaviors at the program as well as for difficulties experienced on prior home visits. There are no set times for families to visit. Parents are allowed to come with advance notice, but in the instance of very poor family relations the staff may well prefer the family, at least in the short term, to stay away.

ARC allows home visits after two months. These are contingent upon no restrictive status at the program, prior approval of the probation department, consent of the parents, and a counselor first accompanying the student home for the day. A written contract specifying various call-in times and conditions is formulated and signed by the student, counselor, and director. After the first home visit of one day, subsequent home visits are twice a month for the whole weekend. Visits remain privileges which can be denied, and for each a contract is formulated and signed. On prerelease status, occurring approximately eight months into the program, students are eligible for extended weekends devoted to procuring a placement for employment, training, or education. Once this is accomplished and after an extensive period of reentry planning has begun, the student begins a period of approximately one month during which only weekends are spent at the facility. Both probation department approval and parental consent are obtained prior to community reentry. Usually, on

Sundays and with some advance notice families are allowed to visit with their child at the facility.

The two residential facilities providing the fewest scheduled opportunities for home visits were FKMI and Vindicate. However, while both programs do share this feature, other fundamental differences between the two programs exist. These extend to the way in which the programs are organized, their specific components and orientation, and the overall environment of the catchment area and the local juvenile justice system. Specifically, placement in FKMI's facility means for all the residential clients four months of about a 150-mile separation from home. A five-day home visit is permitted with the attainment of level III in the program's level advancement system. Upon return to the facility, only a few weeks are left until "furlough" or termination. Parents are asked to fill out a short form on the visit. Making contact with the youth and the family during that visit is the task of the HRS home counselor. Approximately half of the residents opt not to take their home visit. Families are allowed to visit their child at the facility once a month.

Vindicate does not schedule home visits for the residents, though such visits are allowed, particularly for holidays. If the family indicates that the home area is a bad place or that they feel it is detrimental, a resident might be denied a home visit. Believing that the home environment is largely chaotic and that return home invariably necessitates facing confusion and parents who either can't or don't wish to take their child back, Vindicate staff make little effort to reintegrate the youngster into the family or home community. Staff members report that oftentimes after the eighteen-month stay at Vindicate there was no place for the residents to go. There are also no scheduled times set aside for families to visit the program, though they are permitted to do so with proper notice.

Personal and socially integrative efforts take a somewhat different form in nonresidential programs. Since youth do not reside at the facility, they are obviously in more of a position to interact informally and leisurely with their family, close friends, other peers, etc. The central questions, therefore, include: 1) Are restrictions imposed on a youth's choice of associates? If such restrictions are imposed, is there any monitoring of them? 2) Are designated times scheduled for families to spend time with their child at the program? 3) Are families and neighborhood youths or friends invited to participate in group activities such as field trips, movies, sporting events, picnics, etc.? While there may be an element of service provision or receipt here, we basically have in mind the allotment of a specified period of time for the family or friends to have some free time together (though not necessarily unsupervised) to either indulge in conversation, make use of program recreational or educational facilities, and so forth.

In no instance did any of the six nonresidential programs schedule designated times for families to be with their child at the program, although none indicated they had any problem with having the families come there. Transitional Center did indicate that thought was being given to having parents stay for the day, if possible, when they came to attend their child's monthly staffing. This would not only provide an opportunity for parents to observe the youth in the program, but would also present a chance for them to work with their child on some activity or project. Among the nonresidential programs, it was also uncommon for the families to participate in group activities, although a number of the directors expressed interest in pursuing this idea

in the future. Additionally, there was not much involvement of neighborhood youth or friends in either using the facility or participating in activities or events at the program. Finally regarding restrictions, rules, and prohibitions on whom a youth can associate with out of the programs, four of the program directors (Transitional, Viable, Katahdin, and Copper Mountain) mentioned the courts or probation as the imposer of limitations of this sort.

Viable further indicated that curfews might be established by counselors at the time of case plan development. Vision's counselors were each free to advise who it would be best to stay away from, and Key not only imposed absolute restrictions on who could be seen and what places were off limits, but it also prohibited clients from getting together with other Key clients in the community. Copper Mountain's strategy, when it believed it important to impose such restrictions, used the courts as a means to invoke the order, hopefully thereby inducing compliance while not going beyond its own authority. Key and Copper Mountain both employed "trackers" or outreach workers who primarily operated out in the community. Vision's caseworkers were also expected to frequently work on the streets and in the community. Many of the Vision clients did not and were not required to spend time at the Boys' Club facility.

ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

We now turn to consideration of the ways in which the various programs were organizationally and structurally linked to the communities they serve. To begin with, it was quite common for each of the programs to serve or take clients primarily from a geographical area comprising a smaller portion of the overall and formal catchment area from which the clients could come. Two of the five residential programs were technically statewide, one served a regional area which included twenty-six counties, and two focused on service areas composed of two and three counties respectively.

SERVICE AREA

Vindicate, while formally pulling statewide, was no longer receiving referrals from the county in which it was located. The other statewide program, Esperanza, drew its clients from the two population centers with the highest concentration of Hispanic residents. Over a three-year period, ARC, which served south central Pennsylvania, took clients from eight counties. PORT drew clients from its home county and two less heavily populated adjacent counties which were jointly participating in the state's community corrections act. FKMI, although technically serving two counties, drew virtually all of its residential clients from the Miami area.

There are two important points underscored by these facts. First, the stated and formal catchment areas do not necessarily describe where clients ordinarily come from. Consequently, it is the area primarily served which provides a critical referent. At the same time, however, how those fewer cases coming from outside the primary area are handled in terms of family and facilitating positive relationships in the home community is equally important. Second, programs must be viewed within the context of the size of the area from which they actually draw referrals. It may well be that certain specialized services for particular populations (e.g., seriously emotionally

disturbed, serious offenders, highly secure settings) are not locally available because they are too costly, the area is too small and remote to have a particular facility, the community won't accept it, or the program requires staff and resources found more readily in other areas. In addition, it may be thought that a specified period of time out of the home community would be beneficial for a youngster, due to intense community pressure and sentiment, or because the family situation is dangerous or unhealthy. Therefore, programs may have to draw clients from relatively large areas of the state.

In practical terms, the size of the actual service area (e.g., neighborhood, multiple communities, city, county, multicounty, statewide) of different programs can be expected to vary widely. This presents vastly different possibilities for ways in which client linkages can be forged with the family and the youth's own social network. Whether or not clients are close to home or have reasonably good access to their home community has important implications for the feasibility of a program and its staff to work both with a youth and the family. Consequently, the distinction between home and host communities has great importance for what is possible in terms of work with personal social networks. What is it realistic to expect concerning visits with family? Is anybody working with the family concurrently or will it occur later? Who takes responsibility for working with the family and social networks of the offender? If it is a different person or agency than the one working with the child, is it coordinated with those persons who have been most closely dealing with the youth?

The nonresidential programs showed similar variability with respect to the size of their catchment areas. Copper Mountain was formally a statewide program, but in actuality almost all clients came from one of two adjacent counties. Key served a region of the state, although the greater Springfield-Holyoke area of Massachusetts is the prime source of referrals. Transitional Center, Katahdin, Vision, and Viable all technically served a county or parish, but Katahdin deals primarily with Minneapolis, Vision with two close-by community areas, and Viable with a ten-square mile area around the facility.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

Except for Transitional Center, which is a court service program, the programs operate on a private, nonprofit basis. Four of the residential programs operate with at least 75 percent of their funding from a state or federal agency, although in one case county authorities act as the conduit or intermediary for dispersement. ARC bills the home county, which in turn is reimbursed by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare for 75 percent of the cost. Vindicate received most of its money from the Department of Youth and Family Services. Esperanza's federal funding is channeled through the Division of Family Services. FKMI is funded primarily by Health and Rehabilitative Services, which operates out of regional district offices. In the case of the fifth program, PORT, an agency of local county government provided most of the funding. LEAA block grant money funneled through state planning agencies was a principal source of funding for Transitional Center, Vision, Katahdin, and Viable. Federal money dispersed through a state entity supported Copper Mountain, and Key received money from the regionally organized Massachusetts Department of Youth Services. In many cases, additional funding and in-kind contributions from other public and private sources added substantial help and support.

It should also be noted that year-to-year changes in funding is not at all unusual. This is due to various factors including a formula for federal block grants which gradually phased out funding over three years where it was then up to the states or local jurisdiction to either pick up the funding in some way or allow the programs to fold. Foundation support and other contributions from, for example, boards of education and local departments of mental health can also vary significantly from year to year. As a consequence of these great fluxuations and the often complex money flows, not only have levels of public and private funding become increasingly blurred (Spergel and Korbelik, 1979: 20), but so, too, have distinctions based on whether public and private sources contributing funds are located within or outside the designated service area. Can we be certain, for example, that the location of funding sources within the area of service suggests that the program's values and identifications are, in fact, rooted inside the community? As noted above, there are technical, formal catchment areas and there are the actual service areas. Moreover, money can be originally derived from one or several sources, channeled to a state agency acting as dispersing agent, and then administered locally by yet another agency which may or may not be the actual service provider. Consequently, funding sources on the one hand and monitoring, oversight, and accountability on the other are frequently split between at least two agencies which cut across multiple levels of government and jurisdictional boundaries. This means that substantial control and administration of funds may well fall to any one or even several of a number of possible agencies and organizations, depending upon the particular function or responsibility (e.g., monitoring of a facility, specific case management). If control is lodged locally, this may well dilute the importance of the source of funding as a valid indicator of "identification."

In addition, the smaller the service area, the greater the likelihood that it will be necessary to go outside that area for support, particularly in places strapped for resources. Programs with comparatively large service areas may have more possibilities for generating resources from within their service areas, but this may 1) bear little relationship to prevailing values and identifications and 2) be not especially meaningful, if the values within the area diverge widely and the identifications and sentiments relate to subareas of the overall area. Finally, a regional or local office of a larger entity (e.g., post offices, social security offices, local outlets for banks) may still be more responsible and accountable to its national or state mandate and the central authority than to local interests (see, for example, Warren's 1972 discussion on horizontal and vertical authority).

RELIANCE ON OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

When residential program directors were asked whether the kinds of organizations that have been most important in the achievement of their objectives were either within their primary service area, outside, both, or neither (i.e., depends mainly on itself), everyone responded that those within were most important. This included Vindicate, which was not receiving any of its own city's or county's offenders but was certainly making use of local community resources in the form of public schools, training programs, and jobs. FKMI's residents came from quite far away; they did not have the kind of access to the local host community that Vindicate residents did. ARC, which exercised the greatest overt supervision over residents, and PORT, which exercised the least, were also among this group.

The nonresidential program directors' responses were somewhat more varied. Four indicated that organizations within their primary service area were most important. Vision's director responded that both were equally important. This appears to have resulted from the fact of Vision's primary service area referents being two comparatively small, lower-income communities whose youngsters went to a public school outside these communities but technically inside the county and hence still inside the formal catchment area. Viable's executive director answered that his multiservice agency tended to rely mainly on itself. Nevertheless, Viable's two full-time teachers were paid by the local school system, which was within the county.

VOLUNTARISM AND USE OF BOARDS

Current use of volunteers in the performance of staff responsibilities was evident in only three of the eleven programs (Transitional, Viable, PORT), two of which were nonresidential facilities. In each of these three cases, moreover, there were either other affiliated programs or a larger controlling entity which also maintained a volunteer worker program. These structures have evidently made it possible to carry out the often complicated and time-consuming effort needed to enlist the services of volunteers. Some of the programs which were not utilizing volunteers during the time of our site visit did occasionally have volunteer help, but this appeared not to have been the result of any abiding commitment or belief in the virtues of volunteer labor or its value in facilitating community identification. In fact, several of the programs, including those using volunteers, were quick to point out the drawbacks in having volunteers, particularly in work with serious juvenile offenders. Reasons included low commitment levels, unreliability, susceptibility to manipulation by clients, lack of accountability, excessive time required for adequate training, and the clients' need for consistency which required more time than volunteers can ordinarily be expected to give.

These limitations suggest that the serious use of volunteers requires their careful screening, training, and guidance before actual work with the clients begins. Even then, continued close supervision and assistance from experienced staff is probably a wise and prudent step to take. It was also our impression that the use or absence of volunteers did not necessarily reflect any greater or lesser identification with the service area. We should point out that we were careful to distinguish between community volunteers who receive no form of remuneration or academic credit whatsoever and supplemental staff who work on a full- or part-time basis but at no cost to the program (e.g., student field work, internships, CETA workers, probation workers, personnel on loan).

Nine of the eleven programs maintained boards of directors, though of those nine, six were affiliated in some way with a larger umbrella organization (PORT, Viable, FKMI, Esperanza, Key, and Vision) whose overall board also acted as a board for the programs. The two programs with no boards were Transitional Center, which was a public program falling under court services, and Copper Mountain, which was a collaborative public and private endeavor principally administered by the county department of mental health.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

The final indicator we will discuss is the level of professionalization. Spergel and Korbelik (1979: 29) note:

> It is assumed that for most inner city communities the presence of professional staff in an organization signifies some degree of social distance from its clientele. Professionalization tends to gear an organization to definitions of problems and service using professional or bureaucratic norms rather than local norms. The more community based the organization, the more its staff should resemble its clients and community residents in education and background. In other words, professionalization is regarded as a negative indicator of community basedness.

A number of interesting issues are raised by this indicator and its implications for establishing the outer parameters of a definitional framework and conceptualization. If we assume that the more community-based organizations will have staff resembling its clients and community residents and, in particular, that the level of professionalization (i.e., education and credentials) is the critical measure, then it is quite possible that a program staff which possesses more education and training than the service community will automatically cause a particular program to be literally defined out of its community-based existence.

Esperanza, from its inception, quite consciously sought to maintain a predominantly Hispanic staffing pattern, but it originally employed more "street-wise" persons, who proved to be inadequately prepared to assume their responsibilities. In addition, the structure of the program was such that the training, supervision, and guidance available was not sufficient to teach or instruct the staff in the skills required to competently perform the necessary tasks. Upon a major reorganization, which involved the hiring of a Hispanic clinical director with prior experience and training, the operating assumption concerning recruitment changed and staff were sought who possessed a balance between street savy and professional training. This did not mean all staff had to have professional education, but rather that the staff as a group should be comprised of persons out of both worlds and that street-wise individuals should not be confused with people who were still "hustling" on the streets. The point, of course, is that there is nothing magic about a specific staff member having or not having professional experience. Having staff with the ability and proficiency to deal with offenders and their situations in the context of the program's intervention strategy and having a personnel system which carefully selects, trains, supervises, and holds staff accountable are necessary.

We should therefore be cautious in interpreting the following data on staff members' level of education:

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF STAFF WORKING DIRECTLY WITH CLIENTS (PRIMARY AND SUPPLEMENTAL), BY EDUCATION

Residential	Ph.D.'s	Master's	Bachelor's	Associates	High School	Unknown
Vindicate		2	2		5	5
PORT			3	1	1	
Esperanza	1	2	4		2	
ARC	1*	3	5	2	2@	1
FKMI		3	7	2	3	3

*Employed ten hours a month
@Working on a Bachelor's

Nonresidential	Ph.D.'s	Master's	Bachelor's	Associates	High School	Unknown
Transitional	1	2	14		5	
Key		4	15	1		
Vision		1	3	1	1	
Katahdin			4			3*
Viable	1	2	5		1	
Copper Mountain		6	4	1		3

*Interns working on Bachelor's or Master's

We find four of the five residential programs with at least two staff members holding Master's degrees. PORT, which has no staff with Master's degrees, resembled most closely the traditional live-in staff group home.

Among the nonresidential programs, all except one had at least one staff member with a Master's degree. We stress again, however, that related experience, competence in performing the actual job responsibilities, and the availability of guidance and supervision are among the most important staff characteristics.

CHAPTER XI

CLIENT EXIT FROM PROGRAMS: TERMINATION/GRADUATION
AND AFTERCARE/FOLLOW-UP

Client participation in these programs is usually concluded in one of two fashions, termination or graduation. These two possibilities are the most extreme indicators of outcome in any program. In the former, the repeated violation of program rules or incidents of rearrest are the most frequent grounds upon which the decision to terminate a client from a program are based. In the latter, successful completion of conditions specified in the service plan and/or progression through the various stages in the program result in the most positive outcome.

TERMINATION/GRADUATION: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Among the group of residential programs, termination is the last step in a series of increasingly severe sanctions applied for misconduct. The total range of procedures for responding to negative behavior has been discussed in detail elsewhere in this report (see Imposition of Consequences and Punishment for Control Purposes). If all lesser measures have failed and totally unacceptable behavior is occurring, staff members notify representatives of the referring agency about the decision to terminate. In the case of each residential program, the terminated client is simply referred back to the agency from which he/she came. The common expectation is that such failure will be followed by the application of a more severe sanction.

With regard to graduation, all of the residential programs except ARC prefer to note the successful completion of program requirements only in a low-keyed fashion. Often, a very simple recognition of the client's achievement is made at the program, usually in the presence of various staff members and other clients. In contrast, ARC has developed a rather elaborate ceremony to mark the graduation of clients. Various individuals such as employers and teachers who have been involved in the reintegration of the client into the community are invited to the ceremony. In addition, a representative of the referring agency, usually the youth's probation officer, is invited. All staff members, all of the other clients, and the youth's family and close friends are in attendance. This festive occasion is then concluded with a banquet at the facility and is attended by all persons listed above.

TERMINATION/GRADUATION: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Among the group of nonresidential programs, the termination process is quite similar to what happens in the residential programs. It is always the final step in a series of increasingly severe sanctions applied within the context of the program and is characterized by the return of the terminated client to his/her referring agency. In addition, the assumption is that a more severe, formal sanction will follow. The one exception to this general pattern in nonresidential programs occurs in Katahdin where an appeal procedure has been built into the termination process. The presence of this safeguard is not surprising since Katahdin has paid special attention in program design

to the feature of client input, stressing the need to create a social climate in which a feeling of equality existed between staff members and clients. Any terminated client can appeal the decision to a review committee composed of three staff members and three fellow clients. A majority vote decides the final outcome; if the vote is tied, the program's executive director casts the deciding vote.

Events surrounding the graduation of clients in all of the nonresidential programs are always kept at a low profile. Whenever a ceremony is used to mark the occasion, it is simple and involves only staff members and clients.

An important concern in the operation of these programs is the process of reintegrating clients back into their communities. Often as clients progress through programs en route to graduation, attempts are made by counselors to place clients in contact with local services and resources. Sometimes, all steps to link clients with outside organizational actors are taken prior to graduation; at other times, the process will continue past that point. We will refer to these kinds of activities, whether initiated prior to or after graduation, as aftercare.

Another set of concerns shared by all of the programs is the need to determine how well ex-clients are adjusting to normal community life following graduation. These activities can consist simply of some attempt to periodically monitor the situation of ex-clients or may involve a more formal evaluative effort. We will refer to both of these oversight procedures as follow-up.

AFTERCARE/FOLLOW-UP: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Of the five residential programs, all possess some type of services directed to aiding clients in their readjustment to the community following graduation. In the case of four programs (Vindicate, Florida Keys Marine Institute, PORT, and Esperanza), these efforts are initiated solely as part of pregraduation preparations. In contrast, ARC has an elaborately developed system of aftercare which involves a variety of activities supervised by a single staff member, the outreach counselor. These activities are carried out both prior to and after graduation. This aftercare system, easily the most highly developed among all of the residential programs, will be described below.

Both Florida Keys Marine Institute and PORT have developed a set of procedures to facilitate the reintegration of clients into the community. PORT, as part of its graduation planning, takes steps to ensure that individual clients needing further services are referred to other community agencies for counseling, vocational training, and job placement. In the case of Florida Keys Marine Institute, a regular staff member, the placement coordinator, in consultation with the HRS home counselor, develops plans for the return of clients to their home communities as part of graduation planning.

Vindicate Society and Esperanza have much less clearly defined procedures for preparing clients for community reintegration. In the case of Esperanza, pregraduation aftercare planning entails only school-related matters. But, given the fact that all of the clients in the program at the time of our site visit were quite young (average age of 13.8 years), it is not surprising that a wide range of community-based services

such as job placement and vocational training are not being pursued. Greater difficulty exists in trying to explain why pregraduation plans are also extremely limited in scope at Vindicate Society. In contrast to Esperanza, a number of older youngsters are participating in the program, do not intend to continue their formal education after graduation, and can benefit from aftercare planning which places them in contact with a wider range of community resources and services to aid their reintegration.

The highly structured aftercare component for ARC begins during the first month of a client's participation in the program. At an orientation meeting, the outreach counselor meets with the client to discuss the nature and purpose of aftercare planning. Once this meeting is concluded, there is not much contact between the client and the outreach counselor until approximately the third month, when the outreach counselor checks on the client's progress. After a total of six months, a staff meeting (the individual counselor, outreach counselor, teacher, and student) is convened to discuss prerelease plans, i.e., to discover whether the client's major interests lie in seeking employment opportunities, training programs, enlistment in the armed services, or continuing education. At about the eight-month point, the individual counselor will recommend a prerelease hearing. At that point, the client appears before the entire staff and presents an outline of progress thus far and argues why the prerelease phase should begin.

Once the prerelease phase begins, the outreach coordinator begins to deal intensely with the client in working through a special prerelease curriculum and also begins to interact with the client's family on a weekly basis. Topics in the special prerelease curriculum include job-seeking procedures, interviewing, filling out applications, following written directions, opening and managing savings accounts, budgeting, voting, use of the marketplace (consumer fraud and the dangers of advertising), procuring and managing housing needs, and consumer law. Also, at that time the outreach counselor sends a letter to the probation department informing them of the student's reentry planning. From this point on, the outreach counselor assumes the role of primary counselor for the youngster.

Once formally on prerelease status, the client returns to ARC on weekends, completes the prerelease curriculum, and discusses with the outreach counselor the experiences and problems of the preceding week. The coordinator maintains regular contact with employers, teachers, parents, and probation staff. Employers and teachers are asked to fill out and submit status reports to the outreach coordinator. If all goes well, this process continues for four or five weeks, and the client is then given a prerelease test covering many of the topics from the special curriculum. Provided the youngster passes the test, he is no longer required to return to the facility. Instead, the coordinator meets with the youth and his family twice a week for two weeks. If all continues to go smoothly, graduation is scheduled.

With respect to follow-up, all five of the residential programs are engaged in some form of monitoring/evaluative activity. Surprisingly, however, very little is being done by way of evaluation in any formal fashion by these programs. PORT follows one of two procedures depending on how clients were initially referred to the program. For those youngsters who come from the Department of Social Services, contacts are made by staff members with parents, probation officers, and social service workers for purposes of evaluation. For those clients referred by the juvenile

courts and subject to the conditions of the Community Corrections Act, evaluation is accomplished through the use of a computerized tracking system. The only other residential program pursuing evaluative activities is Esperanza, which was developing such a system at the time of our visit. Three of these programs (Vindicate Society, Florida Keys Marine Institute, and ARC) have developed some kind of procedures for monitoring their ex-clients' readjustment to the community. Vindicate Society depends upon an informal system based upon personal ties existing between ex-clients and staff members. Graduates are encouraged to return to participate in special events and regular activities. For purposes of monitoring progress, the liaison counselor at Florida Keys Marine Institute makes contact with the HRS home counselor at three-, six-, and twelve-month intervals, and also at two- and three-year intervals. At ARC, the outreach coordinator contacts graduates every six months for a period of two years to check on progress.

AFTERCARE/FOLLOW-UP: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

Of the six nonresidential programs, all possess some type of services aimed at aiding clients in their readjustment to the community. In the case of four programs (Katahdin, Project Vision, Viable Alternatives, and Key Tracking Plus), these efforts are initiated solely as part of pregraduation preparations. Katahdin encourages informal contact after graduation by utilizing, whenever possible, graduates as volunteer peer teachers and advisors at the program. Similarly, Project Vision encourages informal contact after graduation by inviting ex-clients back to the Boys' Club for scheduled activities.

Key Tracking Plus, however, has a unique arrangement with most of its graduates. Following graduation, one-half to three-fourths of the ex-clients enter another nonresidential program operated by the Key Program, outreach and tracking, for a period extending from four to six months. The decision as to who enters this other program is made jointly by Key Tracking Plus staff and DYS personnel. Once involved in outreach and tracking, ex-clients have greatly reduced contact with the Key Tracking Plus Program.

The two programs (Transitional Center and Copper Mountain) having both pregraduation and postgraduation activities vary considerably in the complexity and formality of these procedures. In the case of Copper Mountain, most attention is focused on pregraduation planning which places clients in regular contact with community-based services after graduation. Postgraduation aftercare activities are largely informal and involve the efforts of individual counselors to help ex-clients find jobs and get into education or training programs. In contrast, Transitional Center has a more complicated system of formal aftercare occurring both prior to and after graduation. These activities are coordinated by a single staff member, the vocational/life skills counselor.

Prior to graduation, the vocational/life skills counselor works individually with all of the clients regarding their plans for educational and recreational plans after graduation. Once graduation has occurred, this counselor continues to place ex-clients in vocational programs in the community. She monitors the educational process by maintaining personal contact with the school and the teachers as long as the ex-client is enrolled. In addition, at the final staffing session prior to graduation, it may be

decided that a particular client will need individual counseling after graduation. If this decision is made, the counselor meets with the ex-client and his/her parents twice during the first month after graduation. This relationship may be continued on an as-needed basis for as long as a year. Finally, Transitional Center provides another type of aftercare service for ex-clients following graduation. Volunteers are used in the role of big brother/big sister for as long as six months when the situation seems to warrant this action.

With respect to follow-up, all six of the nonresidential programs engage in some form of monitoring/evaluative activity. Five of the programs (Copper Mountain being the exception) have some formal system for evaluation. Usually, this entails checking with the juvenile court to see if further contact has occurred between the ex-clients and law-enforcement agencies. Viable Alternatives is the only program which bases its evaluation of ex-client progress upon contact with parents at regular intervals (three, six, and twelve months). Three of the programs (Transitional Center, Copper Mountain, and Viable Alternatives) have developed procedures for monitoring their ex-clients' readjustment. Transitional Center and Viable Alternatives utilize periodic telephone calls to parents while Copper Mountain employs the services of trackers to maintain regular contact with ex-clients for a period of three months. This entails one or two telephone calls to the ex-client's home if all seems to be going well. If difficulties arise, more frequent contact is made, possibly resulting in the readmittance of the client to the program.

COMPARISON OF AFTERCARE/FOLLOW-UP ISSUES ACROSS ALL ELEVEN PROGRAMS

In examining issues which relate to matters of aftercare and follow-up, one feature clearly stands out in the sample of eleven programs. Eight of the programs (four residential and four nonresidential) have developed aftercare procedures which are initiated solely before graduation as part of reintegration planning. When looked at from an administrative point of view, this decision makes lots of sense. By limiting aftercare activities to a pregraduation time frame, it is easier to end active involvement with ex-clients and thereby avoid stretching scarce resources such as staff time and program funds. When active involvement with clients continues past the point of graduation, there is the danger of falling into a situation where ever larger numbers of youngsters are receiving services. Consequently, linking clients with community services and resources prior to graduation is probably a necessary procedure in most cases. One interesting exception is Transitional Center, where volunteers are being utilized for certain of the postgraduation aftercare activities. For programs wanting to offer postgraduation services, this approach will allow them not to have to expend valuable resources.

CHAPTER XII

STAFFING COMPOSITION AND PATTERNS

Throughout the report we have alluded to various staff roles, functions, and responsibilities. Clearly, underlying the success of any strategy or technique is the program's overall organizing framework, administrative structure, and intervention thrust. Intrastaff cooperation and harmony are critical, as they set the all-important tone and atmosphere of daily life for both clients and staff.

The administrative structure must be one in which line staff and the day-to-day operating administrator can freely communicate, work together, and extend mutual support to one another. Particularly in smaller-scale organizations such as the kind we have represented among our programs, the director's own personality and temperament are reflected throughout the facility. Accordingly, it is the people in all the positions, from the director on down, who must blend together in a workable mixture where mutual respect, trust, and a healthy sense of humor all coalesce.

There are certain to be disagreements, misunderstandings, and outright mistakes; it is for just these reasons that the staff and director must all be carefully and thoughtfully screened, selected, and trained. Work with this kind of client population can be stressful, demanding, and exhausting. Moreover, given that the responsibilities are immense and the hours unpredictable, it takes high energy, extraordinarily committed, and often younger workers to fill such positions. In spite of the care taken to fill positions, this is typically not the kind of work that people stay with year after year or make a career of.

For these reasons, it is probably ill-advised for public agencies to operate smaller programs of this variety. The one program in our sample which was run under public auspices happened to operate free of many of the standard bureaucratic constraints such as the personnel policies and civil service requirements frequently associated with agencies operated by various levels of government. This was due primarily to the program's unique status and its orchestration by an imaginative and authoritative director of court services.

The use of professionals versus nonprofessionals is frequently a matter of controversy, with the assumption often being made that the professional will be less street wise, less able to relate to the clients, and more inclined to reflect a so-called medical model orientation, e.g., overly hierarchical, tightly controlled perpendicular administrative structure rather than a subunitized one, clients deemed sick or diseased, abounding professional symbols and status differentiation, overemphasis on physical and medical techniques over others, etc. (Wolfensberger, 1972: 68-70). If we look at staff in each of the programs by level of education (see Table 19 under Nature of External Relationships and Use of Community Resources), we do see that in all but one residential and one nonresidential program there are at least some staff with Master's degrees. However, with only one exception (Copper Mountain), each program does have more staff possessing Bachelor's degrees or less rather than Master's degrees or beyond. Nevertheless, we did not see evidence that persons with advanced degrees thought about intervention or administrative structure in any significantly different

fashion than those having less education. Moreover, even those programs employing larger numbers of more educated staff did not appear to reflect a more medical model or less street-wise orientation.

Inferences concerning the suitability and appropriateness of staff to work with clients which are simply based on the existence and level of credentials strikes us as simplistic, naive, and besides the point. With the exception of Vindicate Society, which displayed a decidedly anti-credential and anti-intellectual attitude, all of the remaining programs were quite accepting, if not outright supportive, of staff acquiring additional training, education, and credentials.

Due to salary limitations and the aspirations of potential staff to seek upward mobility and higher status, programs such as the kind we visited are, by and large, simply not in a position to acquire an abundance of highly credentialed individuals for full-time, direct-service staff positions. This should not be interpreted to mean that the acquisition of credentials by staff or the preponderance of credentialed individuals on the staff would result in a program either more bureaucratic or unable to identify with and relate to the clients. Moreover, in our judgment there is no reason to believe that staff without advanced degrees are any less capable, qualified, or reliable.

The question of required education level for staff in programs such as these is largely a matter of a program's own intervention and staffing philosophy. The critical ingredient is the recruitment of personnel who are willing and able to competently perform the various functions and to fulfill the different roles required in each program. Some programs—Esperanza, for example—consciously seek out members of one ethnic group who represent a balance between street-wise knowledge/experience and professional training. This goal can be achieved by a staff comprised of credentialed people who are also street wise, or who come out of both worlds. The kind of roles staff must fill and the specified demographics (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, age) that may be sought will correspond to the program's own philosophy and basic intervention strategy.

In-service and on-the-job training form the basis for orienting and familiarizing new staff to the programs' strategies and operations. Training seminars, institutes, and staff workshops sponsored by other local groups and agencies are utilized. Weekly staff meetings are viewed as occasions for everyone to come together and share problems, solutions, and overall impressions concerning both program atmosphere and specific cases. However, in spite of these activities, no highly developed or especially elaborate training programs were identified. Time and resources simply have not permitted the luxury of spending an inordinate amount of time on training.

Except for Transitional Center, Viable, and to some extent PORT, the use of community volunteers was not widely and regularly practiced. (We should point out that community volunteers are distinguished from supplemental workers who receive some form of remuneration or credit from another source, e.g., CETA, university placements, internships, employees on loan.) In each of the three cases where community volunteers were used, there was an already existing mechanism to handle the time-consuming job of recruitment, screening, and initial orientation. Transitional Center was able to use the court service volunteer program, and for both Viable and PORT there were larger umbrella agencies organizing and promoting the effort.

Two of the programs established an interesting link with their source of referral. The presence of a referral source liaison or probation officer at the program for substantial periods of time was used by Transitional Center and FKMI to satisfy several purposes. In the case of Transitional Center, one probation officer was assigned to all the clients. This minimized confusion and allowed one person the opportunity to get to know the program and all the clients more fully. The probation officer was able to keep more careful track of what was going on in the program, as well as to have the capability to more immediately verify and check on any charges of abuse or injustice that might be made by clients. FKMI's liaison counselor worked for the referral source and was expressly charged with transporting residents to Key West from Miami, keeping the family informed, working out the arrangements for furlough, regularly meeting with the residents, and communicating with the home counselor whose job it was to assume responsibility for supervision after program termination. The presence of such a position brings the added benefit of assurance to clients that the authorities are not likely to lose track of them or to be so removed as to pose no real backup threat. Courts or referral source are major sources of support for controls imposed by the programs.

Finally, in the case of particularly difficult problems or unusual client needs, many of the programs resorted to outside consultants to perform specialized kinds of treatment or testing, as well as to advise the staff on how to deal with certain situations or problems. In this way, additional expertise could be acquired on an as-needed basis, and the program can direct itself to dealing with the problems more within its central competence.

The number of staff working at each program and the ratio of clients to staff provide some measure of just how labor intensive these kinds of programs may be. However, these figures can also be misleading. Especially when the program is operating on a rotating shift basis, at any one time there may be fewer staff available than the ratio would appear to indicate. In addition, client-to-staff ratios may give little indication of the work loads of any one service classification, i.e., counselors, teachers, trackers, etc.

Recognizing these limitations, we now briefly examine the ratios across all the programs. When we look at the residential programs in order of the lowest to highest ratio, it is interesting to note that Esperanza, primarily a socialization program, shows a smaller client-to-staff ratio than either of the two programs (ARC and Vindicate) which more closely approximate a milieu treatment approach. Recall, too, that ARC maintains more constant and direct supervision than in any other of the residential programs, and it runs its own in-house school. Furthermore, Vindicate and FKMI, while dealing with greater numbers of clients than the other residential programs, still have a smaller ratio than PORT, which has only seven clients.

It is important to realize that, while the number of clients and the ratio of clients per staff member do reflect some notion of how many staff a facility will use to "program" for a certain number of clients, these measures by themselves impart little other information. We know, for example, that once a program's client population begins to increase, adding additional staff is necessary to maintain previous client-to-staff ratios. However, as the population begins to exceed a certain critical mass, the challenge of dealing with and handling clients and staff poses a new set of concerns with which administration must cope. Group process, program atmosphere,

systems for staff accountability, etc., are not likely to remain unchanged. In all probability, operating procedures and overall strategy will require adjustment and accommodation. In much the same way, changing staff size while keeping the client population stable is likely to alter many program procedures. The point we wish to make is twofold. First, the size of the client population and the staff set certain limits on how a program can be organized and run. Second, both these numbers are insufficient by themselves as indicators of program content or quality.

When we consider the nonresidential programs, we similarly find that the two programs (Key and Transitional Center) which attempt to exert the greatest level of intervention do not reflect the two lowest ratios of clients to staff. Moreover, Transitional Center has almost three times the number of students as Key, the program with the lowest ratio, and is running an in-house alternative school. It also can be seen that, while Transitional Center has more than twice the client population of Katahdin, another in-house school program, the former still maintains a lower client-to-staff ratio.

Small client populations do not in themselves demonstrate that a program has a sufficient number of staff to adequately teach, counsel, support, control, and monitor. This depends, in part, upon the program's intervention strategy and goals, the overall organizing framework, and the ease or difficulty of working with a particular group of clients. It further appears to us that the ease or difficulty of coping with a client population is likely to be entirely independent of the reasons for referral and the offense histories. In short, it is only through close assessment and monitoring of the many aspects of programming discussed throughout this report that one can begin to identify what it might be about a particular program that could make a difference for any one client.

TABLE 20

CLIENT TO STAFF RATIOS: RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

	No. of Clients at Visit	No. of Staff	Client to Staff Ratio
Esperanza	4	9	.44:1
ARC	10	13[1]	.77:1
Vindicate	40	14	2.86:1
Florida Keys	55[2]	18	3.1:1
PORT	7	2[3]	3.5:1
			$\bar{x} = 2.13:1$

[1] Excludes one 10-hr.-a-month consultant

[2] Includes 37-day students

[3] Excludes 2 substitute house parents and 1 executive director

TABLE 21

CLIENT TO STAFF RATIOS: NONRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

	No. of Clients at Visit	No. of Staff	Client to Staff Ratio
Key	11	14[1]	.79:1
Copper Mountain	14	14	1:1
Transitional Center	31	26[2]	1.19:1
Katahdin	13	6[3]	2.2:1
Vision	28	5[4]	5.6:1
VAP	45[5]	8[6]	5.6:1
			$\bar{x} = 2.73$

[1] Excludes 9 caseworkers working both with Plus and Outreach and Tracking clients

[2] Excludes 4 staff who drive buses and supplemental staff spending intermittent time at the program

[3] Excludes 1 part-time cook

[4] Excludes 1 executive director

[5] Based on maximum number preferred, since program not operational at visit

[6] Includes 2 teachers and 1 deputy director at no cost to program budget

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSIONS

The literature on the serious juvenile offender provides a number of recurrent observations and findings concerning issues of definition, incidence, official responses, treatment interventions, and more severe sanctioning. In our concluding remarks, we will begin by examining some of these often discussed issues in relationship to the specifics of our research. For reasons of clarity, we will divide this discussion into two parts: (1) issues concerning definition, incidence, and statutory mandates, and (2) approaches and techniques for intervention strategies.

In defining the serious juvenile offender, attempts to generate meaningful categories have led to the development of a number of indicators reflecting a broad spectrum of criminal activity. Key among these definitional indicators are factors representing (1) local/regional priorities, attitudes, and values, (2) the degree of severity of a specific offense, and (3) repetitiveness of criminal misconduct. In combination, these factors have generated a variety of definitions of the serious juvenile offender.

At one extreme of possible definitions are those habitually violent juveniles who are thought to pose immediate danger to the physical safety of the community. They tend to be placed in secure, correctional institutions. At the other end of the continuum are several types of offenders such as youths charged habitually with petty crimes, chronic status offenders, and "system nuisances" (those never adjusting to any program setting). In those programs we visited, client populations tended to fall somewhere between these two extremes. Generally, youngsters in these programs had been officially labeled as serious juvenile offenders based upon some set of specified criteria but were considered to be amenable to community-based treatment.

The incidence of serious misconduct among juvenile offenders is largely confined to crimes against property. Delinquents seem to pose the greatest threat to their communities through the perpetration of major property crimes such as burglary, larceny, and auto theft. Within the general population, 16-year-old offenders are most often responsible for these three categories of index crimes against property.

The relatively low incidence of violent juvenile offenses has contributed to a situation in which virtually all community-based programs designed primarily for a severely delinquent population contain a wide mix of offender types. In these settings, most clients have histories of crimes against property, while only a few clients have histories including incidents of violent crime. In addition, within those categories of crime which are officially labeled violent, aggravated assault and robbery seem to be the special domain of juvenile offenders. Yet, these two index crime offense designations tend to tell one relatively little about the degree of seriousness of a particular offense. This ambiguity leads many program directors in their decision making to rely much more upon the day-to-day behavior of clients than upon legal labels attached to these youngsters prior to their admission in programs.

Concern over youth crime appears to have produced an increasingly broad-based public response. In many localities, there is a marked decline in tolerance for maintaining delinquents under any form of supervision in the community. Instead, calls are issued for retribution against and incapacitation of increasing numbers of juvenile offenders. The past several years have witnessed a ground swell in activity for the passage at the state level of serious juvenile offender statutes. These legislative enactments have focused on the introduction of mandatory waiver, legislative exclusion of juveniles from juvenile court processing, determinate sentencing, and a general lowering of the age of eligibility for waiver to adult jurisdiction. One of the most important repercussions of such steps is to reduce greatly the number of serious youthful offenders who will be retained under the authority of the juvenile justice system and who can qualify for participation in programs such as those we visited. In fact, legislative enactments focusing on the serious delinquent population were beginning to have an effect on several of the jurisdictions in which programs in our sample were located. To varying degrees the serious juvenile offender was being defined out of existence.

We next turn to a series of observations drawn from the treatment literature which in our view provide a critical foundation for a discussion of specific strategies and organizing frameworks encountered at individual program sites. However defined, juveniles convicted of certain kinds of offenses are likely to vary extensively on both diagnostic and behavioral characteristics; it is thus necessary to develop very different kinds of intervention strategies. Extending this reasoning, we suggest it may also be true that juveniles convicted of different offenses may be diagnostically and behaviorally quite similar. On purely treatment grounds, this suggests that a mix of offenders on the basis of offense severity and/or chronicity may be desirable. Heterogeneous offender populations are also frequently advocated on the grounds that they potentially minimize a labeling effect and permit peer teaching and role modeling.

Much is made of the relationship between the causes or etiology of delinquency and theories of behavioral change, the assumption being that once a cause is determined, the intervention strategy is obvious. However, much disagreement persists in the professional community over this issue. Some argue that not only does a knowledge of causes have no importance for treatment but also that it, at best, gets in the way and, at worse, makes the client's problems more difficult to treat. This view is largely based on the premise that looking for deep-seated meanings and causes is more likely to antagonize the client, impede change, and encourage the evasion of personal responsibility. At the center of this debate is a questioning of traditional psychotherapeutic techniques.

Frequently, differences between programs cannot be traced back to a single specific theory or knowledge base; intervention strategies do not always emerge from one orientation. Furthermore, given the fact that any individual's criminality is likely to have resulted from more than a single factor, which may or may not be detectable, it is reasonable to expect that programs will have to use a wide variety of techniques. As a consequence, programs can be expected to defy easy and clear-cut categorization based on pure theoretical models. Although catchall categories can be identified, differences between programs within a single category remain substantial.

At this point, we move into a consideration of some of the patterns and principal features concerning the operation and development of programs in our sample. Emerging from the set of programs we visited are a number of significant issues regarding those features of the social environment which played some part in determining the origin, structure, and goals of these programs. With the exception of the launching of Vindicate Society in 1973, none of the residential programs was initiated early in the widespread movement to develop community-based programs for juvenile offenders. This pattern of program development may have resulted from one of two circumstances, or perhaps from a combination of the two. First, there has always been a general reluctance to put this difficult delinquent population in community-based settings. Second, the move to establish any form of alternative programming was occurring in some of the jurisdictions we visited (such as Utah) at a substantially later point in time than in other states.

The most important observation to make about the dates of origin for the nonresidential programs as a group is that they emerged even later than the residential programs. This fact generally reflects the two circumstances pointed out above but also specifically indicates that even greater reluctance characterized the decision to try to deal with these kinds of juvenile offenders in a day treatment setting where many observers believe even less control and supervision might be exercised over clients' lives.

In terms of starting dates for the residential programs, most of these programs (three of them) were part of the initial efforts to create an entire alternative system in their respective jurisdictions (i.e., were first-generation programs), while two programs were developed with an alternative network already in place. In contrast, the majority of nonresidential programs (four of them) were second-generation efforts while only two programs were launched as part of the initial development of alternatives. Yet, it is important to realize that the majority of all these programs, residential and nonresidential alike, were the only alternatives being operated for serious juvenile offenders in the jurisdictions where they were located. Consequently, a pilot project aura surrounded the development, implementation, and maintenance of these programs; on the whole, program administrators and staffs viewed themselves as pioneers in the arena of alternative programming.

With rare exception, the primary service areas for both residential and nonresidential programs were considerably smaller than the formal catchment areas. Not surprisingly, the primary service areas for nonresidential programs as a group were much smaller than those for residential programs since travel to and from programs was not an important concern in the case of the latter. In addition, most of the nonresidential programs provided services to clients drawn from an area consisting of those neighborhoods immediately surrounding or within several miles of the program site.

Regarding the various fiscal issues which accompanied the emergence and operation of these programs, several observations should be made. With respect to start-up monies, all of the residential programs were planned and implemented in situations where outside funding served as a catalyst. Usually, these funds were federal LEAA grants channeled to the programs through the state planning agencies. However, in several instances start-up monies were provided by private foundations. The same pattern for supplying funds for launching programs existed in the case of the

nonresidential agencies. Overall, the most pervasive start-up fiscal feature was the federal government's intention to serve as a change agent by providing monies to develop serious juvenile offender programs. This was demonstrated by the fact that eight of the eleven programs were launched with federal LEAA grants.

Another important observation regarding fiscal matters is the fact that ten of the eleven programs were developed and implemented as private, nonprofit efforts. Such a model has been repeatedly pointed out in the literature as one which offers the best chances for success in treating this difficult delinquent population. Finally, it should be noted that, based upon per diem costs, the residential programs as a group were only slightly more expensive than the nonresidential programs ($27.53 versus $25.18).

In the vast majority of cases, sources of referral were organizational actors exercising authority over juvenile offenders either at the point of disposition, e.g., judges and referees, or at one of several postadjudication stages, e.g., probation officers, placement counselors, or parole personnel. With the possible exception of PORT, the residential programs as a group seem to serve primarily as community-based alternatives to incarceration. The overwhelming number of youngsters entering these programs have been adjudicated delinquent and in many cases appear to be prime candidates for placement in secure, correctional institutions. In a similar fashion, the nonresidential programs as a group seem to serve a client population which must be characterized as severely delinquent, at least in terms of the legal statuses of the clients being referred. Most of these nonresidential programs accept only youngsters who have been adjudicated delinquent and are required by court order to participate. In these situations the next step in formal processing would be commitment or return to secure custody.

In two of the states, recently enacted statutes concerning serious juvenile offenders had just begun to have an impact on the channeling of youthful offenders into the programs. In these instances, tighter constraints were beginning to be placed upon the flow of severely delinquent youngsters, especially those adjudicated for violent crimes against persons, into these programs. In most of the states with which we were concerned, the delinquent population was only minimally affected by the waiver or determinate sentencing process. In principle, a wide range of offender types were eligible for participation in most of these programs.

Among the residential programs, all were designed exclusively for a male population; three also explicitly stated a preference for serving older adolescents (15 to 18 years old). In contrast, there was much less mention of age as a limiting criterion for admission in the nonresidential programs. In addition, all of these programs except one admitted both male and female clients although in each case the populations actually being served were overwhelmingly male.

The criminal and demographic profiles of youthful offenders participating in these programs provide some important insights into the kinds of delinquents to be found in each of the two program types. Surprisingly, although residential programs appeared to be more selective in specifying older youths in their intake criteria, the nonresidential programs as a group possessed a higher average age for clients (15.4 years versus 15.2 years). In surveying the extent and nature of criminal behavior exhibited by clients in all of the programs, the indication is that the nonresidential

programs were providing services for as severely a delinquent population as were the residential programs. The vast majority of all programs were working with clients who had engaged in a mixture of crimes against both persons and property although, as one might expect, the number of property crimes far outnumbered violent crimes.

The processes surrounding the movement of clients into active participation, namely intake procedures and service plan development, were handled essentially the same way across both residential and nonresidential programs. In all of the programs, intake procedures revolved around the decision of deciding whom to admit and whom to reject. Ironically, much of the importance attached to this process in terms of the seriousness of deliberations is, in fact, misleading, since only in the case of Katahdin were large numbers of potential clients rejected. Usually, programs accepted at least 90 percent of all referrals. Of course, this high rate of acceptance could in many instances reflect the relatively close communication between referring agency and the program. Technically, the decision-making process might involve a number of individuals such as the program director, the client, an admission team composed of various program staff members, representatives of the referring agency, and occasionally other clients and family members.

Similarly, the development of service plans was roughly comparable across all of the programs. Only in the case of Vindicate Society had the decision been made not to utilize individual service plans. Generally, the development of a service plan was viewed as a crucial step in deciding how to respond to the problems of each youngster as he/she moved through the various stages and/or components in the program. In addition to the testing conducted at the programs, outside information such as social histories and various testing results were also relied upon in developing the plan. As was the case with the intake decision, various individuals such as program staff, the client, family members, and representatives of the referring agency might participate in the formulation of the plan. Once completed, the service plan was usually shared with the referring agency.

With regard to program strategies and components, the five residential programs can be broadly distinguished from one another on the basis of their relative emphasis on socialization or therapeutic milieu. The two programs which fall into the therapeutic milieu category are based more on intensive peer group dynamics and the active manipulation and control of the overall environment to bring about personality change and self-control. Generally, more thoroughgoing and intensive reorientation and reconstitution are sought; this involves more extensive and broader changes relating to personality and psychological makeup. The three socialization programs do not seek as deep-seated and extensive changes in their clients. Change is related more to helpful instruction, well-rounded activities, nurturance, and good role modeling.

The nonresidential programs can also be differentiated by the degree of change sought and the range of attributes targeted for attention. Two of the programs pursue with great intensity the development of maximally comprehensive and intensive intervention strategies involving virtually all aspects of social interaction, conduct, and psychological well-being. Three programs aimed much more toward a moderate level of intervention. In these programs, there remained more opportunity for relatively unsupervised outside program time with not quite as much direct control and supervision imposed on that time. Finally, the sixth program can more appropriately

be identified as an outreach worker program. There was no requirement for attendance at the program site, and no mandatory group activities occurred either in or out of the facility.

Probably the most distinctive finding arising from this program typology is that, while there were clearly common characteristics reflecting an identification with the broadly stated categories, there remains substantial differences between programs within a particular category. These extend to such factors as access to community, level and type of supervision outside the program setting, kinds of program components, nature and extent of individual and group counseling, incentive system and award structures, consequences for misconduct, etc.

The organization and monitoring of client progression in the programs is largely achieved through an assortment of staging, leveling, achievement/progress, and point systems. Ranging from relatively simple mechanisms involving periodic case reviews to elaborately structured token economies where privileges are tied to the attainment of specified levels or stages, these incentive systems and award structures are used to fulfill two distinct purposes. One is to monitor progress and directly guide movement through the program. The other also involves monitoring progress, but it has the added feature of being used as a means to dispense more tangible rewards and punishment, and it is not directly tied to advancement. As an example, among programs employing some kind of a token economy, FKMI and Esperanza used points as a clear basis by which residents progressed along discrete levels or stages, while also obtaining additional privileges. ARC, on the other hand, relied on assignment of points to allocate weekly chores. Actual advancement through the program, however, is a function of treatment progress, timing, and problems. Similar differences can be identified in programs relying on some form of program stages. Entry into the advanced stage at Vindicate, for example, represents both the acquisition of additional privileges and direct advancement. Key Tracking Plus moves all students from residential intake to community tracking in order to actually implement the terms of the service plan and written contract. As such, we do not regard it as a reward but as fairly standard movement into a stage which can be characterized as intensive and highly demanding.

The flip side of incentive systems and reward structures is the use of sanctions for misconduct. We encountered a wide variety of such sanctions which ranged from verbal reprimands and talk sessions to loss of home visits, prolonged group sessions, and the threat or use of force. Not surprisingly, the nature of the sanctions employed by each program reflected their overall philosophy on appropriate intervention strategy. The possible types of consequences within the spectrum of programmatic sanctions can be demonstrated by the following three illustrations. Vindicate's preference, for example, was to utilize the threat of boxing to impose control. Transitional Center, on the other hand, employs a sanctioning system where problems are immediately confronted and addressed in such a way that clients are constantly held accountable for what occurs. This approach manifests itself by focusing directly with the youngster on the problem behavior or difficulty. Counselors and teachers are expected to move freely in and out of each other's rooms and team up as much as possible. In contrast, Katahdin's system of sanctions heavily emphasizes student involvement. This reflects the program's overall commitment to instilling in the clients a sense of program ownership and democratic process.

Consideration of a program's external relationships and its use of community resources leads to an examination of at least two perspectives. Each identifies a different set of indicators corresponding to alternate views of what it means for a program to be community based. While both identify key features of programs, one focuses on organizational arrangements which can be established to create or enhance the bond between the program and community rather than the day-to-day life experience of the client. The other emphasizes the extent, nature, and quality of relationships between clients, program staff, and the network of relationships comprising a community. Clarity of perspective is critical, since outcomes are frequently compared for programs with little similarity in the very feature believed most important for producing change. The use of the different perspectives also explains, in part, why programs identifying themselves as community based can still be organized and operate quite differently.

Our exploration of the various ways in which programs seek to facilitate and achieve client linkages with community support systems and social networks revealed that three distinct functions existed to accomplish this: 1) both direct and indirect helping accorded the identified client who receives the service, 2) use of community resources and social networks as helping in the actual provision of service, and 3) general access by clients to support systems and personal social networks. Depending upon a particular program's basic orientation and intervention strategy, variation on each of these functions was rather wide, e.g., Vindicate, FKMI, and ARC did not see themselves as family treatment programs, while such help constituted at least a partial goal of several others. In addition, the nonresidential programs relate to the third function of general access in an altered fashion. Since clients are more likely to have access to their families, close friends, other peers, etc., it is more a matter of 1) whether restrictions are imposed on who can be seen, 2) whether specific times are set for outsiders to visit the facility, and 3) whether others are invited to participate in activities run by the program.

Organizationally, a number of observations can also be made. Various legitimate reasons exist for programs to draw clients from relatively large catchment areas. In these instances, relations with the support systems of the "host" community become crucial. Source of funding is an often complex matter which does not necessarily 1) equate with where control is lodged, 2) indicate what kind of control is involved, and 3) indicate community identification and attachment.

Use of community volunteers is a difficult matter often involving a great deal of time, supervision, and attention. Those programs able to substantially incorporate volunteers were able to tap already existing efforts which recruited, screened, trained, and provided assistance in this often complicated process. Finally, there is nothing magic about staff members having or not having professional experience and credentials. Critical ingredients are acquiring staff with the ability and proficiency to deal with an offender population and having a personnel system which carefully selects, trains, supervises, and holds staff accountable.

The final steps in the movement of clients through programs are those activities associated with graduation and reintegration into the community. These steps represent the most positive outcome which the client can experience. At the opposite end of outcome possibilities is termination, which in all programs simply entailed the return of the client to the referring source for further processing, frequently formal in

nature. Once failure to adjust to a program's rules and regulations reached this level, the procedures for ending the youth's involvement were largely impersonal and irrevocable. Only at Katahdin could a client challenge the termination decision and demand an appeal hearing. At the other extreme, graduation activities were kept at a low profile in all programs except ARC, where formal ceremony and banquet were held to honor the achievement of the client in the presence of a large number of guests.

Plans for reintegrating clients frequently entailed two separate sets of activities. First, there were those aftercare efforts meant to insure that clients would continue to be able to receive important services and obtain needed resources once formal contact between the youth and the program had been severed. On occasion, such efforts would continue past the point of graduation, but much more frequently aftercare was planned as part of the preparation for graduation. In fact, eight of the eleven programs had developed aftercare procedures which were initiated only before graduation. From an administrative point of view, this decision was quite reasonable in that it was easier in this way to end active involvement with ex-clients and to avoid overextending the use of scarce resources such as staff time and program funds. Only in the case of ARC was an elaborate aftercare system in operation which involved extensive activities both prior to and after graduation under the supervision of a specially designated staff member.

The second set of activities concerned with client reintegration was follow-up for the purpose of monitoring and/or evaluating ex-clients' progress. All eleven programs had some system for pursuing either monitoring or evaluative activities. However, in the case of most residential programs these efforts were confined largely to monitoring the client's adjustment in the community, with virtually no emphasis being placed on evaluative inquiry into outcome. In contrast, the nonresidential programs as a group appeared to have developed more elaborate procedures, though still rather rudimentary, for evaluating client adjustment following graduation.

Particularly in smaller-scale organizations such as those in our sample, the administrative structure must be one in which line staff and the day-to-day operating administrator can freely communicate, work together, and extend mutual support. Work with this kind of population can be stressful, demanding, and exhausting; the responsibilities are immense; and the hours often unpredictable. In spite of these facts, salaries tend not to be high. Staff turnover tends to be high, and burnout is an occupational hazard. It is for these reasons that the suggestion is often made that public agencies and civil service stay out of such enterprises. While government must assist in funding, monitoring, and providing technical assistance, smaller, nonprofit agencies frequently have the flexibility to better run and directly administer these kinds of programs. Freed from the rigidity and formality associated with larger public agencies, smaller private, nonprofit organizations are apt to have more leeway and also to be less likely to be frozen into public budgets and outlast their usefulness.

One additional caution which should be mentioned is that both the size of the client population and the ratio of clients to staff members must be interpreted with great care. This is because the ratio is not a measure of how many staff are 1) around at any one point in time, 2) in which positions, and 3) capable of relating well to the clients. Furthermore, the appearance of a relatively small client population with few staff or a comparatively large client population with more staff indicates very little about program content, philosophy, and quality.

APPENDIX A*: Sellin-Wolfgang Seriousness Scale

	Elements Scored (1)**	Number x Weight (2) (3)	Total (4)
I.	Number of victims of bodily harm		
	(a) Receiving minor injuries	1	
	(b) Treated and discharged	4	
	(c) Hospitalized	7	
	(d) Killed	26	
II.	Number of victims of forcible sexual intercourse	10	
	(a) Number of such victims intimidated by weapon	2	
III.	Intimidation (except II above)		
	(a) Physical or verbal only	2	
	(b) By weapon	4	
IV.	Number of premises forcibly entered	1	
V.	Number of motor vehicles stolen	2	
VI.	Value of property stolen, damaged, or destroyed (in dollars)		
	(a) Under 10 dollars	1	
	(b) 10-250	2	
	(c) 251-2,000	3	
	(d) 2,001-9,000	4	
	(e) 9,001-30,000	5	
	(f) 30,001-80,000	6	
	(g) Over 80,000	7	

*Source: McDermott and Joppich (1980:6)

**Column 1 contains a list of the elements that can be scored, even though most events will include only one or two of these elements, and Column 2 refers to the number of instances or victims involved in a particular incident. Column 3 gives the weight assigned to the element. Column 4 is reserved for the total score for a given element; this is derived by multiplying the figure in Column 2 by the figure in Column 3. By adding all figures in Column 4, the total score for the event is found.

APPENDIX B: Procedures for Generating Arrest Rates

Figures 1, 2, and 3 used the follwing formula to derive the arrest rates for specific age and race groups. These rates are based on data drawn from the Uniform Crime Reports and the P-25 Series of the annual census reports.

$$a = \frac{b}{(c \times d)} \; 100,000$$

Factors:

a. = arrest rate per 100,000 for a specific age/race group

b. = number of reported arrests in the Uniform Crime Reports for specific/race group

c. = total U.S. population for specific age/race group

d. = % of total U.S. population for specific age/race group represented by reporting jurisdictions

$$d. = \frac{\text{UCR population projections for jurisdictions reporting arrest for specific groups}}{\text{Census estimate of total U.S. population}}$$

APPENDIX C: Annotated Bibliography of Program Evaluations, Assessments, Monitoring Reports, Annual Reports, and Correspondence

1.   Alternative Rehabilitation Communities, Inc.

Correspondence between Deputy Secretary of Department of Public Welfare, Central Region, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and Alternative Rehabilitation Communities, Inc. Board of Directors. Dated June 25, 1979, and August 2, 1978.

> Summarizes findings of two welfare inspections which reviewed organization and administration, policies and procedures, programmatic content, etc.

McGillis, Daniel, and Spagenberg, Robert.   The Camp Hill Project: An Assessment. Cambridge, Massachusetts: ABT Associates Inc., December 1976.

> An evaluation of the 1975-76 serious offender deinstitutionalization effort in Pennsylvania. It is a study of the project's context, objectives, and accomplishments based upon project and state agency generated documents. As such, it offers a description of early ARC operations. The sketch is based on a site visit intended primarily to gather information on the relationship of CCA to its vendors.

2.   Copper Mountain Mental Health Adolescent Day Center and Esperanza Para Manana

Hernandez, Marcus.   Characteristics of Chicano Youth Treated at the Esperanza Residential Treatment Home: March 1978 - February 1980.   Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1980.

> The purpose of the study was to explore: 1) the extent to which the delinquent behavior of youth treated at the Esperanza Center changed during and following treatment, and 2) the relationships between demographic characteristics and success as reflected in reduced delinquent behavior following treatment.

WICAT Inc.   An Evaluation of Community Based Alternative Programs for Seriously Delinquent Youth in Utah: Statistical Report, July - September 1979.   Orem, Utah: WICAT Inc., 1979.

> The report describes the pretreatment profile of delinquent youth in the various alternative programs, treatment statistics (e.g., length of enrollment, AWOLs) and offense data before, during, and after treatment.

WICAT Inc.   A Study to Evaluate the Effectiveness of Seven Alternatives for Troubled Youth with Emphasis on Improving the Projects: Final Report, July 20, 1976.   Orem, Utah: WICAT, Inc., 1978.

> Report includes a general description of each of the seven alternative programs; data specifying important characteristics of each program (e.g., referral sources, age, vocational hours); results of miscellaneous pre- and post-program test scores; recidivism rates and severity comparisons; and an assessment of overall alternative program objectives.

3.   Florida Keys Marine Institute

Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, Youth Services Program Office, District Eleven. Monitoring Report. July 9, 1980.

> Discusses demographic characteristics, transfer rate, length of stay, treatment plans, security, and conformance with contract requirements.

Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services, Youth Services Program Office, Planning Coordination Unit.   Evaluation of Florida's Associated Marine Institute Program. June 1978.

> Combines all Marine Institute programs in Florida for the purpose of describing population profile, educational outcomes, behavioral adjustment, exits from AMI, employment, recidivism, and program cost.

4.   Katahdin: A Workshop for Youth

Katahdin. Progress Report to Minnesota Crime Control Planning Board, January 1 - March 31, 1980.

> Reviews progress on program objectives, describes problems encountered in achieving various goals and objectives, and presents sources of referral, reasons for referral, and acceptance/rejection status.

Bright, Willis K., Jr., and Cullen, John. Final Report on the Evaluation of Katahdin. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Center for Youth Development and Research, September 1979.

> An evaluation of the effectiveness of Katahdin which focuses on how and whether primary program objectives have been met.

5.   Key Tracking Plus

The KEY Program, Inc. Alternatives for Youth: Annual Report, July 1979- June 1980. Framingham, Massachusetts: Key, Inc., 1980.

> A description of each of the Key programs with selected statistical information and a financial profile.

6.   <u>Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training</u>

Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted Community Corrections System. <u>Comprehensive Plan—1980</u>. Rochester, Minnesota: Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted County Board of Commissioners, 1979.

> Contains a description of all community correction funded services in the geographic area. Includes system goals, program description, target groups, ongoing and unmet needs, process objectives, program success indicators, and budget summary and expenditure detail.

Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted Community Corrections System. <u>1979 Year-End Report</u>. Rochester, Minnesota: Dodge-Fillmore-Olmsted County Board of Commissioners, 1979.

> Indicates progress of all community correction funded services in accomplishing the 1979 comprehensive plan objectives.

7.   <u>Project Vision</u>

Authorship unknown. <u>Project Vision: An Evaluation of the First Six Months</u>. 1977 (mimeograph).

> Contains a discussion on background, intended program participants, operating procedures, and experiences during the first six months. An assessment with recommendations is included.

8.   <u>Transitional Center</u>

Transitional Center. <u>Progress Report to Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice</u>. October 8, 1980.

> Contains organizational chart, client demographic data and sources of referral, staff training provided, consultation/technical assistance utilized, and assessment of project goals and objectives.

9.   <u>Vindicate Society</u>

Correspondence between Vindicate's Executive Director and Bureau of Licensing, Division of Youth and Family Services. Dated April 1, 1980.

> Vindicate's response to the DYFS evaluation report on "Vindicate Society Residential Treatment Center for Delinquent Boys."

Correspondence between Evaluation Unit, Division of Youth and Family Services, Department of Human Services, and Vindicate's Executive Director. Dated September 11, 1979.

> Summarizes findings of an inspection which reviewed the facility, case records, policies and procedures, and programmatic content.

Residential Facility Evaluation Unit, New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services. <u>Third Evaluation—Preliminary Report: Vindicate Society</u>. Trenton, New Jersey: Division of Youth and Family Services, August 1979.

> Presents a program summary, consumer evaluations, and conclusions and recommendations.

Newark Office of Criminal Justice Planning. <u>Evaluation Report #36</u>. April 12, 1979 (mimeographed).

> A review of program objective, outcome characteristics, and the Vindicate program as seen by others.

APPENDIX D: Program Profiles

The following program profiles have been included to give the reader a holistic picture of the programs. Each program has been described on the basis of six topical areas: origins and history, point of intervention, referral criteria, client profiles, program services, and staffing patterns. Since only rarely have comprehensive, in-depth descriptions of community-based programs for serious juvenile offenders appeared in the literature, we believe these eleven profiles constitute a critical portion of the monograph. The reader is forewarned that many of these programs are likely to have changed since our visits. These changes may range from minor alterations to a fundamental revamping of organizing frameworks. It should also be noted, of course, that some of these programs may no longer be in existence.

Residential Programs

1. Alternative Rehabilitation Communities, Inc.

Origins and History

Alternative Rehabilitation Communities, Inc. (ARC) at Woodlawn is a highly structured group home located in a residential neighborhood of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The program originated through the efforts of two individuals who, in the fall of 1975, responded to a request from the Center for Community Alternatives (CCA). CCA called for the development of a variety of alternative program services which would be subcontracted on a purchase-of-service basis.

The CCA subcontracting mechanism was designed to expedite the creation and implementation of community-based alternative placements to be used most immediately to deinstitutionalize the 392 juvenile offenders incarcerated at the Camp Hill Penitentiary and to provide services for high-risk juvenile offenders who might otherwise be sentenced from the courts directly to Camp Hill. The details of how CCA began, operated, and was subsequently discontinued are outside the scope of this program description; these issues have been treated elsewhere (McGillis and Spangenberg, 1976), but a number of points concerning CCA and central to understanding the emergence of ARC need to be made.

The overall plan for CCA was to develop a statewide network of program alternatives. This goal was complicated by the fact that, although the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare (DPW) maintained authority over all facilities for delinquent and dependent or neglected youth, the commitment authority remained with the judges. Moreover, juvenile probation fell under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court at the county level. It performed court intake, provided formal and informal preadjudicative diversion, and handled traditional postadjudicative probation services.

According to an ABT Associates report (McGillis and Spangenberg, 1976), Dr. Jerome Miller, Commissioner of the Office of Children and Youth, and DPW officials chose an administrative structure to process as rapidly as possible grants to

predominantly private agencies or groups. The old-line, private providers declined an initial offer, and instead the CCA concept was devised. The plan was for CCA to develop and maintain the network of service providers for three to five years, at which time DPW would absorb CCA. CCA was incorporated in May 1975 and was organized into a central office and four regional offices mirroring DPW's own administrative regions. Each region was responsible for developing alternative services corresponding to six program types: intensive care security units which were locked and/or fenced; a highly structured community residential center for nondangerous, chronically delinquent juveniles requiring intensive treatment; community advocate programs; supervised living (foster care); outward bound; and a capacity to procure such services as vocational training, special education, psychotherapy, family therapy, and roommate programs based at colleges. In addition, each region was to create a needs assessment team which was to carry out a comprehensive evaluation of individual youngsters.

Against this backdrop, two young men—one black and one white—met with Miller and were subsequently subcontracted to provide juveniles exiting from Camp Hill with intensive treatment in a highly structured, small (ten to fifteen beds) group home in the community. During October and November 1975, ARC was created; it was incorporated as a nonprofit child care agency and procured a contract from the central region CCA. Staff recruitment and training began immediately, and a large, single-family house was found in a pleasant and well-maintained residential community in Harrisburg.

Local community opposition emerged immediately, and a zoning battle ensued. This struggle lasted for several months and resulted in a compromise in which juvenile offenders convicted of arson, armed robbery, or rape were excluded from participating in the program.

The ABT report points out that other programs funded by CCA faced similar zoning disputes and problems of community resistance; these obstacles, along with high start-up costs, problems in the court referral process, and various kinds of programmatic shortcomings, led to uneven program development within the various regions. Not every region saw all seven planned program types implemented. In addition, some of the programs collapsed, were phased out, or were absorbed into DPW. Moreover, due to a number of factors—reduction in anticipated LEAA grant monies, cost overruns, DPW administrative shortcomings, CCA ineffectiveness, and the completion of the Camp Hill deinstitutionalization process—CCA's regional offices were closed on July 1, 1976. Responsibility for direct case management was transferred into a newly created office within DPW.

ARC survived these initial problems, has expanded, and is presently thriving. It now runs four facilities, two residential and two nonresidential. Our discussion of the program will focus on the group home in Harrisburg.

Total operating expenses for that facility for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1979 were $240,666.68. Under the purchase-of-service agreement, the client's home county pays a per diem of $80.00 to ARC, and DPW reimburses the county for 75 percent of the cost. If, on the other hand, a state institution is used for secure placement, the per diem charge is $140.00, and DPW will only reimburse 50 percent of the cost. The net effect is a county per diem cost of $20.00 for the alternative residential placement as opposed to $70.00 for an institutional placement.

Point of Intervention

All juveniles referred to the program have been adjudicated delinquent and placed on probation with a court-imposed condition for entry into ARC. Some are sent directly from the courts as an alternative to commitment; others had been placed on probation and then failed in one or more placements. Finally, some who have violated probation may have been previously placed under the supervision of a probation officer and released to a parent or guardian.

Referral Criteria

As a community residential center within the central region of Pennsylvania, ARC has a formal catchment area including twenty-six counties. Between 1978 and 1980, however, a total of only eight counties made up the primary service area. Eligible male youths must be between the ages of 15 and 18, adjudicated delinquent, and determined suitable by the court for a community residential center. Rapists, armed robbers, arsonists, and psychotics are automatically excluded. However, ARC's second residential facility located in a more remote area near Harrisburg will take offenders from the first three of these four categories. In addition, youths charged with homicide are automatically waived to the jurisdiction of the adult court. Furthermore, a recently adopted statute makes it possible for certain first-time offenders to be certified as adults.

All referrals come from the juvenile court. The admission decision is made by the ARC executive director with input from the group home's program director and ARC's program coordinator/president. The social summary, all relevant accompanying materials, and a preentry interview are used to assess each case. In a vast majority of the cases, the referrals are considered appropriate. This fact can be attributed to probation officers' having an excellent sense of the program's orientation and operations.

Client Profiles

The group home has a maximum capacity of ten, though two additional youngsters temporarily being held in detention participated in the program during days. Out of the ten students residing at the facility, eight were white, two were black; the average age was 16.3 years. Reasons for referral included three youngsters for burglary, one for theft, one for auto theft, one for breaking and entering, one for receipt of stolen goods, one for a probation violation, and two for "failing to adjust" which involved previous program placements. While prior arrest records were not obtainable, previous placement data indicated all but one youth had histories of at least one earlier placement.

Program Services

The average length of stay is nine months. The program's major components include in-house education; individual, group, and family counseling; organized recreation; and extensive prerelease preparation coupled with outreach services. The

facility relies on a point system in which one to three points are assessed against clients for various rule infractions. Points are essentially demerits which accumulate over a week's time. They are then used as a basis for assigning a variety of chores. The point system is also used in combination with assessments of client progress and cooperation to select a student of the month. The reward for receiving this honor consists of a steak dinner and being cited on a house plaque. In addition to being assigned points for infractions, other consequences for misbehavior include writing assignments, work hours, talk hours with counselors and/or the program director, curtailment of in-house mobility, loss of smoking or phone privileges, loss of home visitation privileges, prohibition on wearing street clothes with a requirement to remain in a bathrobe, and the most severe sanction, program termination.

Schooling begins between 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. and is continued from 1:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. All entering youths are tested for achievement levels and abilities. Based upon this information, the program teacher develops an individualized program of instruction. GED preparation and remedial instruction are both available as well as work on practical skills. Credits which are earned in the program school can be applied toward a regular high school diploma. Staff members assist the teacher in the largely individualized course of study for each youth. All subjects commonly available in a general secondary educational curriculum are taught. Although return to a public school is possible, a preference is given to working toward a GED at the program. Readjustment to a public school environment poses great difficulties and has frequently not worked out well for former ARC residents.

Individual counseling techniques vary considerably, reflecting a youth's particular personality, manifest behaviors, and set of problems, as well as each counselor's own style and orientation. The underlying objective is to create a basis for rapport between each student and his primary counselor. The counselor provides support, offers insight into daily occurrences, and guides the student in developing a repertoire of socially acceptable responses. By trying both to enhance self-esteem and to model appropriate forms of social interaction in a nonintimidating manner, the counselor hopes that self-defeating defense mechanisms will be reduced and that negative behaviors will be recognized as unproductive. Individual sessions between a resident and counselor are routinely held once a week although they may take place more often when needed. Each counselor is typically assigned two students, and this staff member is responsible for conducting the individual counseling sessions, working on the treatment plan, monitoring progress, and writing monthly reports.

Group sessions are held twice a week. One is devoted to "snitch and bitch" where various in-house problems such as relationships with staff and between residents, and other general complaints, are discussed. Topics are frequently chosen from suggestions made in writing by the clients. The other session is generally devoted to focusing in an organized way on interpersonal communication through peer interaction and shared criticism. This activity is expected to demonstrate how particular behaviors affect others and to generate self-awareness and insight based on intelligence rather than simply on impulsive emotions. For a number of months, mealtime at the program had taken on the trappings of a group session. This format was instituted to offset the increasingly chaotic interaction that had developed at meals. An extended group session lasting anywhere from several hours to several days can be invoked at any time. All other activities cease, and all students and staff members participate. The session ends only when the particular difficulty or peer

culture problem has been thoroughly analyzed and a common understanding is reached concerning how the issue will be resolved.

Family work tends to be utilized with greatest regularity during the prerelease phase. Prior to its use at that stage in programming, sessions involving the family mostly occur during home visits. These visitations begin after a client has resided for two months at the facility. They are initiated only if the student is not on restriction. The first home visit lasts only one day and requires prior approval from the probation department, consent of the family, and the establishment of a behavioral contract specifying call-in times, curfews, etc. If no new restrictions have been imposed following the initial home visit, students are granted two full weekends at home per month. The home visits continue in this manner until the prerelease phase is launched after about eight months of participation in the program.

During prerelease, the program's outreach coordinator deals directly with the family on a weekly basis. Goals established for the youngster and the kind of problems likely to arise are discussed with the family. Once prerelease extended weekends begin, the outreach coordinator is a frequent visitor to the home. In this situation many opportunities arise for the coordinator to consult informally with the family about a number of issues. While ARC is not a family treatment program per se, it is important to point out that, as each youth moves closer toward completion of the program, more family contact and interaction gradually occur, principally through the outreach coordinator.

After participating in the program for approximately eight months, a resident may be recommended for a prerelease hearing upon the advice of the individual counselor. This student appears before the entire staff and presents an account of his progress toward the specific goals written in his regularly reviewed treatment plans. He also states his reasons for being placed on prerelease and enumerates his overall objectives. In this meeting, the staff can be highly confrontive and critical. After his presentation and response to questions, the student is excused in order for the staff to reach a decision. If rejected, the student is given a specific date for another hearing. If accepted, the student enters a new phase in the program. The outreach coordinator assumes the role of counselor and starts to work with the student on a specially designed prerelease curriculum. The first five days of this curriculum must be successfully completed before the extended home weekends can commence and job hunting or a school program search can begin. The curriculum's topics include job-seeking procedures, interviewing, filling out applications, following written directions, opening and managing savings accounts, budgeting, voting, use of the marketplace (advertising, avoiding gyps, safeguards), procuring and managing housing needs, and consumer law. The probation department is informed in writing that reentry planning has begun for the client and that job or training placements are being sought.

The outreach coordinator then formulates a social contract for the extended home weekend pass, notifies family, and usually spends one day taking the student to various places. The passes, along with the conditions written into the contract, are continued until arrangements are finalized. If problems arise, the passes can be revoked, and if successfully completed, a request is made to the court to make a change from full-time student to prerelease status.

Once formally placed on prerelease status, the student returns to ARC on weekends, completes the prerelease curriculum, and discusses regularly with the outreach counselor his weekly experiences and problems. The coordinator periodically contacts the employer or teacher, parents, and the probation department to check progress and to convey information. Employers or teachers are asked to fill out a status report. If all goes well for four to five weeks, the student is given a prerelease test covering many of the topics from the special curriculum. If the student passes, he is no longer required to come to the facility. The coordinator meets with the youngster and family twice per week for two weeks at his home. The employer or teacher and the probation officer are also contacted during this period. If all appears well, a graduation ceremony is scheduled, and invitations are extended to all staff, fellow students, family, close friends, and the probation officer. The commencement takes place at the facility. In order for a student to remain in ARC for more than nine months, the court must approve. Upon graduation, the outreach coordinator contacts the student every six months for two years to check on progress. Additional services can be provided if required.

Staffing Patterns

The staff includes an executive director, program coordinator and president of ARC, program director, one teacher/staff supervisor, counselor/recreational coordinator, two counselors, three counselor trainees, outreach counselor, consulting psychologist, administrative assistant, and a cook. This large staff is organized so that twenty-four hour eyeball supervision can be provided, along with an extensively planned and highly structured day replete with four hours a day of individually tailored schooling, organized recreational periods, group activities involving some use of community resources, and set hours for free (though monitored) time. The facility is, indeed, a beehive of activity; youth are kept exceedingly busy. An extremely high level of staff-student interaction is constantly occurring.

The vast majority of the staff have been with the program for at least several years. It is racially mixed, and virtually all of the staff either possess or are working on Bachelor's degrees; three have Master's degrees. A number of the staff members have been college athletes. Almost all are young adults ranging in age from the mid-twenties to late thirties. Very limited use of volunteers is made to carry out certain activities with the students.

2. Esperanza Para Manana

Origins and History

Esperanza Para Manana is a residential program for severely delinquent Hispanic youths. Located in an older residential neighborhood of Salt Lake City, Utah, the program emerged from the efforts of two ethnic organizations, the Institute of Human Resource Development (IHRD) and SOCIO, to provide services for youthful offenders. Late in 1977 they responded to a bid issued by the Community Alternatives for Troubled Youth Committee (CATY) for the establishment of community placements as

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alternatives to the state's commitment facility in Ogden (the Youth Development Center or YDC).

Utah received a three-year, $800,000 federal grant in 1977, and CATY was created as a mechanism for dispursing this money. In January of 1978, CATY contracted with a number of private agencies to establish community-based programs, and IHRD and SOCIO were awarded one of the CATY contracts. Principal responsibility for actually implementing the project was assumed by IHRD.

Although Hispanics were disproportionately represented among both the referrals to court for delinquency and YDC commitments, an evaluation of seven of the CATY programs reported that Esperanza personnel experienced difficulty for the first several months in finding enough delinquent Chicano youth in the state to fill the facility. Eventually, the program obtained enough clients, but problems persisted. During the summer of 1979, a new executive director and a clinical director were appointed. A major overhaul was initiated, and a vastly different program took shape.

Under the purchase-of-service system instituted, the Division of Family Services (DFS) reimburses Esperanza for its actual expenses. The 1979 operating budget came to approximately $100,000, and the per diem cost was $36.

Point of Intervention

The Utah Juvenile Court system is statewide and is divided into five judicial districts. Judges are appointed by the governor and collectively form a Board of Judges of the Juvenile Court. This board sets policies and administrative procedures for the entire juvenile court system. Juvenile probation is a service arm of the court; probation officers are appointed by the local judiciary. These officers also function as court intake and/or supervisory officers. DFS, as a branch of the Department of Social Services, has responsibility for Youth Corrections. Youth Corrections operates YDC, supervises parole, and manages specialized out-of-home placements for delinquents.

Understanding the basic structure of Utah's juvenile justice system is important because youngsters with distinctly different legal statuses may be placed in the same privately operated home for delinquents. In turn, these statuses affect who has authority in matters such as determining release, providing institutional aftercare, and specifying permissible responses to subsequent misconduct.

One possible placement status for Esperanza is a YDC suspended commitment. Under this disposition, the judge, basing his decision on the recommendation from a predispositional screening team (comprised of a youth corrections worker, a child welfare worker, and a probation officer), sends the juvenile to Youth Corrections with either a specified placement or an instruction leaving the final placement decision to Youth Corrections. In both casees, if a subsequent offense occurs, the youth must return to court for a hearing. Another possible placement status for Esperanza is a YDC stayed commitment which may be imposed on a youngster who, in the court's opinion, is more likely to commit subsequent offenses. In this case, a YDC commitment can be invoked without a hearing and only requires a judge's signature.

Another route for placement in Esperanza is after a youth has served either a short-term or regular (long-term) commitment in YDC. In the case of a short-term commitment, a youth may be sent to YDC by court order for sixty to ninety days. Theoretically, this placement is for the purpose of observation, evaluation, and subsequent recommendation to the court for final disposition. Several sources stated, however, that this placement is frequently used as a "slap on the wrist." Whatever the reasons, after the short-term commitment the youngster is returned to court where the judge may invoke probation, a suspended commitment, or any other kind of available disposition. All of these statuses can lead to placement in an alternative program such as Esperanza.

Regular commitment to YDC is usually reserved for youths who have exhibited chronic delinquent behavior or have committed serious offenses and are viewed as posing a serious physical threat to their communities. In these cases, youths are placed under the custody of YDC, and the court relinquishes all jurisdiction. The superintendent of YDC has the responsibility for selecting release dates from the institution for these youngsters. However, since juvenile parole also falls under the auspices of Youth Corrections, these youngsters may eventually be placed in an alternative program such as Esperanza. The final route for placement in Esperanza is probation supervision. Although out-of-home placement infrequently accompanies this form of supervision, such cases have been placed in Esperanza. This placement requires approval from Youth Corrections.

Referral Criteria

Esperanza's formal catchment area includes the entire state of Utah. The program, however, primarily receives referrals from Salt Lake City and Ogden. This pattern of referral results from the fact that these two cities have the largest populations and contain the highest concentrations of Hispanics in the state. To be eligible, youngsters must be seriously delinquent Hispanic males between the ages of 12 and 18. No formal or written guidelines are enumerated by Esperanza for distinguishing serious from nonserious delinquents.

The program refuses to accept youths who either are reluctant to participate or are unwilling to work with the staff and abide by program rules. Youngsters with major drug or alcohol problems are not admitted. The maximum capacity for the facility is eight. Final admission decisions are made by the clinical director; almost all cases referred in 1979 were accepted.

Client Profiles

At the time of our visit, there were four residents in the program. They ranged in age from 11 to 15 years with an average age of 13.8 years. These clients had arrest histories of numerous property crimes; reasons for referral included one youngster for burglary, one for theft, one for burglary and shoplifting, and one for burglary of a nondwelling along with burglary of a vehicle.

It is important to note that the more serious delinquent acts in Utah tend to be property felonies and not felonies against persons. Nevertheless, staff at Esperanza

felt that they should be receiving more hard-core cases, i.e., somewhat older youths with arrest histories of more crimes of personal violence. Coupled with the fact that the program was operating only at 50 percent of capacity and that Hispanic juveniles are disproportionately represented among referrals to court, out-of-home placements, and the more serious chronic offender group, there is a clear indication that Esperanza was being underutilized for that group for which it had been designed to provide services.

Program Services

On the average, residents in the program stay for approximately 4.5 months. Major components include close monitoring of client performance at local public and alternative schools; individual, group, and family counseling; regular, frequent home visits; and the inculcation of ethnic pride and cultural awareness. The general thrust of the program is the provision of a homelike atmosphere reflecting these youths' own culture.

The program utilizes a point system in which each youth is given zero to three points per eight-hour shift in each of eleven categories over a twenty-four hour period. Three is the best rating, and zero is unsatisfactory. The youth supervisor on duty has the responsibility of rating each youngster. A resident is scored in the following categories: attitude, relationships with others/arguing with counselors, chores, room, personal hygiene, waking up and going to bed, smoking, radio/stereo, phone, home on time, and extra chores. The points in a given category are totaled each day and then summed by week.

The point system provides an objective basis by which each resident progresses through three discrete program stages. Advancement is marked by increased physical mobility, additional privileges, and increased responsibility. Stage one, designed for a minimum of four weeks' participation, permits no outside activities for the first two weeks except school and work. Telephone privileges are restricted to calls to parents, caseworkers, probation officers, employers, and teachers. The use of radios and stereo equipment is not permitted. Family visits to the facility are permitted after two weeks. Unless otherwise authorized, residents must be accompanied by staff on all trips away from the facility.

To advance to stage two, at least 80 percent of all obtainable points must be acquired. In the second stage, telephone privileges are eased; walks to the park or nearby stores with staff permission are allowed three times a week; ownership of radios is permitted; and after one week a twenty-four-hour home visit is granted. Eighty-five percent of all obtainable points are required to advance to the next stage. Stage two is designed to last a minimum of three weeks. The final or third stage involves preparation for release and placement. A number of old privileges are expanded, and some new ones are introduced. For example, home visits are permitted every weekend. These weekend visits are clearly viewed as a privilege which must be earned. Parents are asked to fill out a form about the child's behavior after each weekend visit. In this stage, 90 percent of all obtainable points must be earned to progress to the next week. Consequences for violation of house privileges can include loss of home visits, restriction on weekly activities, receiving no points, loss of privileges, extra duties, referral to court, or expulsion.

In its quest to develop culturally appropriate treatment models, the program selected a predominantly Chicano staff to provide role models for and to counsel with the residents. This strategy assumed great importance since it is linked to the belief that ethnic pride and cultural identity should be appealed to, if not inculcated, in attempts to communicate with minority youngsters. In addition, the assumption was made that having an exclusively Hispanic client population increased the possibility of generating cohesion between residents and staff. The widespread perception that the dominant "Anglo" power structure constituted a prejudiced and discriminatory power elite caused this assumption to be especially meaningful.

Regularly scheduled individual counseling sessions are largely the responsibility of the clinical director. On occasion, student interns with graduate work in social work or educational psychology will run these sessions. Individual counseling occurs once a week and frequently emphasizes the need for a youngster to assume responsibility for his unlawful behavior. Stress is placed on a youngster's completing the program without getting into further trouble. The argument was made by staff that some youngsters' low self-esteem can be attributed, at least in part, to the subordinate status attached to being Hispanic in a larger "Anglo" system dominated by the Mormon Church. Countering this tendency requires the promotion of cultural pride in being part of an ethnic group whose members are able to rise above perceived prejudices and obtain responsibility, authority, and respect from the "mainstream" culture. These principles seem to be communicated to the residents through unspoken or visual messages by other Hispanics who have achieved some degree of success and are able to function well within the larger system.

Providing an opportunity for these youngsters to identify with adult, Hispanic role models is thought to help neutralize the problem of "scapegoating." This term refers to the tendency of blaming all problems on discrimination by the larger society, while refusing to accept any personal responsibility for either past misconduct or possible self-improvement. In cases where low self-esteem is not necessarily tied to feelings of powerlessness arising from ethnic discrimination, it is still beneficial to have positive, adult role models. Such figures can help these youngsters toward goals such as reducing antisocial behavior, resolving family problems, and reacting to conflict and tense situations in a thoughtful fashion.

Group sessions are conducted once a week by the clinical director. These sessions provide a setting to deal collectively with general policy issues (e.g., program rules, restrictions, and privileges) and with matters relating to responsible behavior and attitudes, client conflicts, progress in school or work, and other topics useful in provoking discussion.

Family work entails two or three visits a month by the clinical director to each youth's home. At the outset, the goal is to establish rapport and develop a relationship which can serve later as a basis for more structured counseling. Shared ethnic identity between family and counselor is believed to create a basis more readily for the development of trust and the acceptance of advice. More substantive matters can be discussed later once the proper groundwork has been laid.

All residents are required to attend either public or special school in the community. While some schools communicate with program staff daily, others issue a monthly progress sheet. The program requests that the schools provide a weekly

report. Formal follow-up services are not provided by the program. Once a client leaves Esperanza, he is frequently still involved with the court. This involvement may consist of either nominal probation supervision or a tracking program. Prior to graduation, arrangements are usually made by the program to provide youngsters with some kind of school program or job.

Staffing Patterns

Program staff include an executive director, clinical director, home manager, four youth supervisors, one practicum student, and a secretary. All except two are Chicano. With the exception of the executive director (one year), clinical director (one and a half years), and secretary (three years), staff have been at the program for an average of six months. Both the executive director and the clinical director have Master's degrees; the remaining staff members have a total of four Bachelor's degrees, one uncompleted Bachelor's degree, one Ph.D., and one high school diploma. Three of the nine staff members are women; the staff ranges in age from 22 to 51 years with the average age being 32 years.

3. The Florida Keys Marine Institute

Origins and History

Chartered in 1976 as a nonprofit corporation, Florida Keys Marine Institute (FKMI) is one of seven marine-oriented programs in Florida, constituting Associated Marine Institutes (AMI). AMI's origins can be traced to 1969 when two juvenile offenders were employed by an environmental marine research project. This step had an immediate beneficial effect on these youngsters' behavior and led to more such placements. Shortly thereafter, a project for placing delinquents in marine-oriented activities was launched. AMI replicated this program, and by 1976, seven such programs falling under the AMI banner were in operation.

Until July of 1979, all of the affiliated programs were nonresidential. Since 1976, FKMI had been operating an alternative school supported largely by CETA funds. The school provided vocational training, educational tutoring, and counseling for students from the Florida Keys who were troubled, confused, or unable to function in a standard classroom. Due to a cutback in CETA funding, a problem emerged about the continuation of the school. Around the same time, however, interest was growing for the establishment of a small residential program for delinquents to serve District 11 of the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS). This area included Monroe (containing the islands of the Florida Keys) and Dade Counties (in which Miami is located). Monies were to be made available from funds obtained by closing down one cottage at a state training school. Discussions took place between AMI and representatives of HRS concerning this proposed project. An initial agreement was reached. The decision was made to continue to have an alternative school to serve youths from the surrounding Monroe County. These students would travel to and from their homes on a daily basis. The residential program, in contrast, would take youth from all parts of District 11. Residents would jointly attend school with the day students from Monroe County.

Excluding costs associated with the nonresidential alternative school, the yearly budget for the residential component amounts to approximately $254,700. The per diem costs are estimated at about $40. Over three-quarters of this funding is derived from HRS. Additional funding related primarily to the residential population's use of the alternative school comes from the county and involves a state subsidy. Finally, private donations, both monetary and in-kind (boats), plus money paid by out-of-state clients constitute the remaining funding sources.

The AMI central office receives a set amount of HRS funds each month for all youths in the residential component of FKMI. Approximately 20 percent of the HRS subsidy goes to AMI with the remaining funds being channeled to FKMI. In return, AMI provides training, procures and negotiates contracts, offers administrative and technical assistance, performs evaluation, and supplies computer services to FKMI.

Point of Intervention

HRS is responsible for all juvenile institutions and services as well as for all probation services; the latter includes juvenile court intake and parole supervision. Persons under 18 who are adjudicated delinquent can be committed by the judge to HRS for an indeterminant period of time until discharge or a youth's 19th birthday. FKMI's residential component is designed exclusively for adjudicated delinquents who have been committed to the custody of HRS.

Referral Criteria

Although the formal catchment area for FKMI's residential component is the entirety of Monroe and Dade Counties, in practice the program draws almost exclusively from Dade County. These referrals come predominantly from Miami, which is located approximately 160 miles north of the program. The virtual nonrepresentation of Monroe County youth was explained by the fact that judges in that county are reluctant to commit youngsters to HRS except in the case of extremely serious violations. Given the relatively few commitments to HRS from Monroe County, very few placements of these youngsters are made in FKMI's residential component.

Youths are selected and referred to FKMI by the placement coordinator for HRS. Male youths between the ages of 15 and 18 who have been adjudicated for serious crimes including chronic property and assaultive offenses are eligible. However, youths who have exhibited severe or chronic assaultive behavior are not likely to be referred. Also excluded are youngsters who are not interested in marine-oriented programs, are not able or willing to participate in water activities, and have severe emotional disturbances. Another factor considered in the referral decision is whether a youth should be removed from his home environment. Referral considerations also include efforts to maintain a racial and ethnic balance, to analyze the behavioral aspects of each youngster, and to consider the judicial recommendations.

The placement coordinator maintains close contact with FKMI through the HRS liaison counselor who works at FKMI and notifies the placement coordinator about availability of slots and upcoming graduations. The liaison counselor also has

responsibility for handling the furlough (release) plans and for maintaining contact with the HRS field counselor. This individual supervises the youth once he has graduated and returned to his home. If the program should choose not to accept a referred youngster, the residential administrator must send a written justification to HRS. HRS has the right to appeal this rejection to AMI's administrative staff. In practice, however, all referred youngsters seem to be admitted into the program.

Client Profiles

During the time of our visit there were eighteen residents at the program. Information was available for seventeen of these youngsters. They ranged in age from 14 to 17 years with the average being 15.6 years. Twelve of the residents were white; five were black. The reasons for their referral and the number of their prior offenses were: one strong-arm robbery with six priors; one attempted robbery and aggravated battery with seven priors; one attempted armed robbery with nine priors; four offenders each having a burglary charge with four, six, seven, and ten priors respectively; one burglary and theft with eleven priors; one burglary and grand theft with eight priors; one battery with three priors, one carrying a concealed weapon with three priors; three offenders each having a violation of probation charge with two, nine, and eleven priors; two offenders having violations of community control with two and six priors; and one violation of a commitment placement with eleven priors. The average number of prior offenses for this group was 7.1.

It should be noted that violations of community control and probation can result in commitment to HRS. Community control is used by the courts in lieu of commitment to the custody of HRS. Failure to comply with conditions of a community control placement can result, after a hearing or an admission, in a revocation and issuance of a new disposition order. The new order might be any disposition which could have been issued at the original hearing.

Program Services

According to a July 1980 monitoring report which covered the period from December of 1979 to April of 1980, client participation in FKMI's residential component lasts on the average slightly under six months. The executive director indicated this period of involvement had been reduced recently to approximately four months. During this period, efforts are made to expose students to a wide variety of marine-oriented activities, subjects, and challenges. Exposure to all aspects of the marine environment is believed to be a way to instill self-confidence, to establish respect for working with others, and to develop a repertoire of potentially valuable vocational skills and avocational interests. These goals are achieved principally through an educational program emphasizing remedial academics, conventional course work, and marine-oriented subjects; practical field experience (e.g., refurbishing, repairing, and operating boats); organized activities and trips (e.g., swimming, sailing, and diving); and a token economy reality therapy treatment component.

The program is located on a portion of an abandoned naval base in a corner of the island of Key West. This base is closed to unauthorized entry; a small, low-keyed security force is located at the gates.

The program uses a point system to monitor progress, reward responsible behavior, and guide advancement through four specified levels. All points accumulated by each youngster are noted in a prominently displayed Consistency and Performance Chart. Anywhere from one to five points can be earned for conduct and for participation in each class, task, or activity. A maximum of ten points can be earned for each of the three class/activity periods over each weekday; on weekends a maximum of forty points is possible. The points can be used as bids in auctions which are held to select students for various trips and activities.

The points are also used as one of the criteria for level advancement. Other criteria include completing assigned courses, receiving peer input in group meetings, and procuring staff approval. The four levels are apprentice seaman, seaman, mate, and first mate. Obtaining particular privileges is based on the level reached. Family visits, for example, are permitted once a month, but at level two (requiring a total of 450 points) students are ordinarily allowed to leave the base with their families for the day. Level three, which requires 1,400 points, allows students to arrange a five-day home visit. At level four, which requires 1,750 points, plans are made for graduation and furlough. Various levels must be reached in order to bid on such things as attending special activities, organized evening trips, overnight camping, and group ventures into town. Assistant instructor status and responsibility for orienting new students also accompanies advancement.

The students in the residential program attend the alternative school along with the Monroe County nonresidential students. While most of the day students are not court ordered, virtually all are referred for disruptive behavior and/or their involvement in crisis situations. The curriculum includes required core courses of a purely academic nature (reading, spelling, writing, mathematics, and social studies) and in marine science (dangerous marine life, marine ecology, and marine biology). High school credits are obtained, and GED preparation is available. A great deal of the marine-oriented study is done in the field, which serves as a natural laboratory. The purpose is to capture student interest and to show immediately the link between an academic topic and its potential application in work or recreational activities. New students take several short courses such as first aid, cardiopulmonary resuscitation, survival swimming, water safety, marine maintenance, and basic hand tools. Short-term courses involving one to several class sessions are designed to provide rapid successes for students who are accustomed to failure. Course completion cards and achievement awards are introduced early to engender positive reinforcement on a regular basis.

Many elective subjects are also available. Among them are aquarium technology, collecting tropical fish, oceanography, whales and dolphins, scuba and skin diving, advanced seamanship and boat maneuvering, cooking, weight lifting, and life saving. Time is also spent developing employment skills and learning good work habits. All students devote time to other vocational issues such as finding and keeping jobs, developing career awareness, filling out applications, and perfecting interviewing techniques.

The academic instruction is handled primarily by three teachers taking responsibility for remedial, intermediate, and GED preparation respectively. Each student spends three half-day sessions per week on academic subjects; the remaining time is given to marine-oriented topics and tasks. Four instructor-counselors teach

classes in the various marine-oriented subjects. They serve also as primary counselors for the residential students. Upon entry into the program, each student is assigned one of these counselors. Instructor-counselors are recruited largely on the basis of their marine background and experience, not on the basis of previous work with or training for offender populations. Instructions for counseling and working with these delinquent youngsters is handled in-house by senior staff.

There are no routinely scheduled individual counseling sessions; instead contacts with counselors were said to occur informally when needed. Emphasis is placed on the development of trusting relationships in which students are expected to act maturely and to accept the consequences for irresponsible behavior. A County Community Mental Health Center located on the same abandoned naval base is available to provide individual counseling although its services are not utilized very often.

Various types of group sessions occur four times a week. Twice a week each youth participates in a group of approximately ten clients. This group is led jointly by a staff member of the Mental Health Center and one of FKMI's counselors. These sessions last approximately an hour. In addition, each counselor sees his/her own caseload of about five students once per week. Discussions centered on matters such as course requirements for level advancement, interpersonal conflicts, and personal needs. Finally, on Fridays a group meeting is held for all residential students. This meeting is moderated by the HRS liaison counselor who spends a great deal of time at the program. At this meeting clients discuss a wide range of topics including level advancements, program policies and procedures, and the quality of staff and client performance.

While families are periodically apprised of their children's progress in the program, FKMI provides no family counseling services. Work with a family is the responsibility of the HRS field counselor in the client's community. Since these youths are approximately 160 miles from home, logistic problems preclude any possibility for family work. The HRS liaison counselor will give a progress report to the family if they make contact. Most of his work, however, involves contact with the home counselor about the youngster's progress. He notifies this counselor about pending home visits and also handles all paperwork and other details for the furlough.

The furlough is technically a probationary status following release from an HRS commitment placement. The details of the furlough agreement are largely worked out by the HRS home counselor with advice from the liaison counselor. Once the terms are set for the furlough, they are detailed in a document by the liaison counselor. Once this work is completed, the youngster is released and returned to his own community. If the terms of the furlough are violated, the youth can be given another HRS placement following an administrative hearing. Return to FKMI is not permitted.

Staffing Patterns

Eighteen staff members work at FKMI. At the administrative level are the executive director, the residential administrator who runs the residential program, and a director of operations who is in charge of the alternative school. Four persons comprise the school staff: three instructors and a diving teacher. Four instructor-counselors are responsible for the marine science, seamanship, and aquatic activities.

Finally, there are six dorm counselors who live at the facility. The program also employs a cook. Supplementary staff who receive no compensation from the program but work on a regular basis include the HRS liaison counselor and two Community Mental Health workers.

The staff ranges in age from 17 to 42 years with the average age being 28.8 years. The staff possesses the following academic credentials: three Master's degrees, seven Bachelor's degrees, two Associate's degrees, and three high school diplomas. Thirteen members of the staff are male and five are female.

4. Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training

Origins and History

The PORT (Probationed Offenders Rehabilitation and Training) Boys' Group Home opened in May of 1976 as an important addition to the agency's larger youth-serving efforts. Already operating under PORT's service umbrella were the Corrections Center and the Girls' Group Home. PORT, a private, nonprofit organization, was initially incorporated in 1969 as part of the move by a group of Rochester citizens—private individuals and criminal justice professionals—to provide alternatives to incarceration for juvenile and young adult offenders.

Principles established for the agency at the time of its founding include: (1) local alternatives to imprisonment can be more just and humane without increasing the risk to public safety; (2) the reliance on imprisonment as a sanction for most crime is ineffective and should be reduced; (3) local correctional services can be provided at substantially lower cost; and (4) PORT programs and its philosophy of corrections in the community can be duplicated in other jurisdictions. These four principles have continued to form the basis of PORT's correctional philosophy and programming efforts.

Two local district court judges from Rochester, the prime movers to create the agency, began mobilizing local community leaders as early as 1967. Originally funded with $80,000 of private foundation monies, PORT has subsequently been able to obtain substantial financial support through the Minnesota Community Corrections Act of 1973. Located in one (Dodge-Olmsted) of the three pilot county areas initially targeted by the act, PORT utilized these funds in part to enlarge its array of services.

Kenneth Schoen, who later served as commissioner of the Department of Corrections for the state of Minnesota at the time of the passage of the Community Corrections Act, was appointed as the first executive director of PORT and was instrumental in planning and opening the first element in the agency's larger umbrella, the Corrections Center. Launched in 1969, this program occupies a building on the grounds of the Rochester State Hospital. It was developed to serve as an alternative to incarceration and to provide closer control and supervision for "high risk" probation cases than was possible under traditional probation. Currently, the program is available to juvenile and young adult males referred by the juvenile and criminal courts in Olmsted, Dodge, and Fillmore Counties. In 1973, a second element in PORT's larger array of services, the Girls' Group Home, was opened. Located in southwest

Rochester, this facility provides residential care for female delinquents between the ages of 13 and 17 years.

The PORT Boys' Group Home, which opened in the spring of 1976, is located in an attractive, two-story, single-family dwelling in a recent housing development in southeast Rochester. Nothing about the exterior appearance of the building suggests that a residential program for delinquent youths is housed there. The surrounding neighborhood consists mostly of single-family homes plus a scattering of larger apartment building complexes. This residential area appears to be overwhelmingly white and middle class with no signs of any deterioration in the housing.

During the calendar year of 1979, financial support for the operation of the Boys' Group Home was drawn from two primary sources. Out of a total operating budget of $52,360, the vast majority of funding, $48,360, came from the Olmsted County Department of Social Services. This county social welfare money was ultimately derived from state government revenue sharing. The remaining $4,000 was supplied through the Community Corrections Act. Here, the three counties of Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmstead have combined into a single community corrections system which is collectively eligible for funding under the Community Corrections Act.

The estimated cost for maintaining a youth in the Boys' Group Home is approximately $23 per day. This figure compares quite favorably with the cost of maintaining a youth at the Red Wing State Training School which amounts to $56 per day.

Point of Intervention

Youths entering the Boys' Group Home are drawn primarily from two referral sources. Most potential clients are referred either by the juvenile courts in Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmsted Counties or by the Olmsted County Department of Social Services. On rare occasions youths are referred to the program by their schools or parents. In the case of juveniles entering PORT via the courts, they have all been adjudicated delinquent and have been placed on probation as an alternative to incarceration. These offenders have generally been charged with serious crimes including felonious acts against persons and property. If an alternative program such as PORT had not been available, they would have been in most instances committed to the State Department of Corrections for placement in a juvenile correctional facility. In contrast, in the case of youths being referred by the County Department of Social Services, rarely have any of these youngsters been charged with serious offenses. Usually, they have engaged in various misbehaviors qualifying as status offenses—truancy, ungovernability, and runaway. Under these circumstances where wards of the County Department of Social Services are engaged in activities making it difficult to maintain them in their own homes, their social service caseworkers refer them directly to the program.

The small percent of youths referred by schools and parents have almost never been adjudicated delinquent in the juvenile court. If the PORT facility were not available for these youths who are being referred for reasons other than court adjudication or social service custodianship, they would probably be placed in some type of noncorrectional, residential treatment center within the catchment area.

Youths referred to the program as social service referrals are only drawn from Olmsted County, whereas youths referred by any of the other sources—courts, schools, and parents—might reside anywhere within the three-county catchment area of Olmsted, Fillmore, and Dodge. At the time of our site visit, all of the youths in the group home had been drawn from Olmsted County. This fact was not surprising since most of these clients had been referred by the Olmsted County Department of Social Services.

Ideally, PORT aims for a mix of clients which approximates 75 percent juvenile court cases and 25 percent county social service cases. During the calendar year of 1979, however, the ratio of court and social service admissions was almost exactly reversed. Out of a total of twenty-three youths admitted that year, sixteen had been sent to PORT by county social services and only seven had been sent by the juvenile court. This reversal suggests an important change in referral policies.

Referral Criteria

The formal catchment area for PORT's Boys' Group Home is the entirety of Dodge, Fillmore, and Olmsted Counties with the majority of referrals coming from Olmsted County where Rochester is located.

The intake criteria enumerated by PORT for acceptance into the program are: (1) males between the ages of 13 and 17 years, (2) residents of the formal catchment area, (3) must not be retarded, (4) must not be severely emotionally disturbed, (5) must not be chemically dependent, and (6) need not have experienced court action regarding custody or probation. Surprisingly, although the program claims to have been designed for the treatment of serious juvenile offenders, no mention is made in the list of intake criteria either of the severity or chronicity of delinquent behavior.

Of all youths referred to the program, approximately 90 percent of these potential clients are accepted. The decision about whom to admit is made by the program's intake committee which is composed of the Group Home's two codirectors, PORT's executive director, and a representative of the agency making the referral. Admission of any client requires a majority vote of the committee. Usually, the decision of whether or not to admit is made within twenty-four hours after the youth is referred to the program.

A written service plan is developed shortly after the youth is admitted to the program. The guidelines for treatment spelled out in the plan result from the collaborative efforts of the youth, the houseparents (the group home's two codirectors), a representative of the referring agency (typically, a probation officer or social service worker), and the parents of the youth if they are available for consultation. In this document are specified both the short-term and long-term goals which the client is expected to achieve while living in the home. Once formalized, this service plan is shared with the referring agency and the client's parents.

Client Profiles

The maximum capacity for the Boys' Group Home is eight residents plus one emergency slot for youths who need emergency shelter. For example, runaways who

have been picked up by the police but cannot be housed at the local detention center due to state statutes can be kept temporarily at the program. Emergency shelter can be provided for three days.

At the time of our site visit, seven clients were residing in the home. They ranged in age from 13 to 16 years and averaged 14.3 years. Racially, the group consisted of six whites and one Native American. Out of the seven, only two clients had been referred by the juvenile court. One, a 14-year-old white youth, had been adjudicated for aggravated assault and had previously been charged with theft. The other a 16-year-old white youth, had been adjudicated for auto theft and had previously been charged with burglary. All five social service referrals had no prior records and in every case except one (deviant sexual behavior) had been referred for status offenses. These charges included two instances of truancy and two of incorrigibility.

Program Services

Designed as a family-teaching model program, PORT's Boys' Group Home provides a residential setting in which special emphasis is placed on the development of life skills and the improvement of personal habits. Considerable attention is directed to teaching the value of cooperative behavior. Staff members point out that the program works best for delinquent and/or acting-out youths who are reasonably socially adept, are not excessively hostile, and are not terribly resistant to change. The average length of stay is 129 days although on rare occasions clients have remained in the program for as long as 420 days. The home is managed by a young married couple who serve as houseparents. Along with PORT's executive director, this couple assumes the role of principal counselors for the residents.

Individual, group, and family counseling are utilized in this program. The extent and nature of counseling in which each resident participates depends largely upon the content of the service plan developed following intake. All clients must receive individual counseling on a daily basis. These sessions are purposely kept informal and may be presided over by any member of the staff. Individual counseling usually assumes the form of casual rap sessions which can occur at any time in the residence. The particular techniques employed vary from counselor to counselor; the only consistent themes stressed are providing a positive role model, teaching relevant life skills, and developing behavior vital for group living. The term "environmental therapy" was used repeatedly by staff in describing these approaches to producing significant behavioral change.

Much the same approach is employed in the group sessions run in the home. The houseparents usually supervise these groups where adaptive strategies for group living and household management are the most common topics for discussion. If interpersonal problems arise between several participants and/or if a particular youth is having special difficulties affecting others, the executive director of PORT will step in and run the group sessions with a focus on these issues. All clients in the program must participate in group counseling; sessions are held twice per week.

Family counseling is also a regular activity at the home. The houseparents have responsibility for supervising these sessions in which about one-half of the clients in

the program are involved at any point in time. The approach taken is not any form of classic family therapy but instead is based on problem solving with the intention of improving relations between parents and their children. A large part of the counseling effort is directed toward improving the skills of parents in their attempts to deal successfully with their children. Two techniques particularly stressed are Gordon Parent Effectiveness Training and Systematic Training for Effective Parenting. Families are invited to the home once per week for counseling sessions. In those instances where severe problems exist between family members, ones requiring prolonged and intensive intervention, the family is referred to the local mental health center to participate in more traditional forms of family therapy.

Activities are organized at the program so that during a typical day the clients have an opportunity for several hours of free time and recreation in addition to other regularly scheduled activities such as household chores, meals, and group sessions. The clients are also given open access to local recreational resources such as parks, playgrounds, and community centers. The program has not itself developed any special recreational/cultural component. Home visits are encouraged if participation in the program is satisfactory. Unless problems arise, youths usually spend the entire weekend each week with their parents.

Formal educational needs of the residents are met by making use of the Rochester public school system. A concerted attempt is made to keep each client in the same school he was attending before he moved into the group home. Close informal contact is maintained between the program staff and teachers at the public schools; communication via the telephone occurs on an almost daily basis. Formally scheduled meetings are held on a quarterly basis between program staff and teachers. When a client is perceived to be experiencing considerable academic difficulty at school, he may receive individual tutoring from staff members at the home.

Progress through the program is measured by successfully meeting the goals stated in the service plan. Every month a case conference is held regarding the progress of the client; this meeting regularly involves the houseparents and a representative of the referring agency. Upon completion of all objectives, clients are graduated from the program.

Negative behaviors on the part of clients are responded to in a graduated fashion. For minor violations of rules, houseparents simply reprimand the youth. If a more serious act occurs, the executive director of PORT intercedes with the transgressor and tries to resolve the problem. When a totally unacceptable situation arises, the staff terminates the youth's participation in the program and returns him to the original referral source.

In those situations where clients are disruptive and staff want to exercise negative sanctions on this behavior but do not want to expel these youths from the program, PORT's Correctional Center is used as a backup resource. Tighter controls and closer supervision can be imposed in that setting. Youths with continuing adjustment problems and known acts of illegal behavior are placed in the center. They can remain there only for periods of time less than four weeks in duration and then must be reintegrated into the Boys' Group Home or terminated from the program.

The program does not assume responsibility for providing any follow-up or aftercare for the provision of services. But, as part of graduation planning, individual clients may be referred to other community agencies for counseling, vocational training, and job placement. Attempts are made, however, to follow up graduates for the purposes of evaluation. This procedure is handled informally through contacts with parents, probation officers, and social service workers who have a basis for continued contact with clients after graduation. Those clients who have been referred by the courts and are subject to the conditions of the Community Corrections Act are followed by a computerized tracking system.

Staffing Patterns

The full-time staff for the Boys' Group Home consists only of the two houseparents. In PORT's table of organization they are referred to as codirectors of the group home. These individuals are assisted on a regular basis by PORT's executive director, who assumes various counseling duties. In addition, the houseparents are relieved from their regular tasks by another married couple who manage the home on alternating weekends and one evening per week. They also substitute for the regular houseparents during vacations. Typing and bookkeeping needs are met by a secretary and office manager who are employed to work full time at the Correctional Center and extend their services on an as-needed basis to the group home.

Other than the executive director who has five years of previous experience in working with delinquent youths, the remainder of the staff had virtually no previous experience in working with this kind of population. Educationally, the executive director had a Bachelor's degree; one of the houseparents had an Associate's degree, and the other had a high school diploma.

At present, this staff is augmented by two volunteers who tutor the residents and also lend a hand in recreational activities such as fishing, camping, and going to movies. These volunteers are young adult males who are themselves residents of the Correctional Center and are providing these services as part of a court-imposed restitution order.

In part, the small size of the staff reflects a theoretical commitment on the part of PORT to a particular notion of what a community-based program should strive for. The central issue is that such a program must be characterized by a high level of interaction with the community in which it is located. Efforts should constantly be made to encourage clients to locate available local services such as mental health centers and drug treatment/education programs. One of the key responsibilities of the staff is to help link the residents into these outside resources.

5. Vindicate Society

Origins and History

Vindicate Society is a residential program for delinquent youths, located in downtown Newark and designed to provide a wide range of rehabilitative services for

serious juvenile offenders drawn primarily from the inner city. The founder of the program, Benjamin Amos, began to draw together the various elements for the program in 1971 while working with delinquent youths in an inner-city housing project in Newark. He operated this precursor to the present program from a tenants' association room in the projects for almost two years without funding. Previously, he had been employed as an outreach worker by the YMCA in the inner city of Newark but had left that job in order to pursue his own ideas about the best way of impacting this difficult teenage population. As he pointed out, during the early 1970s very few programs existed in the inner city of Newark to provide treatment for those delinquent youths being committed in large numbers to secure correctional facilities.

The program was officially launched in 1973 during the Nixon Administration when Mr. Amos obtained an LEAA grant for $500,000 under the auspices of the High Impact Anti-Crime Legislation. Shortly thereafter, Vindicate Society was incorporated as a private, nonprofit corporation, and $140,000 of the seed money was used to purchase a building to house the program. In the first of many difficulties to befall the program, irresolvable problems arose concerning the rehabilitation of the building, and Mr. Amos was forced to move the operation into a YMCA facility in June of 1974 where it remained until March of 1978. At that time the program moved to its present location in downtown Newark.

By 1976, LEAA funding had been exhausted, and financial support for subsequent program efforts was obtained from the State Division of Youth and Family Services (DYFS). In part, the reason why additional funding from subsequent, federal anticrime initiatives was not available to the program was organizational conflict. Vindicate Society had engaged in a series of disputes with the Newark Office of Criminal Justice Planning, which was responsible for channeling LEAA monies into local projects. Ironically, this agency had been crucial in helping Mr. Amos to develop the proposal for the initial High Impact Anti-Crime funding.

The funds obtained from the Division of Youth and Family Services did, however, allow the program to continue without any cutbacks in services. From a total budget of $530,000 in 1979, DYFS provided the bulk of funding, $480,000. Additional funding sources included small private foundations such as the Florence and John Shuman Foundation, the Victoria Foundation, the Terrell Fund, and the Lillia Babbit Foundation, which collectively provided a total of $20,000. The Essex County Board of Education supplied $30,000 to reimburse for the cost of meals served to clients of the program.

The cost of maintaining a client in Vindicate Society is approximately $30 per day.

Point of Intervention

Vindicate Society was created to provide a community-based, residential alternative to incarceration for juveniles adjudicated for serious offenses or for juveniles awaiting disposition who have been charged with serious offenses. With only a few exceptions, youths entering the program are placed there as a result of a court order and are on probationary status.

The vast majority of referrals are youths who have been adjudicated delinquent, placed on a suspended commitment status by the judge, and sent to Vindicate Society in lieu of incarceration. A small number of youths in the program have been referred to the juvenile court charged with status offenses and have been adjudicated as JINS (Juvenile in Need of Supervision) cases. They are placed in Vindicate Society because they lack a satisfactory home setting to which to return and in most instances have had extensive contact with law-enforcement agencies. Given their past histories, the court has decided that they need close supervision. An equally small number of referrals to the program are parolees for the youth correctional services. As part of their parole planning, officials decided that these youths would benefit from a more gradual reintegration into the community. These parolees are still legally under a commitment status to the State Department of Corrections. Finally, a very small number of youths are referred directly from the community by their parents, schools, and welfare workers. These referrals must be engaging in misbehavior of a sufficiently severe nature to warrant their placement in residential treatment facilities. When such youths are referred to Vindicate Society, they must first be directed to the juvenile court where they are placed on a conditional probationary status. They will be released from this status if they successfully complete the program.

Without exception, all youths entering the program fall under the custodianship of the Division of Youth and Family Services, the state agency responsible for administering child welfare. Most youths who are referred are already under the auspices of this agency. In those instances where this is not the case, at the point of court adjudication these youths are placed under the custodianship of DYFS as a precondition for placement in Vindicate Society. This step is mandatory since the program relies almost entirely on DYFS funds and can only accept clients who are legally tied to DYFS.

Referral Criteria

The formal catchment area for Vindicate Society is the entire state of New Jersey, but the program has employed a referral formula calling for a geographical mix of clients consisting of 57 percent from Newark, 23 percent from elsewhere in Essex County, and 20 percent from elsewhere in New Jersey. Although initially reflected in referral patterns, these percentages have not continued to characterize the geographical distribution of clients because the anticipated scale of referrals from particular sources has changed drastically. In the past the Juvenile Court of Essex County made numerous referrals to the program as did the Newark office of DYFS. The eruption of rather intense disputes over the use of "boxing therapy" (discussed in some detail later in Program Services) and a variety of other disagreements about procedures and treatment approaches have led to a virtual halt in Essex County referrals; this is true of referrals from both the juvenile court and the local offices of DYFS. At present, the vast majority of youths in the program are coming from outside Essex County and are court-ordered youths under the jurisdiction of DYFS. Other youths who are being referred to the program by courts outside Essex County are charged with serious offenses and awaiting court disposition.

The guidelines stated by Vindicate Society as constituting appropriate grounds for referral are: (1) males between the ages of 15 and 18 years and (2) youths who have committed stranger-to-stranger offenses such as homicide, rape, armed robbery,

atrocious assault and battery, or breaking and entering. Program staff repeatedly stated to us that they were best prepared to work with youths who were chronic offenders and had a history of predatory street crime. The program consistently refuses to accept two types of offenders: youths having been charged with homosexual acts (other kinds of sexual offenses being acceptable as long as heterosexual in nature) and youths having a history of arson. Obviously, these guidelines are not stringently followed since JINS (Juvenile in Need of Supervision) cases are accepted by the program as are community referrals which do not necessarily exhibit the kind of serious changes typical of stranger-to-stranger offenses.

The executive director stated that only about 10 percent of all referrals are inappropriate. Reasons for inappropriateness include potential clients' being too young and/or being referred only for status offenses. It should be noted, however, that increasing numbers of status offenders are being accepted since some of the previous, important referral sources have ceased sending youths to the program.

Screening candidates for the program is the responsibility of an admission team composed of the program's only social worker and one counselor in training (CIT). CITs, who are junior staff members and former clients, are selected to assist the social worker in this task because of their street experience and ability to relate to potential clients' problems and outlook; they can also provide a unique perspective for new clients on the operation of the program.

The admission team utilizes a standardized form to collect information. Once the potential client has been interviewed and his records have been reviewed, the social worker with input from the CIT makes the final decision about whether or not to admit the youth into the program. If any unusual circumstances are uncovered regarding the youth's behavior or past history, he will then be interviewed by the executive director before any decision is made.

Usually a month to a month-and-a-half elapses between the time of referral and the actual admission decision. If the decision is made to accept a client, he is required to make another court appearance at which time the judge places him under a court order to enroll in Vindicate Society. At the point of admission, a new client is assigned to one of three possible groups: passive, aggressive, or mixed. These groups supposedly reflect the behavioral profiles of all entering youths. The mixed group is designated for those individuals falling between the passive and aggressive extremes.

Vindicate Society does not utilize individualized service plans. Each client undergoes essentially the same treatment. The refusal to adapt treatment to the needs of the individual client has led to a certain amount of criticism on the part of the Newark Criminal Justice Planning Agency and the Division of Youth and Family Services. Both agencies argue that serious juvenile offenders adjudicated for major crimes against property and persons probably do not require the same kind of services as do these status offenders who are also participating in the program.

Client Profiles

As a community-based, residential program, Vindicate Society serves an unusually large number of clients at any one time. Licensed to provide beds for forty-five residents, the program is budgeted at present to house forty youths. At the time

of our site visit, the program had forty youths in residence. Thirty-six of these clients were black, three were white, and one was Hispanic. Ages ranged from 14 to 17 years with the average age being 16 years.

We were able to obtain details about referring offenses for only the eighteen most serious offenders in the program. Of these eighteen seriously delinquent youths, four had been referred for armed robbery, six for breaking and entering, two for possession of a dangerous weapon, one for manslaughter, one for possession of stolen property, one for sexual assault, one for purse snatching, one for robbery, and one for violation of probation involving an original charge of assault and battery on a police officer. Due to the unavailability of official records, we were unable to reconstruct the arrest histories of these individuals.

The executive director stated that about 60 percent of clients in the program could be classified as serious offenders with a history of involvement in index crimes against persons or in breaking and entering. The other 40 percent had been charged with lesser property crimes or were JINS cases. This breakdown of offenses is supposedly a fairly typical representation in the program over the past several years. Prior to that time when more Newark referrals were being made, the client population was more seriously delinquent. Although legislation for the transfer of larger numbers of juvenile offenders to adult jurisdiction had been enacted within the past several years, up to this point it had had a minimal impact on the referral of juveniles to alternative programs such as Vindicate Society. The primary reason for any changes in referral patterns has been the result of interorganizational conflict.

Program Services

Vindicate Society is perceived by its staff members as a therapeutic community utilizing a synanon-style approach for inducing collective change. The individual is viewed less as the focus of concern than is the group. The program demands that the sources of referral agree to a placement for a minimum of eighteen months. In justifying this lengthy placement, the executive director argues that this length of time is necessary to begin to bring about the desired kinds of changes in behavior and outlook for the delinquent population served by the program. In many cases clients seem never to leave the program and frequently become members of the staff. The time requirement has generated considerable opposition on the part of many referring agencies which state, among other things, that eighteen months is a much longer commitment of time than is demanded of youths who are sent to any of the state's juvenile correctional facilities.

Principal programmatic components in Vindicate Society include counseling of various types, educational and vocational training, and recreational activity. The executive director emphasized that the essence of the program is the practice of "time framing" where a tightly scheduled series of activities is used to fill each day. The assumption used to justify this practice is the notion that delinquent youths are especially prone to get into more trouble if they are allowed to have lots of spare time. Another pervasive feature of the program is the emphasis placed on the value of providing positive role models. The underlying belief is that long-term, positive change can best be facilitated by meaningful and intense contact with staff members whose past experiences closely resemble those of the clients.

For purposes of counseling, each client upon entrance into the program is assigned both an individual and a group counselor. These counselors will continue to work with the youth throughout his stay at Vindicate Society. Individual counseling usually involves informal verbal exchanges between the client and his counselor. This kind of interaction is quite casual and can occur anywhere inside or outside the facility. For example, several staff members pointed out that a good place for individual counseling to be transacted is the sauna where open, relaxed conversation is likely to occur. Individual counseling occurs on a daily basis and involves all clients in the program. CITs play an important supportive role in this aspect of the program by spending lots of their time simply rapping with clients, especially those who are having obvious difficulty in adjusting to the program.

Group counseling is also a mandatory component in the program. All residents who are either in the intake or advanced phase of the program (to be discussed later in this section) are required to participate in group sessions three times per week. The intake and advanced clients have their own groups which are further divided into three subgroups on the basis of the youths' behaviors and personality profiles. A mixture of guided group "confrontation" and positive peer culture is utilized in these sessions. The intake groups meet on Monday and Wednesday evenings; the advanced groups meet on Tuesday and Thursday evenings.

These meetings are supervised by staff members who serve as group leaders for the sessions. Sometimes, the sessions will only entail discussion of the routine activities of the past several days or even trivial matters of less immediate concern. However, the heart of most group sessions is the exploration of serious problems which have been brought to the attention of staff members. Often, issues are brought to the attention of the group through the submission of complaint slips filled out by individual clients. In these sessions the points of view of all concerned parties are entertained. If one participant is clearly the focus of a particular problem, he is placed in the center of the room where he must respond to comments from all of his peers. Matters brought up in these sessions are not discussed outside the setting of the group meeting.

On Friday evenings a general house meeting is held which is attended by all residents and staff members. Here, matters of concern for everyone participating in the program are brought up for discussion.

Family counseling or therapy is not pursued in this program. Instead, special emphasis is placed on preparing clients for independent living. Although some youths return to live with their parents, the majority are prepared for living elsewhere. The argument was presented to us by the executive director that in most cases the home environments from which these youths come are so chaotic and disrupted that a return there after completing the program would only contribute to a reversion back to past, negative behaviors. The major consequence of this outlook is that family counseling is not practiced in the program. The program staff feels that such contact is the responsibility of the Division of Youth and Family Services.

Educational activities play a central role in the program. Upon entering Vindicate Society, all clients are required to take the California Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE). If the TABE score is at the seventh grade level or higher, the client is placed in a regular high school; if the score is at fifth or sixth grade level, the client is placed in a General Equivalency Diploma (GED) program in the Newark school

system; if the score is below the fifth grade level, the client is placed either in a remedial program consisting of Adult Basic Education classes in the Newark schools or in the Vindicate "minilab." The minilab operates at the program and is run by a remediation teaching specialist who is drawn from the Adult Education Department of the Newark Board of Education. This teacher is paid by the Newark Board of Education and works at Vindicate Society three days per week for approximately two hours per day.

The program maintains close contact with the high school in the local community. A substantial number of clients are enrolled there. These students are required to obtain the signature of their teachers at the conclusion of each class period and return these slips to their counselors each day.

The vast majority of clients in the program are also involved in vocational activities. The amount of time spent by clients in work settings varies from two hours to a full day although the usual work schedule is no more than a half day or twenty hours per week. Usually, those clients who work the most hours per week still attend school for the remaining half day each day.

Considerable emphasis is placed on physical fitness and sports. Several rooms at the facility have been specially equipped for recreational activities. These include the weight-lifting room and the mat room which is used for wrestling and gymnastics. A recreational specialist who is an assistant coach at the local high school coordinates these activities. All clients are required to participate in some form of physical activity. In addition, Vindicate Society fields a regular basketball team which competes against teams from other youth programs and agencies. A number of clients are members of sports teams at the local public high school.

Progress through the program is marked by movement through a graduated series of counseling groups. Youths entering the program are placed in the intake unit where they remain until being promoted into the advanced unit. Participation in the first stage lasts at least six months, and completion generally takes most clients between seven and eight months. Movement into the advanced unit is based on demonstration of the youth's having made significant progress in his educational goals, employment situation, and behavioral adjustment. More privileges are extended to members of this group such as later curfew, more free time, and greater leeway in dress. Eventually, clients are moved into the advanced-advanced group whose purpose is the reintegration of youths into the community. Much less participation in counseling is demanded from members of this group. They participate in group sessions only about once per month and have individual counseling sessions about once per week. The regular Friday house meeting is totally voluntary for this group. Advanced-advanced clients are allowed to visit their homes whenever they want and can sign out of the facility for entire weekends.

For responding to negative and disruptive behavior, Vindicate Society relies on occasion on its most controversial interventive technique, "Amosian or boxing therapy." Labeled "Amosian therapy" by the program's executive director, Benjamin Amos, boxing is used as an adjunct to regular counseling when a client resorts to aggressive, acting-out behavior, has committed other flagrant violations of house rules, or wants to resolve a major disagreement with another client if the problem

cannot be resolved through standard counseling procedures; this action requires mutual consent of both participating parties.

Staff members claimed that boxing therapy is used only with approximately 20 percent of the youths in the program. The violator is required to box a series of one-minute rounds with other youths approximately the same age and size from the program. Only staff members and clients are allowed to attend these sessions. Other organizational actors in the juvenile justice arena in New Jersey, especially those referring clients to Vindicate Society, have taken a dim view of this practice. For example, the Newark office of DYFS was convinced that boxing was being used as corporate punishment, not as therapy, and that it perpetuated violence as a legitimate way of dealing with problems. In addition, these critics claim that boxing was a compulsory activity and not voluntary as claimed by the program's executive director.

Short of resorting to boxing, the program employs a set of sanctions which increase in severity according to type and degree of misbehavior. Clients may be given writing assignments, placed on work details in the facility, restricted to the building, restricted to their rooms, and denied home visits.

If some difficulty arises, there is a common, unwritten understanding that the executive director is available at any time to hear complaints. The other acceptable route for pursuing a grievance is to fill out a write-out slip which will be discussed at the weekly group session. Usually, if a client has a complaint about another resident, he is advised to use this latter method. Complaints carried to the executive director involve either difficulties with staff members or with program policies and procedures.

There is no formal system for rewarding cooperative or desired behavior. Verbal acknowledgment by staff members is a common practice for positive behavior. Promotion to the advanced and advanced-advanced groups constitutes the major formal mechanism for responding to client cooperation and positive behavior.

No formal procedures for providing follow-up or aftercare either for continuing services to ex-clients or for the purposes of evaluation exist in Vindicate Society. Ex-clients do come back to the facility to participate in various activities, but this continuing contact is initiated solely by the former clients.

Staffing Patterns

The program staff consists of an executive director, a project director, a head of educational activities, a head counselor, an intake/social worker, two therapists, one therapist in training, two residential counselors, and four counselors in training. Most of this staff are former clients. Considerable emphasis is placed on street experience and sharing a common background with clients. A clear tendency exists for bringing staff up through the ranks from the role of client into regular staff positions. There is almost a complete reliance upon paraprofessional skills and a marked distrust for professionals who have been trained in a traditional, academic setting. However, several staff members such as the project director (a Master's degree in education), the head of educational activities (a Bachelor's degree in sociology), the intake/social worker (a Master's degree in social work), and the recreational specialist (a Bachelor's degree) possess college degrees.

At the time of our site visit the program was not utilizing any volunteers. Although they had used some volunteers in the past, the executive director argued that they tended not to be reliable, required too much time to train, were simply not accountable for their actions, and tended to be manipulated by the more aggressive youths in the program.

Nonresidential Programs

6. Copper Mountain Mental Health Adolescent Day Center

Origins and History

Copper Mountain Mental Health Adolescent Day Treatment Center is located in Murray, Utah, a small town slightly south of Salt Lake City. The program's emergence closely parallels that of Esperanza Para Manana which also arose in response to the efforts of the Community Alternatives for Troubled Youth Committee (CATY) to create a network of alternative programs for delinquent youngsters.

The call for a broad-based community program using as many existing public and private resources as possible was met by a proposal submitted jointly by Copper Mountain Mental Health, Odyssey House, and the YMCA of Utah.

The proposal called for Copper Mountain to subcontract with Odyssey House for the provision of the educational and tracking components and with the YMCA for recreation. Copper Mountain's role included hiring, shared training, administrative supervision, and staff evaluation. Copper Mountain Mental Health would also take responsibility for providing psychological/psychiatric services. Arrangements were also made for the County Youth Services Center to fund a tracking supervisor position. Two explanations were offered in the project proposal for the joint effort and subcontracting arrangement: there was no need to duplicate already existing services, and through subcontracting the services could be delivered more cheaply by virtue of maximally capitalizing on existing agencies' fixed costs, trained staff, and proven expertise.

Copper Mountain Mental Health Center falls under the authority of the County Department of Social Services. The Copper Mountain area includes the southern third of Salt Lake County plus part of the Salt Lake County Mental Health System (Tooele County). The program is itself situated in a professional building in a neighborhood filled with businesses and a few personal residences. The program began as one of the CATY pilot projects in January of 1978, but shortly before our arrival the Division of Family Services announced that the program would not be refunded. This decision by the Youth Corrections Office was made primarily on the basis of financial constraints, priorities accorded residential placements, and ironically, a concern about duplication of services. The duplication issue largely grew out of the fact that Copper Mountain was being used as an alternative school by other provider programs.

The annual program costs were about $210,000, and the per diem cost was approximately $32 a student. Youth Corrections, through the mechanism of CATY,

provided almost 80 percent of total funding. County Mental Health contributed about 5 percent, and the Board of Education covered the remaining costs through funds for education channeled to Odyssey House.

Point of Intervention

As in the case of Esperanza Para Manana, there are a number of possible entry points. These include referral by the Youth Development Center (YDC) through the Division of Family Services and referral as a function of aftercare and probation. As noted above, placement could also occur as a supplementary service to a referral to another program. In these cases, admission to Copper Mountain would be part of another placement's treatment plan for the attainment of particular goals, e.g., education, counseling, or recreation.

Depending on their point of entry, adjudicated youngsters are admitted on the basis of a YDC suspended commitment, a YDC stayed commitment, a subsequent disposition following a short-term commitment for observation, a parole/aftercare status following regular (long-term) commitment, and probation supervision. Approximately 60 percent of Copper Mountain clients had been in YDC prior to their referral to the program. The second judicial district's (including the most heavily populated region in the state) predispositional screening team was actively engaged in making recommendations to the judge about potential candidates for Copper Mountain. The legal implications of each of the referring statuses are briefly discussed in the "Point of Intervention" section of Esperanza Para Manana.

Referral Criteria

While the day treatment program is available to all seriously delinquent youth in Utah, it mainly serves youth residing in Salt Lake County, especially those living in the Murray and Jordon school districts. Youths whose homes are located elsewhere in the state might reside in various foster or group homes providing reasonable access to Copper Mountain.

Both male and female youngsters between the ages of 13 and 18 years are eligible to participate. They must not be actively psychotic or overtly suicidal; they cannot be presently violent or dangerous to the community as determined by present institutional behavior or a history of violent crimes; they cannot be chronically physically ill or severely handicapped; they must be able to get to and from the program by themselves. The final admission decision is made by the unit director with recommendations from the staff. In over two years of operation, only four eligible students were found unsuitable for participation. Following admission, clients undergo a two-week trial period.

Client Profiles

The program's maximum capacity is seventeen clients. The number of females has never exceeded three at any one point in time. At the time of our visit, fourteen clients were participating although three were on track-only status and one was

AWOL. Twelve were white; two were Hispanic. There was only one female client. The average age was 16.3 years, reflecting a range from 14 to 18 years old.

We were unable to obtain either a breakdown of presenting offenses or arrest histories for these youths. A final evaluation report covering the period from January to June of 1978 indicated, however, that Copper Mountain youth were the most severely delinquent of any of the seven CATY alternative programs examined. This conclusion was based on the severity of youth offenses prior to and during CATY enrollment and on the number of felonies committed prior to and during CATY enrollment.

Another evaluation covering the period from July to September of 1979 indicated that prior to enrollment in the program 48 percent of Copper Mountain's clients had been adjudicated for offenses including trespassing, burglary of a vehicle, damage by arson, receiving stolen property, theft under $100, joyriding, passing a bad check, destruction of property, public intoxication, contempt of court, and escape from custody. An additional 29 percent of the clients had been adjudicated for burglary, theft, shoplifting, and forgery. The evaluation also points out that, considering only those adjudications occurring closest to the enrollment date, one observes that felonies against property were most prevalent (53 percent) in comparison to lesser criminal offenses (31 percent). This offense profile for Copper Mountain does not vary greatly from that of YDC, especially since the more serious delinquent acts in Utah tend to be felonies against property and not life-endangering felonies against persons.

Program Services

The average length of enrollment is approximately one year although some youngsters have been attending Copper Mountain for as long as eighteen months. The program has four principal components: education, counseling, organized recreation, and tracking. All youths are expected to participate in each component although the degree of compliance varies somewhat from client to client.

The usual day lasts for six hours, extending from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. School is generally held during the morning hours. The California Achievement Test is used to determine grade level; based upon the results of this test, an educational contract is individually formulated for each youth. Students are involved in setting specific goals and then in working initially with teaching machines in the areas of reading, spelling, language arts, mathematics, science, and history. Gradually, there is a transition to textbooks. But the use of machines at the early stages of instruction appears to have an appeal as a novelty and in their similarity to television.

These machines seem to lessen the competitive edge often found in group educational experiences. The machine's immediate correction of mistakes and indication of correct answers provides feedback and reinforcement without the anxiety provoked by potential classmate reaction. This educational method provides a nonthreatening and highly positive learning environment.

Group classes are held for subjects such as social studies, physical education, and health. The educational component of the program involves a head teacher and three

aides who are available at all times to supervise students in the use of machines and to test regularly for individual progress. Odyssey House provides an educational consultant who hires and trains the teachers and also conducts some student testing.

The counseling component includes individual, group, and family work. A chief counselor and two psychological interns are utilized for these tasks. At times, the unit director and the tracking supervisor also carry small caseloads. In addition, the tracker/advocates perform a counseling, advisory role for their assigned students. Although trackers are assigned immediately, usually several days elapse before a counselor-student match is made. This delay provides time to assess each youth. Once a counselor is assigned, this person has the responsibility to formulate, implement, and coordinate all aspects of the client's program. This task includes the careful specification of measurable goals and time frames for client progression through the program. In addition, prescribed Copper Mountain Mental Health procedures must be followed in dealing with the client.

Individual counseling sessions generally occur at least twice a week; techniques tend to be eclectic. General goals of the sessions include building rapport, addressing behavior and consequences, working to establish credible adult role models, and dealing with new problems as they arise. The amount of time a counselor might spend in an individual session with a student might vary from as little as an hour per week to as much as a half hour per day.

A community group meeting attended by both staff and students is held about four times per week. Although the meeting varies in content, it is generally held for the purposes of disseminating basic program information, engaging emerging problems, and promoting the exchange of ideas. On Thursdays, the group meeting is used to rate each student on a five-point scale based on possible improvement in five categories: counseling, recreation, school, tracking, and responsibility (referring to a student's regard for others and self). The criteria used for assigning points are effort and participation. Each student can respond to comments made about him by staff. Other students are also urged to voice their opinions about the comments. A staff vote is taken at the end of each discussion, and points are assigned. Five points awarded for excellent school performance for an entire week results in a day off from the required school work. Weekly totals of sixteen points or above earn a soft drink, twenty points or above earn a soft drink and a candy bar; and a monthly total of seventy-five points or above is rewarded with a dinner.

Family counseling is available in the program and is handled by the counseling staff. Trackers tend to have the most frequent contact with families, but this interaction can hardly be characterized as counseling. Family work initiated by counselors usually involves only a few families. This contact is mostly voluntary although there have been instances of court-ordered involvement.

The trackers and tracking supervisor are responsible for this aspect of the program. At least one outside contact a day between tracker and client is required. This contact need not be face-to-face. However, one personal activity per week involving tracker and client is expected to take place. Out of this regular, personal contact, the hope is to develop a continuing relationship between the trackers and all of their clients. Designed both for monitoring and support purposes, tracking includes intervening in crisis situations on a twenty-four-hour-per-day basis, overseeing all

phases of the treatment contract, maintaining contact with families and other involved agencies, performing as a member of the treatment team, assisting youth in locating and utilizing valuable resources, and maintaining records for treatment contracts and for evaluation.

After clients have completed the program, trackers continue to maintain contact in a track-only phase lasting approximately three months. The client may be provided help in finding a job or getting into a school or training program. If the client's situation is fairly stable, only one or two phone calls per week may occur. If, on the other hand, difficulties arise, more frequent contact and weekly activities may be required. In the event of continuing problems, efforts can be made to bring the youth back into the program.

The recreational component is an extremely important and critical facet in the overall design of the program. One day per week an all-day organized recreational activity (e.g., skiing, horseback riding, bicycling, rock climbing, hiking, handball, and hand gliding) takes place. A second half-day during the week is reserved for a YMCA activity. A third block of recreational time is also frequently made available. In addition, one long (four or five days in length), physical challenge trip per month (river runs, use of a YMCA facility for camping, the YMCA's National Youth Program Using Honda Mini-bikes, and backpacking) is scheduled.

This component of the program is supervised by a recreational director who has a great deal of work experience and background in sports and recreational activities. His approach is predicated on the premise that sport and recreational pursuits represent an acceptable and meaningful way to channel energy, vent frustration, provide excitement and exhilaration, enhance self-esteem, establish close personal rapport with one's peers and leaders, motivate and reward appropriate behaviors, discourage disruptive and uncooperative actions, and acquire skills and hobbies which may spark vocational interests and/or avocational pursuits.

An example of this theory in operation is a 700-mile motorcycle trip taken recently by seven students in the program and the recreational director. Going on the trip required careful and detailed preparations which entailed assuming responsibility and engaging in collective planning. Skills had to be developed for map reading, for administering elementary first aid, and for knowing how to respond to mechanical breakdowns. While on the trip, students were forced to make important decisions, to think resourcefully, and to work cooperatively. As a result of the duration and intensity of the trip, the recreational director had the opportunity to establish fairly close ties with the participants and to observe the behavior of these youngsters outside the usual setting. This experience was valuable not only in creating an important link between the recreational director and these students but also in serving as a basis for the recreational director to share new information with the rest of the staff.

A team approach is central in this program's attempt to operate a comprehensive, community-based, multidisciplinary service model. As argued in the project's proposal, great care must be taken not to overstructure daily activities. The availability of unstructured time allows both responsible and irresponsible behaviors not to become totally submerged in the overscheduling of activities in an excessively rigid program. As a result, irresponsible or inappropriate behavior at the facility can be observed and responded to by staff. Sanctions might include a verbal reprimand,

exclusion from recreation, work hours, being penalized on points, community meeting discussion about reasons for misbehavior and reasonable consequences, short suspension, reporting to the probation officer, and expulsion.

Staffing Patterns

Copper Mountain has fourteen primary staff members and a tracking supervisor who is available to the program three-quarters time at no cost. Odyssey House was responsible for hiring, training, and supervising teachers although the day-to-day supervision of the teaching component belonged to the unit director. The County Youth Services Center supervises the tracking supervisor, who has responsibility for training, supervising, and evaluating the individual trackers. The recreational therapist is supervised by the unit director who forwards the evaluation of his performance to the YMCA. The counseling staff and the unit director were hired by Copper Mountain Mental Health.

One possible drawback to this kind of segmented administrative structure is the danger of competing and confusing lines of authority. This can lead to a fragmentation of the goals being pursued by director and staff. As suggested by one staff member, the program is a place of many bosses; who has authority over whom can be, at times, in dispute. The point is that the unit director must be vested with final authority in order to provide coordination, central direction, leadership, and day-to-day decision making necessary for program success.

The counseling staff consisted of two psyc-interns and a chief counselor. The two male interns possessed Master's degrees (one in clinical psychology and one in counseling); they had worked at the program for six and eight months respectively. The female chief counselor had a Bachelor's degree in sociology, a certificate in social welfare, and previous experience working with the juvenile justice system and offender populations. She had been with the program since its inception.

The educational staff included an Odyssey House educational consultant who was available 20 percent of the time. She had a Bachelor's degree in psychology, extensive experience in educational and vocational program development, and a background in programmatic adaptations for therapeutic communities. She developed the educational component and was involved in staff selection and training. The head teacher had a Master's degree in special education. She had been with the program since its inception. The head teacher was assisted by three female teacher aides, two with Bachelor's degrees and one with an Associate's degree. They had worked at the program three, five, and nine months respectively.

The tracking component had a staff of four led by a male supervisor with a Master's degree in educational psychology. He had been with the program since its inception. Of the three trackers, one was a white female who had worked there from the outset; two were males, one Chicano with one and one-half years of service and one white with six months of service. The male recreational director had a Master's degree in recreational therapy and had been with the program since its inception. The unit director had a Master's degree in clinical psychology. He had worked at the program for two years during which time he had also served as a psyc-intern.

7. Katahdin: A Workshop for Youth

Origins and History

Katahdin is a community-based, day-treatment program for serious juvenile offenders in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The program was incorporated as a private, nonprofit corporation in the fall of 1977, following a long period of program planning and development.

In the fall of 1975, five individuals who had worked as outreach workers for various youth-serving agencies such as the Minneapolis Board of Education, the Hennepin County Juvenile Court, and the YMCA decided that a discernible gap existed in the treatment continuum available from the courts. Available options at the time consisted mostly of intermittent counseling services and long-term, out-of-home placement. There were virtually no day-treatment programs for troubled adolescents in the Minneapolis area.

Considerable interest had been generated for the use of community-based treatment of youthful offenders in Minnesota during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. This concern with alternative care focused both on the deinstitutionalization of juveniles from correctional facilities and the diversion of offenders from incarceration. The founding five of Katahdin already possessed considerable expertise in the field of youth welfare and were knowledgeable about the many pitfalls associated with the traditional, secure care of troubled youths. In the human service arena of Minneapolis they found a social environment ripe for experimentation in the area of alternative programming. Research and discussion about program development continued for over one and a half years. Monies for this planning effort were obtained from two local foundations, Enablers, Inc. and the Minneapolis Equal Opportunity Fund. Ultimately, the development of the model which became Katahdin depended more upon existing day-treatment programs as a guide than upon any existing correctional programs.

Funds for the implementation of Katahdin were granted in November of 1977 by the state of Minnesota's Crime Control Planning Board (Federal JJDPA monies) with matching grants from the Dayton-Hudson and General Mills Foundations. The program's first clients were accepted in May of 1978. This launching of Katahdin coincided roughly with Hennepin County's becoming a participant in the state's Community Corrections Act.

The total operating budget in 1979 was $124,658 of which $118,334 was provided by the Crime Control Planning Board. The Dayton-Hudson Foundation furnished $5,500, and small private donations totaled $824. Average cost for maintaining a client in Katahdin amounted to $42 per day; this per diem is estimated on the basis of the program's having sixteen of its twenty client slots filled at any one time.

Point of Intervention

Most youths entering this program have been adjudicated delinquent and are coming as juvenile court referrals. Of those originating from the courts, some were

given a "stayed commitment," placed on probation, and referred to Katahdin as an alternative to incarceration; others at the point of disposition were placed on standard probation and referred to the program by their probation officers. A smaller number of youths enter the program after having been committed to the Department of Corrections, having spent time in a juvenile correctional facility, and having been placed in the program as part of their parole planning and reintegrative process into the community.

In rare situations a parent, a school official, or a youth already in the program will refer a potential client to Katahdin. These referrals tend to be voluntary since with most of these youths court contact has not occurred and consequently the referrals are not court ordered. If not accepted by this program, a substantial number of these voluntary referrals are placed in residential treatment centers elsewhere in the Hennepin County area. In a similar fashion, a small number of referrals are channeled to the program by caseworkers with the Hennepin County Department of Public Welfare when youths under their jurisdiction are clearly in need of tighter control and more intense treatment. With respect to the nature of their misbehavior, these potential clients must meet the program's intake criteria. In addition, they can come to the program either as voluntary cases or as court referrals.

Referral Criteria

The formal catchment area for Katahdin is the entirety of Hennepin County. However, only in a few cases are participants in the program drawn from outside the city limits of Minneapolis. Furthermore, most clients actually come from inner-city neighborhoods on the near south side and north side areas of the city; these are largely working-class or economically deprived communities.

The set of intake criteria specified by Katahdin is rather lengthy and includes: (1) a male or female between 14 and 18 years old, (2) a resident of Hennepin County, (3) conviction (adjudicated) for three separate offenses or having had a prior placement in a residential facility, (4) obtaining family support for placement at Katahdin, the parents' agreement to allow him/her to reside in their home while active in the program, and parental willingness to participate in family therapy, (5) having an expressed willingness to change his/her past criminal behavior, (6) willingness to continue his/her education, and (7) not being chemically dependent.

Katahdin was unique among the programs we visited in regard to the careful scrutiny given to potential clients and the tendency to reject large numbers of referrals. For example, during a period between January and March of 1980, out of a total of fifteen youths who were formally referred to Katahdin, only eight candidates were actually accepted into the program. Similarly, for the calendar year of 1979, Katahdin accepted only about 50 percent of all referrals. Staff members pointed out that numerous reasons could be cited why inappropriate referrals are made to the program. Frequently, referrals simply do not meet the stipulated intake criteria. In other cases, the youths are either severely emotionally disturbed or are chemically dependent. Another major obstacle is that many referrals do not have viable family settings in which they can remain while participating in the program.

Katahdin has developed a rather complex set of admission procedures entailing a number of separate steps and a variety of review and assessment processes. At the initial point in the referral process, a brief interview is held by the program's executive director with a representative of the referring agency in order to identify the major issues and problems concerning the potential client. This screening interview is held for the purpose of helping to determine in a preliminary fashion the appropriateness of the youth for the program. If this meeting is satisfactory, a staff member—whoever has available time—will examine the youth's case records to see if the candidate meets all of the intake criteria. If the results of this inquiry are positive, an interview is arranged for the youth to meet with the director of counseling who will decide upon the basis of this meeting whether or not a final admissions interview should be scheduled.

If the potential client clears all of these hurdles, a final interview is held at the program to make a final evaluation of appropriateness for placement and to familiarize the youth with program rules and procedures. The interview is conducted by an intake team composed of two staff members and one program participant. A majority vote of this team can tentatively admit the candidate to the program. However, before final approval is given, an important meeting with the parents must take place. This interview is crucial since the staff of Katahdin, which is nonresidential, must be certain that excellent communication can be established with the family, that the youth will be able to reside at home without severe disruptions, and that the family will agree to participate in family counseling on a regular basis. Again, the interview team by majority vote can either approve or reject the candidate's admission on the basis of this interview with his/her parents.

If finally accepted, a client spends his/her first week in the program becoming familiar with the details of daily life at Katahdin. During this week a battery of tests are administered, such as the Jesness Inventory and the Stanford Achievement Test. In addition, court, school, medical, and psychological records are collected. If required, various assessments including medical, psychological, and chemical dependency are also initiated. At the end of the one-week orientation period, the entire program staff, all of the program participants, the youth's family, and a representative of the referring agency convene at the facility to review the appropriateness of the youth for further participation in Katahdin. If fully accepted into the program, the client is placed on a three-week probationary status. At the end of this period, a probation review is held by the staff, and if no problems have arisen, the youth is promoted to regular client status. One month after the probation review a case conference is held to evaluate the progress of the client. This case conference is subsequently convened on a monthly basis for the duration of the youth's participation in the program.

Client Profiles

The maximum number of clients allowed to participate in Katahdin at any one point in time is twenty although the executive director points out that once the program begins to provide services for more than fifteen clients management becomes rather difficult given the relatively small size of the full-time staff. At the time of our site visit, thirteen youths were enrolled in the program. This group included a sexual mix of ten males and three females with a racial composition of six whites, six blacks, and one Native American. The program staff stated that they would prefer to

have an even split between males and females, but this ratio has not proven to be feasible given the pattern of referrals. Youths in the program ranged in age from 12 to 17 years with the average age being 15.2 years.

Although one of the intake criteria states explicitly that only youths 14 years of age or older are eligible for admission, two younger offenders (one being 12 years old and the other being 13 years old) were active participants in the program. The 12 year old was on probation for robbery and had an extensive arrest history of armed robbery, theft, battery, and vandalism. The 13 year old was on probation for burglary and had an arrest history including two previous charges of burglary. Other than age, these youths clearly satisfied the level of seriousness required for admission into Katahdin. Regarding these exceptions, the executive director stated that the admission criteria have been relaxed somewhat over the past year. However, he pointed out that all of his clients would have been placed either in residential treatment centers or juvenile correctional facilities if they had not come to Katahdin.

The admitting offenses for the remaining eleven clients included two cases of prostitution, two cases of aggravated assault, one case of burglary with a previously unsuccessful placement, two cases of burglary, one case of multiple robberies and assault and battery, one case of theft, possession of drugs, and one case of theft, assault, and one case of robbery with a previously unsuccessful placement. It should be noted that the program has placed special emphasis on working with female adolescents who have been adjudicated for prostitution. In striking comparison with other programs we visited, Katahdin persisted in trying to obtain female prostitutes as part of the client population on a regular basis. Although generally classified as a victimless crime, prostitution on the part of these adolescents was characterized by extensive involvement in crimes against persons and property.

Without exception, all program participants had chronic arrest histories involving crimes against both persons and property. Included in this listing were prior arrests for charges of robbery, armed robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, auto theft, vandalism, and trespassing.

Program Services

The usual length of participation in Katahdin ranges from six to nine months. This period of time is required to complete the set of treatment/rehabilitative activities prescribed for all clients. Occasionally, a client will remain in the program for as long as one year. For all youths entering the program during the calendar year of 1979, the average length of participation was twenty-seven weeks for males and nineteen weeks for females. The executive director pointed out that any client must complete at least three months in the program or be considered an unqualified failure and subject to immediate return to the referring source. About one-third of all entering youths do not make it through this initial period. Another third of the clients drop out at some point in the following three to six months without graduating. Only about one-third of all admissions successfully graduate from the program. All clients must be present at the program five days a week (Monday through Friday) from approximately 9:30 a.m. until 4:00 p.m.

The range of activities provided by Katahdin to its clients includes three modes of counseling: individual, group, and family; educational training; and basic living skills training. Two additional components, a community service obligation and the organized development of an external, community-based support system, have had problems in being evenly implemented. Each client is required to participate in all of these programmatic areas.

Clients are required to participate in one two-hour session of individual counseling per week. Two treatment specialists, one of whom is also director of client services, are responsible for providing individual counseling to clients on their respective case loads; each assumes the task of counseling one-half of the client population. The specific approach utilized by these treatment specialists is a matter of personal preference. In fact, the sessions tend to be eclectic in orientation.

Group counseling is also a mandatory part of regular program activities. The importance attached to these sessions as an integral part of the program has varied over time. During our site visit, some staff expressed major reservations about the value of group counseling and suggested that individual and family counseling were more important for their purposes. They argued that most of the participants are loners, as a collectivity do not constitute a natural peer group, and have themselves voiced strong opposition to group counseling given their largely negative experiences with the approach in other programs. At present, one large group meeting is held twice per week and is facilitated by the two treatment specialists in tandem. These sessions are structured so that clients are allowed to vent their feelings, to voice their complaints, and to discuss issues of mutual interest. Largely self-directed by the participants, the sessions run for approximately one to one-and-a-half hours.

Family counseling is an extremely important feature of the program. Although all clients and their families are required to participate, the intensity, frequency, and structure of the sessions vary from client to client. The nature of individual family dynamics dictates what kind of approach must be taken. Initially, the families of all new clients must come into the facility for formal counseling. For extremely fragile and troubled families, counseling is scheduled on a once-per-week basis; other families come into the program once every two weeks. This arrangement continues for four to six weeks at which time the nature and extent of further family counseling is renegotiated. Sometimes, arrangements are made to have families receive long-term treatment at a mental health center in the community.

As practiced by Katahdin staff, family counseling is designed to have these primary objectives: (1) teach parents how to be more successful in their interactions with their children (parent's effectiveness training), (2) to develop skills for all types of decision making, and (3) to provide crisis intervention and problem solving when needed.

Another important feature of Katahdin is the reliance upon a student government for decision making at many critical junctures in the program. Office holders including a president, vice-president, and a secretary are elected several times per year. These officers preside over a daily meeting each morning where activities for the coming day are discussed plus matters of importance from the preceding day.

The presence of a student government was part of a conscious attempt on the part of the program's founding five to create a feeling of equality between staff and clients. Situations in which clients are allowed a significant input into decision making include: (1) involvement of clients in decisions about accepting new youths into the program, (2) involvement of the client in developing the treatment plan, (3) involvement of the client in staff conferences concerning the youth's progress, (4) participation of the entire client population in the maintenance and development of the physical facility, (5) participation of the entire client population in assessing staff performance, (6) participation of clients on the board of directors, (7) participation of the entire client population in setting rules within the facility, and (8) participation of the entire client population in reviewing peers on suspension about possible readmittance into the program. The intent of these egalitarian gestures is to create a situation in which students are given a strong feeling of ownership of the program. Clients exercise some control over not only what happens to themselves but also what happens to the program in which they are participating.

The school program is in-house and is managed by an accredited secondary school teacher. This component is one of the key elements in Katahdin. If youths are not going to participate seriously in educational activities, Katahdin is clearly an inappropriate referral. The structure of learning is individually tailored with clients' not being grade placed. Following testing, each youth is placed on a level where he/she can progress at a speed commensurate with ability. For the educationally most backward students remedial training is provided for acquiring basic skills in mathematics, English, and reading. More advanced students either work on a course of study leading to the Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED) or work on regular high school credits. Movement into regular classes at the local high school can be arranged when a youth feels ready to make this jump, but such a step will not be undertaken until a client has been in the program for three months. Work-study credits are provided, allowing students to attend school at Katahdin in the mornings and to work outside the program in the afternoons. Clients who qualify and express genuine interest are allowed to attend vocational tech centers operated by the Minneapolis Board of Education.

At the beginning of each week clients negotiate a school contract. By meeting the terms of the contract the youths can earn credits toward the completion of their education requirement. Fractions of a credit are given at the end of five-week periods if all contracts have been successfully completed.

Regular recreational activities are made available to the clients of Katahdin although no explicit philosophy of recreational therapy is articulated by program staff. There is weekly use of a local YMCA where Katahdin maintains a special family membership allowing all clients to use the facility. Regular outings to local parks and playgrounds are also scheduled and supervised by staff members. More extended outdoor activities such as horseback riding, cross-country skiing, and freshwater fishing are scheduled on occasion. At the facility itself, games such as pool and table tennis are available and are used during free periods.

Exit from the program is marked by each client's becoming involved in a chosen daily activity such as school, work, or vocational training outside the facility. At this point clients do not attend the program on a daily basis. Instead, they are required to spend five hours per week at the facility tutoring or in other ways aiding newly

admitted clients. In addition, once per week these advanced clients meet with their individual counselors to assess their progress and to discuss problems which have arisen. At the completion of this phase, these clients graduate. Graduates are welcomed to continue their involvement at Katahdin as volunteer peer teachers and advisors.

A wide range of behaviors are allowed to occur on the premises of Katahdin without any negative sanctions being imposed by staff members. Physical contact between clients (horseplay), cursing, and presenting a sloppy appearance are tolerated as part of the normal routine at the program. In contrast, acts such as threats of serious intent against other clients or staff members, physically assaulting others, refusing to complete school or cleanup assignments, and unexcused absences are grounds for formal sanctioning.

At the most lenient level of sanctioning staff members will talk with the offending youth about his/her misconduct. At a more serious level, the transgression is introduced into the group meeting for consideration by all participants. If a quite severe violation of rules occurs, a formal behavioral contract will be drawn up listing restrictions on behavior. The next step in severity is suspension from the program with reentrance not possible without a group meeting involving staff members and the entire client population. At the end of the continuum of sanctioning is termination from the program. A youth can appeal this step to a review committee composed of three staff members and three peers. A majority vote decides the final outcome.

In general, rewards at Katahdin are tied into progression through the program. Exemplary behavior and individual achievement are rewarded by faster movement through the program. Occasionally, a client will be rewarded by exemption from a scheduled activity.

Grievance procedures for clients at Katahdin are quite straightforward. At the simplest level, a client can informally complain to his individual counselor about the problem. If not satisfied with this recourse, the client can next take his complaint to the daily meeting held by the student government. If this step also fails to resolve the problem, the client may present his grievance to the executive director for consideration.

Katahdin possesses no formally developed system of follow-up or aftercare for the purpose of provision of services. However, earlier in the program efforts have been made to insure that clients have developed important contacts with outside resources in the community which they can tap after leaving the program. For purposes of evaluation, Katahdin checks with the juvenile court tracking system six months after the graduation of a client in order to determine his/her progress.

Staffing Patterns

Katahdin employs a primary, full-time staff of six persons. Included in this group are an executive director who holds a Bachelor's degree in social work and has eleven years of experience in working with delinquent youths, an administrative assistant who holds a Bachelor's degree and has one year of prior experience with delinquents, a director of client services/treatment specialist who holds a Bachelor's degree and has

eight years of experience with these kinds of youngsters, a treatment specialist who holds a Bachelor's degree in social work and has eight years of experience in working with delinquents, a teacher who holds a Bachelor's degree and has six years of prior experience in teaching, and a cook who holds a Bachelor's degree in sociology. This staff is all white with the exception of the director of client services who is Asian. Only the executive director still remains on the staff from the group of five persons who developed the model and founded the program.

Katahdin makes extensive use of auxiliary staff members. This includes both supplemental staff who are paid by other agencies and volunteers. At the time of our site visit, three staff interns were working at the program; they were college students majoring in social work. Each intern worked from ten to thirty hours per week at the program. The primary responsibility of this group is to meet regularly with clients for the purpose of informal counseling. Each intern is assigned two to four clients and meets with them at least on a biweekly basis. Katahdin also used ten volunteers during the course of the year for various purposes. Most were involved with some aspect of the educational component of the program. Efforts are also made regularly to bring in volunteers who possess specialized skills not available among the rest of the staff.

8. Key Tracking Plus

Origins and History

Located in Springfield, Massachusetts, Key Tracking Plus is an innovative program combining intensive community tracking and broad supportive services with a brief initial period of highly restrictive residential confinement. This initial residential stay is designed for the purposes of client orientation and assessment, treatment plan development, formulation of the community tracking behavioral contract, and initiation of services tailored to the residential objectives. In addition, in the event of subsequent contract violation or signs of client maladjustment in the community, the residence is available for intermittent stays of several days.

The Key Program Inc., the umbrella agency running the program, began operations in the wake of the closing of Massachusetts' training schools in the early 1970s. Initial efforts consisted of outreach counseling by student volunteers for deinstitutionalized juvenile offenders. Responsibilities included individual and group activities, home visits, and support and advocacy for these youths and their families. Known initially as the Community Advancement Program Inc. (CAP), this organization began to adapt its existing services to changing needs. These changes included more comprehensive treatment planning, intensified supervision, and storefront drop-in centers.

Recognizing the necessity for other services, Key became involved in foster care as well as in programs providing work opportunities, protective services, alternative education, and secure residential treatment. Key maintains private, nonprofit businesses throughout the state of Massachusetts, which is divided into five regions for administrative purposes; a central office is maintained in Framingham. In addition to line staff, there are regional directors, program service coordinators, and program

supervisors. In the period from July 1, 1978, through June 30, 1979, Key's total income (fee for service and other contributions) was slightly over $3.4 million.

The Tracking Plus program began in February of 1978 and involved both Department of Youth Services (DYS) Region I personnel and staff from Key's Western Massachusetts region. DYS has responsibility for youth corrections in the state and is administratively regionalized into seven operating areas. Juvenile probation services are attached to the county juvenile courts. The state contains no large-scale juvenile institutions, only residential facilities under the authority of DYS. DYS staff in regional offices are responsible for the placement of youngsters committed to their care. DYS maintains four small secure residential facilities; admittance requires a decision by the central DYS office. The secure units, as well as the other residential care settings, foster homes, and various nonresidential services are all obtained by DYS through purchase-of-service contracts. DYS maintains full responsibility for release from residential care settings and for aftercare supervision.

Discussions which led to the emergence of Tracking Plus concerned the development of a program offering intensive supervision and service, totally structured time with complete accountability, and a secure residential backup for short-term crisis intervention. It was designed as a last step before secure treatment for Region I's most severely delinquent youngsters. A problem statement produced by Key summed up the idea as an alternative having the capacity—unlike highly structured group facilities—to deal with youths with strong acting-out tendencies, while providing intense supervision, control, support, and follow-up service in the community.

Tracking Plus receives all of its funding from DYS. The annual operating budget was estimated at approximately $185,000. The per diem costs are approximately $42 a youngster.

Point of Intervention

All youth in Tracking Plus are juvenile offenders committed by the court to DYS for placement. As such, the youths are wards of the state with DYS acting as legal guardian.

Referral Criteria

Any youth from DYS Region I meeting the specified criteria is technically eligible. The primary service area, however, is the greater Springfield/Holyoke area, representing the southeast sector of DYS Region I.

While Key agreed to accept any referral made by the regional office, it was understood that each client's home environment would be minimally viable and that the youth would be a "heavy delinquent" with very serious acting-out behaviors. A minimally viable household was defined as one in which an adult in the home would accept the youngster and work with the program.

The intake procedure is a responsibility shared by Key and the DYS regional office. Referrals are made either by the DYS placement supervisor or a casework

supervisor. The final admission decision is made jointly by the Key program service coordinator and/or the program supervisor and the DYS supervisor. Regularly scheduled meetings occur each month involving the program service coordinator and the DYS placement coordinator. During these sessions, discussions take place concerning potential cases which may come from the courts and detention. The status of the four slots used in the initial residential stay period are also reviewed. Between meetings, almost daily contact is maintained with DYS. In this way, preparations can be made to meet with the youngster (usually in detention), the DYS caseworker, and the family.

Client Profiles

The program was operating at maximum client capacity when visited. There were eleven male clients including four youths in residence. Three of the eleven were program failures referred from another of Key's programs which shared some staff with Tracking Plus and operated in the same facility. These three youngsters' arrest histories included one with a burglary, three larceny charges, and two drug possessions; the second with two burglary charges; and the third with two burglary charges and a breaking-and-entering charge responsible for the previous program failure. The following reasons for referral and arrest histories describe the remaining eight cases: one violation of probation with a prior larceny and two breaking and entering; one drug possession and attempted suicide with a prior auto theft, burglary, assault, and possession-of-a-deadly-weapon charge; one auto theft, burglary, and larceny for more than $100; two offenders each having one auto theft and burglary with a prior auto theft, burglary, larceny, and reckless-driving charge for one youngster, and three prior auto thefts, three burglaries, and a larceny for the other; one fire bombing, larceny, malicious damage, and assault and battery; one assault and battery of a parent; and one possession of drugs with intent to distribute, and conspiracy to violate the controlled substance act. All the youth were white; the average age was 15.9 years, representing a range from 15 to 17 years old.

Several program staff members commented that they believed the program had more recently been receiving somewhat less serious youthful offenders in terms of chronicity. One staff member felt the referrals seemed more like Department of Mental Health cases. He suggested this fact may have resulted from the way the system was handling and channeling cases. A DYS worker with extensive knowledge of Tracking Plus agreed that the courts were committing more psychologically disturbed youth with single charges, in part because the judges and probation department were having problems accessing mental health. This DYS worker confirmed that some of these cases were finding their way into Plus.

The worker said that two other factors were probably involved in the changing nature of the program's client profile. First, youngsters with a history of repeat offenses who had been in the other Key program were now being sent to Plus. They were being used to fill vacant slots because not as many cases meeting the original criteria of "last step before secure treatment" were reaching DYS. Strict adherence to the "last step" guideline had resulted in a lowered level of referral to Plus, creating some financial problems for the program. Therefore, admission criteria had been altered somewhat. Finally, there were seasonal variations in the pattern of

commitments. Referral of kids with particular kinds of arrest histories shifted during the year.

Program Services

The average length of participation in Tracking Plus is about five months. It should be noted, however, that anywhere from one-half to three-quarters of all youngsters completing Plus entered Key's other local program, Outreach and Tracking, for an additional five months or more. This program operates in the same facility and uses some of the same staff. Outreach and Tracking supervises approximately three times as many clients although somewhat less intensively and from a wider variety of referral sources. The program is similar to the community tracking phase of Plus but is less intensive in terms of the number of required activities and sessions at the facility and the number of required phone contacts.

Upon entering Plus, all youngsters go through what is called "residential intake." This initial phase consists of highly restrictive and intensely structured residential confinement, lasting from one week to one month. The program employs four residential caseworkers, each of whom has primary responsibility for approximately three clients. A residential caseworker is assigned to a client as soon as he enters the program. Orientation for new residents involves meeting with the program supervisor, the residential caseworker, and the DYS caseworker. All aspects of the program are carefully explained, and expectations are spelled out.

The first floor houses counselor and administrative offices, a large sitting room, and the regional director's base of operation. The living quarters are located on the second floor of the building. Doors and windows on this floor are unlocked, but alarms are located on all external doors and windows. In addition, a counselor keeps each resident in eyesight at all times. To facilitate this level of supervision, permission must be given for the client to move from one room on the second-floor residence to another. The purpose is to ensure safety, to maintain general house control, and to promote accountability. These procedures are the first glimpse by the client of the total accountability which is required. Eventually, these highly obtrusive and physically restrictive features of the program's first phase will be substituted with other measures relying upon tracking, trust, and personal responsibility.

The daily contact taking place between residential caseworker and the resident involves the following critical elements: assessment; development of initial treatment objectives; formulation and arrangement of the community tracking plans; consideration of and sensitivity to physical well-being, emotional growth, and psychological problems; and the development of a written contract. Behavioral management, limit setting, implementing client structure, and counseling are also closely interwoven and constantly reinforced during this phase of the program.

Usually within two days after entering the residence, the client is assigned an outreach worker. This counselor will assume primary responsibility for providing intensive community tracking. However, during residential intake some daily contact occurs between this person and the client. At this time the outreach worker closely collaborates and consults with the residential caseworker. This worker will also be

involved in some of the three or four family meetings held prior to the youngster's release into community tracking.

The purpose of the initial parent visit, occurring typically within the first three to five days after admission, is orientation and identifying problems in the home. If possible, both the program supervisor and outreach worker participate; the youngster is generally involved. As more family meetings are held, additional problem areas troubling the youth are explored. Attention is focused on limit setting at home, discipline, parenting skills, marital relationships as they relate to the child, etc. Ultimately, issues discussed in these sessions are used in formulating the behavioral contract which requires cooperation and monitoring by family.

At least one formal group meeting involving all program participants is held each week. At times, this meeting may entail nothing more than group discussion or showing a film to generate focused conversation and value clarification. Other times, guest speakers may appear. In some instances the meeting has been used for recreational purposes. While in residence, each youth spends three hours a day in the program school. The school is operated by a special education teacher who, after testing for achievement level, works remedially with the youngsters. The achievement test is used for determining what kind of school placement is best for the students. A small number of the slowest students stay in the in-house school, but when possible, students are returned to public schools in the community.

Once intensive community tracking begins, primary responsibility for the youth shifts from the residential caseworker to the outreach workers. The residential caseworker continues to maintain contact with the youngster on a much less frequent basis. This contact occurs usually at the facility when the youth is participating in required, structured activities. As part of the community tracking contract, clients agree to be "tracking accountable"; to attend school, job training and/or work; to participate in weekly group counseling sessions; to attend program-sponsored recreational and cultural activities; and to comply with a curfew.

Outreach workers operate as teams. Two such teams are responsible for the Springfield area, and two teams work in the Holyoke office. Each team is comprised of three members, and each person must be familiar with the caseloads of the rest of the team. In this way, all nights and weekends are covered. Each team is responsible for fifteen to twenty-one clients. Included in these caseloads are both Plus clients and nonresidential Outreach and Tracking cases. Client assignment depends upon where the youngster's home is located. Tracking accountability is based upon multiple, daily telephone calls to Key regarding the client's whereabouts, and prior scheduling for each twenty-four-hour period, seven days a week. Unannounced spot checks by outreach workers are possible at any time and in any place. In addition, family, teachers, and employers can call Key at any time to report problems or concerns. The outreach team system allows crisis intervention to take place at any point twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

The underlying philosophy of the tracking component is the development of an intense, positive, supportive, one-to-one caseworker/client relationship. This is achieved through role modeling; collectively analyzing, understanding, and solving problems; sharing and monitoring activities; working closely with parents and siblings; knowing the peer network; developing, encouraging, and monitoring educational,

vocational, and/or job placement; and establishing community linkages for aid, recreation, and training and enrichment. Clients are seen by outreach workers three or four times a day. Although these contacts may be quite brief, they lead frequently to lengthy discussions. At least twice a week a more intensive, individual counseling session takes place wherever convenient.

Along with group sessions at the facility, counseling, support, and advocacy aim to enhance self-reliance, to reduce family tensions, to promote positive peer relationships, to develop appropriate socialization skills, to encourage constructive use of leisure time, and to stimulate introspection. A consulting psychologist and psychiatrist are available for diagnostic assistance, treatment plan development, and more structured clinical counseling. A total of four mandatory group sessions are held at the facility each week. Some are devoted to discussion and self-appraisal, others to recreation and cultural enrichment; some combine both types of activity. During the week, a session ordinarily consists of an hour to an hour-and-a-half of group counseling followed by an hour of recreation. A second session held later in the week during the evening may be devoted to three hours of recreation, involving the use of the third-floor rooms' pool table, or other activities such as softball, basketball, roller skating, movies, or sporting events. Twice each weekend required group activities and outings are held.

Education, vocational training, and/or job placement are extremely critical elements in the program. Caseworkers work closely with youngsters in locating part- or full-time employment and in opening bank accounts for the clients. Both publicly funded work programs and private-sector jobs are sought. Additionally, Key has its own stipend work program for youth who, otherwise, would have no work available for them. This program involves either subsidizing employers who can provide jobs or having Tracking Plus itself pay the youngsters to work at the facility. Close monitoring of all work situations is carried out by the caseworkers.

Regular public schools, adult education, GED, and vocational schools are used. The in-house school is available to clients under several conditions: on a short-term basis for suspended students, as the primary school setting in a few instances, and as an interim educational resource emphasizing remediation and testing during residence. The outreach workers will also act on the client's behalf in legal situations such as court appearances and bail arrangements. The family contact is maintained by the worker throughout his involvement with the client. Contact with the family occurs almost daily. At least once a week workers try to spend a bit more time with the family. The focus is on helping the families to better understand their children, to explore feelings, and to develop strategies for dealing more effectively with the child.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of residential backup is an integral element in the Tracking Plus approach. It is generally used several times during the course of a client's participation. The stay is highly structured and demanding. Identical to the residential intake phase, residential backup involves early morning awakening, chores, breakfast, cleanup, school in the morning, and an afternoon of intensive one-to-one contact with the residential caseworker. The caseworker works closely with the returned youngster, and the outreach worker will often join them for some collabora-tive sessions. Consequences for misbehavior or rule infractions include writing assignments, separation from the group, withdrawal of privileges and curtailment of activities (e.g., smoking, recreation, outings), doing extra chores, grounding at home,

lowering curfew hours, monetary restitution, remaining with the tracker for a specified period of time, residential return, and program termination.

Following termination from Plus, at least half of the youngsters will move into Outreach and Tracking for another four to six months. The number of contacts generally lessens, and certain activities at the facility become optional. Determina-tion of who participates in this subsequent programming is a joint decision by Key and DYS.

Staffing Patterns

Altogether there are sixteen caseworkers employed by Key; seven are directly employed by Plus and nine by Outreach and Tracking. Three of the residential caseworkers are male, one is female, and the average age is 24.8. Three have Bachelor's degrees (two in criminal justice and one in theology), and one has an Associate's degree in criminal justice. Two have been with Key for a year, one for eight months, and one for two months.

The average age of the twelve outreach workers (eight male, four female) is 24.5 years. All have Bachelor's degrees of which nine are in either psychology, education, criminal justice, or counseling. Two of the workers have been with Key for three years, two for one year, one for nine months, two for eight months, one for seven months, two for six months, and two for two months. The male teacher has been with Key for three years, is 30 years old, and has a Master's degree in special education.

The program supervisor is a 30-year-old male with a Master's degree in human relations. The program service coordinator is a 26-year-old male with a Master's degree in guidance and counseling; the regional director is a 27-year-old male with a Master's degree in guidance and counseling. They have been with Key for one-and-a-half, three, and five years respectively. Overall, there are sixteen whites, one black, two Hispanic, and one with an unknown racial/ethic background.

9. Project Vision

Origins and History

Project Vision is a nonresidential, day-treatment program offering services to seriously, chronically delinquent youths. The program operates out of the Albie Booth Boys' Club in New Haven, Connecticut. Launched in February of 1977 as a pilot project with federal funding supplied by the city of New Haven through the Community Development Act (CDA), the program serves a population of delinquent youths who have been ignored for the most part in alternative programming efforts in the city. Traditionally, these youths have been handled in residential settings, frequently in secure custodial facilities.

The initial impetus to develop and implement this program was supplied by several local organizational actors including the Youth Division of the New Haven Police Department and the South Central Criminal Justice Supervisory Board, the local

planning unit for LEAA. These agencies recognized the continuing lack of adequate, community-based, rehabilitative services for hard-core, youthful offenders under the supervision of the Juvenile Court and the Department of Children and Youth Services (DCYS). Customarily, youth-serving agencies in the New Haven area have tended to favor the least severe and the least chronic juvenile offenders in their intake and service practices.

In collaboration with the administrator for the New Haven Boys' Clubs, Inc., these organizational actors initiated a search for an appropriate program design from which to model their project. They selected the Community Advancement Program (CAP), which was used throughout Massachusetts as an outreach program in the state's deinstitutionalization efforts. The New Haven group was especially attracted to several key features of the CAP model: high counselor/client ratio (one to five), availability of twenty-four-hour-per-day counseling services for crisis intervention, and reliance on the social network approach to problem solving.

Start-up monies for the project amounted to $75,000 and permitted New Haven Boys' Clubs, Inc. to hire a full-time staff of four persons including a director and three counselors. In addition, the administrator for the Boys' Clubs, who was instrumental in developing Project Vision, was appointed to be executive director for the agency. In this role he does not have frequent, day-to-day contact with staff and activities, but he assumes total responsibility for the fiscal aspects of the program.

In the second year of operation, principal responsibility for funding Project Vision shifted to LEAA, which made $75,000 available for the program as part of its block grant arrangement with Connecticut's State Planning Agency. This funding was supplemented with $9,000 provided by the city under the Community Development Act. Funding for calendar year 1979, the primary temporal focus of this report, totaled $84,500 of which $54,000 was provided by the State Planning Agency with LEAA monies, $19,000 in matching funds from the city in the form of community development monies, and $12,500 from New Haven Foundation expressly for the purpose of hiring a full-time, female counselor to work with female delinquents.

Although certain difficulties exist in attempting to determine per diem costs in nonresidential programs, the estimated cost of maintaining a client in Project Vision is approximately $4.20 per day.

Point of Intervention

Referrals to Project Vision are made by two sources: the Probation Services of New Haven County Juvenile Court and the local offices of the State Department of Children and Youth Services (DCYS). With respect to the latter source, referrals come from two separate divisions of the department. This referral pattern occurs because DCYS is responsible for child welfare as well as youth corrections in the state of Connecticut. Approximately 20 percent of all referrals are youths under the custody of DCYS as a result of being dependent, neglected, or abused. If these wards of the state exhibit delinquent behaviors and meet the admission criteria for the program but have not been referred to court for their current misbehavior, their DCYS workers can refer them directly to Project Vision. Other youths being referred to the program via DCYS, approximately 10 percent of the total, have been adjudicated delinquent, have

been committed to the custody of DCYS, and placed in Long Lane, the state's juvenile correctional facility. As part of their parole plan, these youths are referred to Project Vision to aid in their reentry into the community.

The vast majority of youths referred to the program, approximately 70 percent of the total, are on probationary status with the juvenile court. Usually, at the point of disposition they have been adjudicated delinquent, placed on "probation with special condition," and referred to Project Vision as an alternative to incarceration. The mechanism for referral is that the juvenile probation officer or the DCYS worker contacts the program director, and on initial discussion of the youngster's needs and case history, establishes the basis for project participation. The juvenile court and DCYS provide the legitimization of the program's supervisory authority by requiring that the youth cooperate as a condition of court probation or state custody.

Referral Criteria

The formal catchment area for Project Vision is the entirety of New Haven County; technically, youths residing anywhere in this geographical area can participate in the program. As a practical matter, however, the vast majority of referrals come from the Hill and Dixwell areas of New Haven. Both of these communities are economically deprived, inner-city areas of the city and are populated predominantly by minority residents. This fact is reflected in the racial/ethnic composition of participants in the program. The program is located in the northwest sector of the Hill area.

Originally, the program had been designed to provide services to male youths under the age of 16 years who had the highest number and most serious arrest histories. By 1979, the criterion of sex had been changed in order to allow female youths under the age of 16 years into the program. Since the time of this change, however, the program has experienced difficulty in obtaining female referrals.

Serious juvenile offender statutes enacted by the state legislature went into effect in October of 1977, requiring that youths charged with certain offenses be given a formal hearing to consider possible transfer to adult court. In addition, under certain conditions youths are automatically waived to adult jurisdiction. For example, youths of 14 years of age and older charged with murder are automatically waived to adult jurisdiction. On the other hand, any youth who has been committed to DCYS for a serious offense and has run away from a secure placement automatically qualifies for a hearing to consider possible transfer to adult jurisdiction. Even if at the hearing the decision is made not to transfer and the case is referred back to juvenile court, a stipulation exists requiring that the youth, if adjudicated delinquent, be placed outside his/her town of residence. Such youths are clearly not eligible for participation in Project Vision. The immediate impact of this legislation on the program is that fewer youths charged with extremely serious offenses are referred. The client population in Project Vision is simply less serious today than it was during the first year of program operation.

When potential clients are referred to the program, each is automatically assigned to that counselor who would be responsible for supervising the youth's activities if accepted into the program. This counselor assumes primary responsibility

for determining the appropriateness of the referral. Once the counselor completes the interview and has formed opinions about the suitability of the candidate, he confers with the program director who makes the final decision about admission. A point is always made to deflect youths with serious emotional problems away from the program. According to the program director, inappropriate referrals occur only rarely and usually involve emotionally disturbed youths. The announcement of formal acceptance/rejection is always made within two days after the youth has been interviewed. If accepted, the youth's participation in the program begins immediately.

Following acceptance into the program, the youth with the assistance of his/her individual counselor develops a treatment plan which attempts to set up realistic objectives for changing patterns of delinquent behavior. Only rarely are outside organizational actors such as the referral source or the schools directly involved in the development of this plan. The written plan focuses on the needs of the youth as they relate to school, work, family, friends, recreational activities, and court involvement; emphasis is placed on developing those skills needed by the youth to maintain a course of responsible behavior after he/she has left the program. Once the plan has been fully developed, it is sent to the referral source to show the course of action to be taken by the program with the youth. The individual counselors are responsible for assessing how successful the clients are in achieving the goals set forth in the treatment plan.

Client Profiles

At the time of our site visit, twenty-eight youths were participating in Project Vision. This figure is substantially smaller than the total of sixty clients whom the program is supposedly prepared to handle at maximum capacity. The twenty-eight active participants included twenty-seven males and one female of whom twenty-seven were black and one was Hispanic. According to the program director, the ethnic/racial mix of clients reflected the fact that most persons in local juvenile justice circles believed that the program was intended primarily for black juvenile offenders and that the referral sources behaved accordingly. In addition, Project Vision's geographical location in the Hill area contributed to the substantial overrepresentation of blacks in the program.

Of the twenty-eight youths active in the program, eighteen were classified "primary" clients and ten were classified "secondary" clients (see Program Services for a more detailed discussion of these participants' statuses). The average age of clients was 14.1 years with ages ranging from 11 to 16 years. Among the presenting offenses for which these youths were referred to the program were ten cases of larceny, two cases of assault and larceny, one case of arson, two cases of status offenses, one case of auto theft and possession of drugs, two cases of shoplifting, one case of sexual assault, one case of assault on a teacher, two cases of robbery, one case of dependent and neglected (previous history of unlawful acts), one case of trespassing, and four cases of larceny and truancy. All of the referred youths had arrest backgrounds characterized by extensive contact with the courts for a wide range of offenses against both property and persons.

Program Services

Active participation in Project Vision usually runs from six to twelve months. Occasionally, youths will remain in the program for as long as one-and-a-half years. Participation for a period less than six months is thought by staff to be inadequate for achieving the goals of the program.

As a day-treatment program stressing intensive tracking, Project Vision relies upon a combination of individual, group, and family counseling to bring about desired changes in client outlook and behavior. These services are augmented with educational backup and recreational/cultural enrichment.

Individual counseling which constitutes the heart of the program is not based on any single therapeutic approach but rather on an eclectic style reflecting the needs and problems of the individual client. Counseling sessions can occur wherever they appear to be most beneficial to the client—in his/her home, on the street corner, at school, or in the Boys' Club. No emphasis, however, is placed upon having clients come to the Boys' Club once they have been accepted into the program. It is conceivable that clients once admitted will not appear at the program facility again until they are ready for graduation.

Regarding counseling activities, two distinct classifications exist: "primary" and "secondary" clients. Upon entrance into the program, clients are automatically assigned to the primary category. During this intensive phase of supervision, the individual counselor must have at least three and ideally five (daily) face-to-face contacts with his clients each week and also spend a number of hours each week with the clients' families and friends. In addition, the counselor is responsible for keeping tabs on his assigned clients on a twenty-four-hour-per-day basis. A minimum of six months of this intensive tracking and counseling is mandatory for each client in the program. Once a youth's overall situation has stabilized to the point where he/she can assume a greater degree of responsibility, the client is advanced to the secondary phase of the program. The counselor maintains supervision over the same clients but only sees them twice per week at most. This phase usually lasts from three to four months at which time the youth is graduated from the program.

During both the primary and secondary phases of the program the counselor fills the role of advocate for his clients. He serves as a link between the youth and those institutions, agencies, and resources with which the client must establish meaningful ties. For example, counselors are responsible for assisting youths in obtaining job placement and for referral to psychological and psychiatric services when needed as well as following up these referrals to insure that services delivered are effective.

Essential to the success of this kind of nonresidential program where the individual detached counselor/tracker plays such an important role is a highly elaborated system of intrastaff communication. In Project Vision each counselor is required to keep a log of all contacts with clients. This task includes writing up a daily activity log as well as logs of all telephone contacts, and maintaining school and job performance records for each client. In addition, counselors are required to provide monthly updates of the treatment plan detailing a full analysis of the progress of each client in all elements of the plan.

Group counseling also plays a role in the treatment approach of Project Vision although admittedly a less important one. These sessions which can be facilitated by any member of the program staff are only held when a substantial number of active clients are together at the Boys' Club. The principal purpose of these sessions is to discuss those issues which are of mutual interest to all clients in the program. An attempt is made to have each participant express his views and opinions about the topic under discussion. Such sessions occur approximately once per week, but the composition of the group changes so frequently that some clients are probably involved only about once per month, and others never.

Since Project Vision is a nonresidential program and the vast majority of clients reside at home with their parents (at any point in time 15 to 20 percent of the youths participating in the program are living in residential group homes in New Haven), a considerable emphasis is placed upon staff contact with families. The counselor works closely with the youth's parents in a supportive role to help them deal more effectively with their own lives and the lives of their children. In addition to the development of parenting skills, the counselors are available to intervene at moments of crisis. Counselors contact parents at least once per week, either in person or by telephone. Regular, quarterly parent meetings are held at the Boys' Club where an open forum is available to discuss all types of common problems. Often, as many as one-half of all parents attend although representation by seven or eight families at any meeting is considered adequate.

There is no stated grievance procedure for youths to use in this program although the program director stated that "they can complain and express their own opinions if it's done in good manner and with respect." Similarly, not a very elaborated system for dealing with client misconduct is available. For acting-out behavior and illegal acts, clients are prevented from participating in specified activities or field trips. In the case of severe violation of rules, clients can be terminated from further participation in the program. However, a somewhat more structured system of rewards for positive behavior is used. Each month all counselors vote in order to select a client of the month, who is awarded a small trophy. At the end of the year a client of the year is selected at a formal ceremony when a large trophy is awarded.

All primary educational activity is conducted outside the program facility with heavy reliance being made upon resources available in the community. Some clients attend an alternative educational program operated by the New Haven Public School system while others attend a special education program especially designed for learning disabled youths and also operated by the public schools. The remaining clients attend regular public schools. Counselors are in contact with teachers at these schools on a regular basis. All participants in the program must attend some type of school.

The program director stated that about one-half of all active clients come into the Boys' Club on a regular basis to participate in recreational activities. On occasion, groups of clients are taken to organized outdoor activities such as horseback riding and picnics; these events are scheduled for weekends. Attempts are also made to involve the youths in one cultural activity per month; clients are taken to museums, concerts, or exhibitions.

Project Vision has not developed formal follow-up or aftercare procedures for provision of services. Efforts are made, however, to seek out ongoing vocational

training in the community or long-term employment for clients as part of their preparation for graduation.

For purposes of evaluation, contact is made with the courts every third month after graduation to determine if former clients have been released from probation or have been rearrested. Informal contact is also maintained with former clients and usually entails counselors' inviting them back to the Boys' Club for scheduled activities.

Staffing Patterns

At the time of our site visit, there were seven primary staff members including the program's administrator, program director/lead counselor, assistant director/counselor, three counselors, and a secretary. All of these individuals except the administrator and the secretary were responsible for a counseling case load of both primary and secondary clients. The entire counseling staff hold Bachelor's degrees except the program director who had a Master's degree in social work and one counselor who had an Associate's degree. Prior experience in the field of delinquency ranged from one to twenty years.

Project Vision does not make use of volunteers in any capacity. The principal reason offered was that the structure of the program does not easily lend itself to the use of volunteers.

10. Transitional Center

Origins and History

Located in Gretna, Louisiana, directly across the Mississippi River from New Orleans, the Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court Transitional Center is a community-based, nonresidential program designed to provide rehabilitative services to emotionally disturbed and learning disabled juvenile offenders. The idea for developing Transitional Center originated with Lois Foxall, Director of Juvenile Court Services in Jefferson Parish; she wanted to initiate a day-treatment program which would provide a wide array of services for youths who have been adjudicated delinquent but would benefit from not being placed in secure, custodial care. At that point in time (1976) there were no alternative programs available for adjudicated delinquents in Jefferson Parish.

Along with members of her staff, Lois Foxall undertook an intensive investigation of day-treatment programs operating throughout the United States and selected those elements which were applicable for inclusion in the Jefferson Parish effort. Eventually, a total of twenty-two programs were surveyed in the development of the Transitional Center model.

Once planning for the program had been completed, start-up funding in the form of a three-year block grant was obtained in 1978 from LEAA through the Louisiana Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice, the state's

criminal justice planning agency. The federal share for the first year's effort amounted to $105,917, with a state match of $11,785, and a Jefferson Parish match of $10,590. In the second year of Transitional Center's operation, 1979, the total budget was $142,739. Block grant monies provided $79,437; the state provided $50,326; the Parish provided $12,976. An additional $100,000 worth of educational services was provided without charge to the program by the Jefferson Parish School District, which assumed sole responsibility for funding ten teaching and teaching assistant positions. In 1980, the total number of positions was reduced to eight (four teachers and four teacher assistants).

This program is unique among the ones we visited in that it operates as a public agency. Developed by court services as an alternative resource for the court system, Transitional Center falls under the authority of the Director of Court Services but encounters few of the bureaucratic drawbacks experienced by most public agencies. For example, due to an unusual set of arrangements orchestrated by the director of court services, the program operates free of many standard bureaucratic constraints such as personnel policies and civil service requirements frequently associated with agencies run by various levels of government. In addition, the program's ties to the public domain allow it to utilize without costs the expertise of various professionals attached to the larger court system including the court services psychiatrist, the court services psychologist, the court services psychometricians, the physician for the local detention center, the nursing consultant at the detention center, and the nutritionist at the detention center. Being the recipient of this wide range of free services is an enviable position to occupy at a time when funding for youth-serving agencies is extremely limited.

Goals established by the program at the time of its implementation included: (1) to provide services to a minimum of thirty and a maximum of fifty adjudicated juveniles during the grant period (equal in time to one fiscal year), (2) to lose no more than 10 percent back to the juvenile justice system because of failure to succeed within the program, (3) to keep all juveniles who complete the program out of Louisiana Training Institute (LTI), (4) to keep 95 percent of those who complete the program out of residential placement because they have not made adequate social adjustment, (5) to keep the recidivism rate for all offenses prior to the age of 17 below 10 percent, and (6) to demonstrate that the cost of keeping a child at home and in the community is less than keeping the same child in LTI or detention. The program also set forth a set of subsidiary or subgoals; they were: (1) to keep children in their respective homes, (2) to help the child learn socially acceptable coping skills, (3) to help the child identify individual strengths and weaknesses and aid him/her in capitalizing on this knowledge, and (4) to provide an atmosphere of success so that self-image might be made positive.

Initially, considerable emphasis was placed on the use of behavior modification in the program since it was feared that this kind of delinquent population would be difficult to control in an open, community-based setting. Reliance upon a token economy system for the purpose of promoting behavioral change proved to be unnecessary. In this nonresidential setting the system exhibited little value as a means for control and was, in fact, counterproductive due to its tendency to be punitive. A decision was made to discard these practices totally since attempts to make alterations and adjustments in the use of behavior modification proved to be virtually impossible. A quite different approach was introduced in its place. Details of these

changes will be discussed later under Program Services. By the time of our site visit, the original orientation of the program had been completely phased out.

The local sociopolitical environment has proven to be quite supportive of the efforts of Transitional Center to provide an alternative to incarceration for adjudicated delinquents. The presence of a reform-minded set of juvenile court judges on the bench has contributed strongly to this move away from the punitive sanctioning of delinquents at the local level in Jefferson Parish. In spite of the fact that virtually no alternatives have been made available for the purpose of diverting youths from institutional care, surprisingly few juvenile offenders from the parish are committed to juvenile correctional facilities. In contrast to the neighboring parish of New Orleans (location of the city of New Orleans), which is responsible each year for committing approximately 30 percent of the state's total juvenile offender population in secure custody with the Department of Corrections, only about 2 percent of the youths entering the state's juvenile correctional system each year come from Jefferson Parish. This striking difference in commitment totals is especially impressive when one realizes that Jefferson Parish is a densely populated, urban area with a total population of approximately 450,000 persons and containing a mix of socioeconomic strata and minority groups. This high level of diversion in Jefferson Parish has been achieved through a heavy reliance on court-supervised probation of most adjudicated delinquents and on the availability of Transitional Center.

The cost of maintaining a youth in Transitional Center is approximately $24.00 per day. This figure compares favorably with the cost of placing youths in other settings. For example, the placement of these offenders in residential treatment programs has been estimated at an average rate of $100.00 per day; maintenance in the detention facility in Jefferson Parish costs $50.00 per day; the cost of maintenance in LTI system is $39.38.

Point of Intervention

All youths entering Transitional Center have been adjudicated delinquent by the Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court. They are placed on probation and court ordered to participate in the program. As part of this court-ordering process, parents are legally required to cooperate with program staff during their children's participation in the program. If they fail to abide by the conditions of this agreement, they can be cited for contempt of court, and legal action can be brought against them. This legal binding of parents to program activities was unique to Transitional Center among all of our site visits.

If Transitional Center were not available as an alternative placement resource for adjudicated delinquents in Jefferson Parish, almost all of these youths would be committed to the custody of the juvenile division of the State Department of Corrections for placement in a secure facility.

Referral Criteria

Spanning both the east and west banks of the Mississippi River and lying adjacent to the city of New Orleans, Jefferson Parish in its entirety comprises the formal

catchment as well as the primary service area for Transitional Center. The program is itself located in the town of Gretna and lies on the west bank of the river. Driving across the bridge into Gretna from New Orleans, one is not readily aware of the existence of any geographical boundaries. Rather, all of this urban and industrial sprawl appears to be part of the Greater New Orleans Metropolitan Area. Referral to the program is simply a matter arbitrarily dictated by the legal boundary lines for the parish.

Formal admission criteria for Transitional Center include: (1) male and female youths between the ages of 13 and 17 years, (2) adjudicated delinquent by the juvenile court, (3) have been diagnosed as learning disabled or emotionally disturbed, and (4) resident of Jefferson Parish. Admission to the program is prohibited for youths who have been educationally labeled as mentally retarded or have been clinically diagnosed as overtly psychotic. No special conditions are specified in the admission criteria concerning the nature or number of offenses necessary for referral to the program. Juvenile offenders need only to have been adjudicated delinquent by the court to be eligible. Since the program is being used as an alternative to incarceration, however, the arrest histories of the client population in Transitional Center are sufficiently severe in terms of numbers and kinds of offenses to easily qualify the program as being a service provider for serious juvenile offenders.

Since the program is a creation of and resource for juvenile court services, inappropriate referrals are never made to Transitional Center. The program coordinator is consulted by the staff of court services about a potential client's profile before referral is made. On occasion, an inappropriate admission will occur when an inadvertent mistake is made about the level of a client's mental disturbance. If a youth proves to be more psychotic than was perceived when tested, the client will be removed from the program. When this happens, the youth is referred to the program's consulting psychiatrist who recommends placement elsewhere.

The number of serious juvenile offenders entering the program in the near future may decrease drastically as a result of the recent passage of a serious juvenile offender statute by the Louisiana Legislature. This law, which went into effect in September of 1980, requires that any youth who is 15 years old or older and has been charged with first- or second-degree murder, manslaughter, or aggravated rape will be automatically removed from the authority of the juvenile court and will, instead, be tried in criminal court. Likewise, any youth who is 16 years of age and has been charged with armed robbery, aggravated burglary, or aggravated kidnapping is subject to the same type of automatic waiver. Many of the former clients of Transitional Center who entered the program following adjudication for such charges will in the future no longer be eligible for participation.

Transitional Center maintains strict eligibility criteria which specify that appropriate clients are youths diagnosed as either learning disabled or emotionally disturbed. A battery of testing procedures and rating devices are used to identify youths who are believed to fall into the two diagnostic categories. Administered by an outside evaluation team affiliated with the University of New Orleans' Special Education Research and Evaluation Center, the Competent Authority Evaluation (CAE) screens out those youngsters who may be suspected as appropriate, but upon a careful testing, cannot actually be diagnosed as such. The teams consist of a variety of specialists such as social workers, educational psychologists, educational consultants,

and speech and hearing consultants. The testing may include administering the Wechler Intelligence Scale for Children, Visual-Motor Assessment (Bender-Gestalt), Wide Range Achievement Test, Spache Diagnostic Reading Scales, Detroit Tests of Learning Aptitude, Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, audiological assessment, and any other testing or evaluation believed necessary for each case. The program also requires a psychological report not more than a year old, a current social summary, medical assessment, information from past placements, and offense records.

The final admission decision is made by the program coordinator with the input of the assistant coordinator. Supplementing the CAE and other collected information are additional impressions gathered by the assistant coordinator in a preadmission interview. Ordinarily, at least one parent and a probation officer accompanies the youth. Standardized written contracts for parents and the client are used. The parent, assistant coordinator, and the assigned counselor cosign an agreement specifying parental cooperation and willingness to attend scheduled sessions with the counseling staff. Counselor responsibilities are also spelled out in the agreement. These include being available in crisis situations, respecting confidentiality, and holding family meetings at least twice a month. The student cosigns with the assistant coordinator and the counselor an agreement asserting that irresponsible behavior could result in residential placement. There is also a statement of understanding signed by the client and the counselor which spells out the policy and consequences regarding fighting and unexcused absences.

Both individualized educational plans and a treatment plan are devised within the first several weeks of the client's participation. The treatment plan is formulated incorporating information gathered in the CAE, the initial interview, a ten-day observation period, and from staff recommendations. Behavioral, cognitive, and emotional problems are identified in order to prioritize areas of difficulty for individual counseling and assistance. Typically, each youth's strong points are also presented. Accompanying the statement of strengths and weaknesses is a listing of long- and short-range goals, the plan of service, and specified dates for reevaluation.

Client Profiles

The maximum capacity for Transitional Center is twenty-eight to thirty clients at any one time. At the time of our site visit, thirty-one youths were participating in the program. They ranged in age from 13 to 17 years and averaged 15.2 years. Racially, the group consisted of twenty whites and eleven blacks; there were twenty-eight males and three females.

We were able to obtain extensive information regarding the presenting offenses and arrest histories of twenty-five offenders who had been placed in the program. This classification reflected the staff's knowledge of these youths' total set of official encounters with law-enforcement authorities and was not based in any way on the nature of behavioral problems posed by the group in terms of treatment and rehabilitation within the confines of the program.

Although the list of offenses leading to adjudication and referral for this group of offenders does not appear to be extremely serious, a detailed examination of their records reveals arrest histories characterized by repeated and frequently violent

crimes; these youths were, indeed, serious, habitual juvenile offenders who had chronically committed crimes of considerable severity against both property and persons. The referring offenses for these clients were: one case of attempted simple burglary, two cases of burglary, four cases of simple burglary, one case of attempted burglary, one case of probation violation for truancy, one case of theft, one case of probation violation for unspecified status offense, two cases of probation violation, two cases of receiving stolen goods, two cases of runaway, one case of curfew violation, one case of auto theft, one case of simple criminal damage to property, one case of attempted simple rape, one case of criminal trespass, one case of battery, one case of possession of drugs, and one case of criminal mischief.

Program Services

The average length of stay at Transitional Center is approximately nine months. Occasionally, a youth will remain in the program for as long as fifteen months. During their participation, clients are bused to and from their homes five days a week. The youths remain at the program from 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. each day and are served three meals per day. During their participation, all clients are assigned to the same probation officer. This policy had been instituted since it allowed a single person from the court to monitor the performance of all clients in the program.

The major program components include counseling, the in-house school, vocational-life skills training, cultural exposure, and organized recreation. As mentioned earlier, shortly before our site visit the program underwent a profound transformation in the theoretical model underlying the program's basic approach as well as in its operating procedures. Orchestrating these changes was a recently installed program coordinator who had been brought in from court services and strongly believed that the previously practiced behavior modification/token economy system had degenerated into an overly punitive and self-defeating effort. In its place had been put a reality therapy-oriented team approach, monthly staffings (case reviews) incorporating client participation and feedback, and an enlarged set of activities for enrichment and group enjoyment. Entirely eliminated was a merit system whereby points were recorded on an hourly basis. The mechanism of control was shifted to immediate handling of problems by staff working in teams. Outbursts, misbehavior, and explosive situations are immediately addressed. This may initially be accomplished by counselors who spend time in the classrooms or by one of the interns assigned to assist teachers. The general strategy is to: (1) divert the youth's attention to more positive behavior, (2) move the youth elsewhere to calm down, and (3) avoid intensifying the situation by remaining calm. Problems which arise are later discussed in the individual counseling sessions and, if necessary, in the sessions with the families.

Individualized counseling is expected to take place at least three times a week, and when possible, every day. These sessions are designed to be brief encounters of approximately fifteen minutes by counselors with each of their five to ten clients. In direct contrast with the previous system of less frequent but more lengthy counseling sessions, the new approach is tailored to reach learning disabled and emotionally disturbed youths since they may not be especially well suited for longer one-to-one "talk" sessions. Individual counseling relies on behavioral contracting with clients around a small, manageable number of goals including improved self-control and increased responsibility toward others. Problem areas are prioritized and are always tied to a series of specific incremental steps geared toward amelioration of problems.

Group sessions are held each day for about forty-five minutes. The content of these sessions dovetails conveniently with the thrust of the individualized sessions. Youngsters are grouped for these sessions according to problem areas such as temper control, family conflict, and interpersonal difficulties. In this way, the problem-solving emphasis can be focused on more areas of common difficulty. At the same time, peer relationships are developed, communication skills practiced, and interdependence reinforced.

Family work, though not fully instituted at this time, is seen as an essential component for helping to resolve the youngsters' problems. Four levels of family work are envisioned. Twice a month parent counseling sessions are held to explore the nature of parent-child relationships, to develop coping strategies and problem-solving skills, and to discuss the child's overall progress in the program. Parents are also asked to attend their child's monthly staffing. At this time, the youth has a regular opportunity to evaluate himself in the presence of numerous staff. He also hears and reacts to the staff's comments and recommendations. Additionally, plans have been initiated at the program to have parents spend an entire day once a month at the facility, probably in conjunction with the monthly staffing.

Monthly group educational sessions are also held for parents. Here, parenting skills can be discussed, and other associated issues can be raised. These sessions tend to be rather general in nature, emphasizing broad issues such as household management, communication skills, and responsibility. Finally, planning for more formalized family therapy sessions have been started. Conducted by the program coordinator and aided by an intern, these sessions would be aimed at more serious family problems requiring extended and intensive professional intervention. Examples include instances of child abuse or the detection of the need for more formalized psychological/psychiatric services.

The in-house school is organized into small classes which are usually team taught. Each class is staffed by two teachers, two aides, and available volunteers. During the morning hours students take classes in reading, mathematics, language arts, and social studies. Clients eat lunch in small groups with their designated counselor. The meal is used as a vehicle for learning table etiquette and details in the preparation, service, and cleanup of food. Chores are rotated among students on a weekly basis. Following lunch, students work on science/health, language development, and life skills. Daily activities also include choral reading and music appreciation. These are felt to be important parts of cultural enrichment. They provide a means for innocuously imparting a sense of group activity and cooperation. All youngsters also spend an hour daily in a specialized vocational/life skills course. During this time students are instructed in matters such as career awareness, personal hygiene and grooming, manners, money management, and dietary needs. This class is handled by a vocational/life skills counselor assisted by several interns. This counselor also works with youngsters on developing postprogram placement plans, frequently involving registration in vocational schools.

Time is set aside every afternoon for recreational activities. With impetus from the new program coordinator, Transitional Center is in the midst of changing its basic approach to recreational therapy. While in the past considerable emphasis was placed on competitive sports, staff claimed that these kinds of activities tended to produce a substantial amount of negative, acting-out behavior by a number of clients. Attempts

are presently being made to teach basic physical skills such as balance and coordination which underlie most athletic activities. In addition, greater stress is being placed on physical activities such as dance and gymnastics which do not necessarily require intense competitive behavior. Underlying this new approach to recreational therapy is the idea that the mastery of basic skills is more conducive to increased self-esteem and positive behavioral change than are competitive sports which require a degree of maturation and socialization frequently not exhibited by students. In the course of a typical day, group sessions tend to follow the recreational period. This is followed by dinner and finally one hour of instructional arts and crafts.

Aftercare of various sorts continues for approximately six months; it can go on longer. Volunteers are sometimes used in a big brother/big sister capacity. Youngsters may be placed in vocational schools where they are contacted regularly by the vocational/life skills counselor. During the first month following termination, the child and the parents are seen at least twice by this counselor. This contact is continued when necessary for up to six months.

The extensive use of volunteer staff in a variety of roles at the program is one of the advantages Transitional Center experiences from being a court service program. The program is able to draw on the pool of volunteers maintained by the Parish Court Services volunteer program. In addition to providing Transitional Center with a full complement of volunteers, the court's volunteer program also supplies personnel for probation, detention, evaluation, and informal adjustment cases. Volunteer help is drawn both from nearby universities where students receive course or field work credit for program-related activities and from the larger community where individuals receive no form of academic credit or remuneration for their activities.

Staffing Patterns

Transitional Center employs a primary full-time staff of eleven persons. Included in this group are the administrative members of the staff: a program coordinator who has a doctorate in education and thirty-one years of related experience, an assistant coordinator who has a Master's degree in social work and seven years of related experience, an administrative assistant who has a high school diploma and six years of related experience, and a clerk/typist. Line staff include a counselor/arts and crafts instructor who has a Bachelor's degree in sociology and eight years of prior experience, a counselor who has a Bachelor's degree in social work and six years of related experience, another counselor who has a Bachelor's degree in education and twelve years of related experience, a counselor/recreational therapist who has a Bachelor's degree in social work and three years of related experience, and a vocational/life skills counselor who has a Master's degree in social work and twelve years of prior experience. The program also employs two full-time cooks who have the responsibility of preparing three meals per day for all clients and staff.

The program also makes extensive use of auxiliary staff; this includes both supplemental staff who are paid or otherwise compensated for their services (e.g., academic credit) by outside agencies and organizations, and various community volunteers. The supplemental staff is composed primarily of interns who are M.S.W. graduate students (occasionally undergraduates) and nurses. These students handle a number of tasks at the program and are usually placed there for a period of six months.

At the time of our site visit, six student interns were involved with the program, three of whom were on a six-month placement and three of whom were on a one-year placement.

The other important group of supplemental staff are the four teachers and their six teaching aides who are responsible for providing the formal educational services offered by the program. Also providing service to the program are a psychologist, psychiatrist, psychometrician, and speech therapist. Undoubtedly, the most prominent supplemental staff person is the director of Jefferson Parish Juvenile Court Services, who devotes considerable time and energy to a number of managerial tasks for the program. Another key supplemental staff person is the placement officer who in her official role as a probation officer serves as liaison between the juvenile court and all the youths in Transitional Center. When a youth is admitted to the program, the placement officer assumes sole court responsibility for this client during his/her entire stay in the program.

11. Viable Alternatives to Institutionalization Program

Origins and History

The Viable Alternatives to Institutionalization of Juveniles Program (VAP) began in October of 1978 and operated for two years. In the absence of continued federal funding, it was necessary to temporarily shut the program down to secure state funding. The program had been primarily supported by LEAA block-grant money channeled through the state, but the federal contribution gradually diminished, requiring state and local funding sources to have to increasingly assume a larger share of the cost.

VAP is only one of seven separate programs run by Juvenile Services Program, Inc. (JSP). JSP is a private, nonprofit multiservice agency located in St. Petersburg, Florida. In addition to VAP, the umbrella agency runs a diversion project for first-time offenders, a truancy prevention program, a volunteer friend program, a Youth Conservation and Community Improvement Program (YCCIP), a CETA-sponsored Youth Employment and Training Program (YETP), and a family counseling program. JSP initially began in 1973 as a proprietary firm. At that time, the sole funding source was the U.S. Department of Labor, which awarded JSP a discretionary grant for a pretrial service project for youthful offenders. The grant was exhausted in 1976 and shortly thereafter JSP received another Labor grant to set up a vocational assistance center for CETA-eligible, youthful offenders. JSP continued to seek additional funding for other projects and gradually the funding base diversified as other programs were developed.

The pending decision on future VAP funding largely depends upon 1) sufficient money being allocated by the state legislature for District 5, and then 2) the district administrator for the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (HRS) determining precisely how the money can best be spent. HRS is responsible for youth corrections, which not only includes juvenile institutions and services, but also probation, juvenile court intake, and parole supervision.

During fiscal year 1979-80, approximately $74,476 of federal money came to the program through state government. The County Juvenile Welfare Board contributed roughly $3,800. Adjunct services for VAP students provided through other programs run by JSP amounted to approximately $3,500. These were essentially paid for by the county and CETA. Finally, the County School Board supplied a teacher whose salary was $12,000. The total budget was $93,776 and the per diem costs were $6.93.

Point of Intervention

All youth in VAP are referred by an HRS youth service counselor. Each youngster is either on a suspended commitment to HRS or had been placed on probation and then committed a subsequent felony offense. The suspended commitment could be lifted if another law violation occurred; this could mean a full-fledged commitment to HRS. Similarly, a violation of probation or community control can result, after a hearing or admission, in a revocation and new disposition order. The new order may include any disposition which could have been made at the original disposition hearing. This could include a commitment or a suspended commitment. The vast majority of youth in VAP were on a suspended commitment status.

Referral Criteria

The formal catchment area included all of Pinellas County, but in practice the program primarily served a ten-square-mile area surrounding the facility. In addition to having the legal statuses already described, eligible male or female clients had to be from 13 to 17 years old, display a minimally stable home situation, and come from families offering some degree of cooperation. The intent was to exclude youngsters who constantly moved their residence from family member (or other responsible adult) to family member, or youth whose families would not allow them to stay at home.

It was also generally believed that potential participants should not have an extensive history of violent offenses, an extensive involvement in the use or selling of narcotics, and severe psychological or psychiatric problems. The final admission decision formally belonged to the executive director but tended to be made by the senior counselor/intake coordinator who recommended what action to take.

Client Profile

Since the program was not actually in operation when we visited, records of eighteen randomly drawn clients out of approximately ninety served in fiscal year 1979-80 were surveyed. Of the seventeen males and one female selected, nine were white, nine were black, and the average age was 15.8. Out of the eighty-five clients served the first year, forty-five were white, forty were black, twenty-five were female, and the average age was also 15.8.

A review of the randomly drawn records indicated the following reasons for referral: one offender with attempted robbery and battery; two offenders each having a breaking-and-entering charge; one with strong arm robbery; one with shoplifting and a violation of community control; two offenders each having a burglary; one with grand

theft; one with petty larceny and aggravated assault; one offender with two charges of breaking and entering, petty theft, loitering, and resisting arrest; one with attempted petty theft and strong arm robbery; one with violation of probation; one with possession of drugs and burglary; two offenders each having a violation of community control; one with petty theft and strong arm robbery; one with three burglaries; and one with two burglaries and trespassing.

The offense histories, for the most part, reflected a large number of previous delinquency charges. Only four of the cases had less than five, and the overall average number of priors was 8.2. Most were property crimes, although battery charges and aggravated assaults were among the previous charges for seven of the eighteen cases.

Program Services

The average length of time in VAP for eighty-five participants during the first year of operation was 144 days. During this time clients are involved in three basic components: alternative education, job development, and counseling. The vast majority of VAP's students attend the in-house school. Several students attended the local vocational technical institute, some worked full time and came to the program for counseling, and still others worked and attended some other adult educational program while coming to VAP for counseling.

During the second year the in-house school served sixty-eight of ninety-four VAP students. The school provided instruction for three categories of achievement: basic education up to eighth grade, intermediate (pre-GED), and GED prep. VAP clients attended classes with students from the other JSP programs, although much of the schooling was oriented more toward individualized learning modules than group instruction. Group classes, however, were held in consumer education and black history and culture. Every student was tested for academic level upon entry, and almost all were well below average; perhaps 20 percent had actual learning disabilities. There was some use of teaching machines as a way to arouse interest. Instructors claimed that some students worked quite well with the machines which could be used to reinforce materials already introduced by a teacher. These machines were a valuable source of variety in the course of the school day.

Common subjects taught were reading and mathematics, although whatever else the public school system required for promotion could be provided. This included recreation which could be put towards credits needed for physical education requirements. The school also ran a self-expression group which might involve dramatic presentations, filmstrips followed by discussion, writing, working on a newspaper, etc.

The school was considered an official part of the local school system, with students receiving regular credit for the subjects they took. Records specifying completed work along with a recommendation for grade placement accompanied VAP students who reentered the regular public school system. In addition, a school diploma could be obtained if the final requirements were met at the JSP school. There were two full-time teachers who closely collaborated and communicated with the counselors and program coordinator. The teachers, although paid for by the local school system, were recruited, screened, and selected by JSP's executive director.

A token economy system, utilized primarily by the teachers, was instituted in the fall of 1979. Points were awarded to students for exhibiting positive behavior in school-related activities and groups. Early in the operation of the program, accrued points could be used to earn the privilege of leaving early. Later, however, it was decided this practice was unfortunately reinforcing the idea that the program was a place students would prefer not to be. In this sense, the program was promoting (or literally rewarding) the notion that the services and guidance provided represented a burden to the client rather than a valuable resource.

Consequently, the system was changed. Points were subsequently used in an auction which involved bidding for goods donated by local department stores and businesses (e.g., sporting goods, playing cards, albums, tee shirts, concert tickets). The point card was made to look like a checkbook which required balancing as points were used to make purchases. In this way, students became accustomed to using basic math in keeping track of point balances and become familiar with exactly how checkbooks at work. When items are purchased at the auction, students write out their own check for the designated amount of points bid.

There are eight categories for which points can be earned: on time to class, on time from break, respect for staff, respect for peers, working before 10:00 a.m., working after 10:00 a.m., group involvement, and bonus. An "O.K." is given one point; and "X" is given no points. The points are totaled each day and then summed over the entire week. Points not used in the weekly auction are carried over from week to week.

During the second year of program operations, group counseling sessions were run by counselors for clients on their own caseloads. These sessions occurred once or twice a week and involved the use of the peer group and peer pressure to attain an understanding about behavior, feelings, and problems. Peer interaction and coping strategies can be used by counselors as a basis for further inquiry and insight development. The group sessions also permitted more counselor contact with the fifteen to twenty-two clients on each caseload.

During the first year of operations, an intensive group-counseling approach utilizing confrontational techniques was established, particularly for more aggressive, predatory, assaultive, or defiant youngsters. Some youths were placed in the group upon entry into the program; others were brought in later for an indefinite period of time; others might be included for a one-time-only exposure. Automatically excluded were youth who were believed more emotionally unstable and fragile. In the intense group (as was also true for other groups), the facilitator would assess each student on participation (active or passive listener, contributor, disrupter, active enthusiast), peer interaction (confronter, supporter, accepts or resists feedback), response to the leader (accepting or resistant), and communication (shares feelings, can't articulate feelings, afraid to risk feelings). Youths not in the intensive group participated in one of a number of other groups which met once a week and focused on particular areas such as parent-child communication (a family group), peer interaction, and substance abuse.

The intensive group was eventually abolished. This was due, in part, to added administrative responsibilities placed on the primary worker who led the sessions, the lack of a staff person(s) to handle the role of intensive group facilitator, some negative feedback from HRS, and occasional family disapproval.

Individual counseling varied from more intensive work requiring at least three sessions a week, to moderate work involving at least two sessions a week, and minimal work usually meeting once a week. The schedule for individual counseling was initially set out in the case service plan which could be modified as needed in weekly staffings. In addition to discussing ongoing concerns and behaviors, other counseling goals were established at these staffings. These goals might include dealing with self-esteem problems, peer relationship, responses to parental supervision, drug or alcohol dependencies, coping with anger, etc. Various techniques or strategies that were used in dealing with these problem areas were ordinarily left up to individual counselors, although weekly case reviews presented regular opportunities for counselors to solicit help and advice. Acting as advocates, counselors also accompanied their clients to court and participated in all legal proceedings which arose.

Family work was initiated in more than half of the cases. It was frequently arranged at the outset as part of the case service plan. Sessions might occur at the facility or at the home; at times the executive director or deputy director might become involved. Regular contacts with the families always took place in order to present progress reports, to make inquiries, and to spot early any developing difficulties. Separate behavioral contracts regarding conduct at home were established for some of the clients, particularly younger ones. Youngsters experiencing problems in the school program were sometimes asked to take home a daily assessment report which required a parent's signature.

The job developer worked with those VAP clients who were going to be working full or part time. This might include developing skills for filling out applications, participating in interviews, and deciding what kind of job to look for. The job developer maintained an active listing of potential jobs and actually took youngsters to various locations for interviews. After job placement, the job developer continued to meet with the youth once or twice a week to monitor progress. If the job placement proved unsuccessful, the job developer would then seek out other job possibilities for the youth. Career exploration trips were also conducted for groups of youngsters.

Eligible youth were able to make use of the other job programs run by JSP such as the Youth Conservation and Community Improvement Program. This program placed clients in union apprenticeship positions and on construction jobs. JSP also ran a job-development workshop. This CETA-supported program paid for youth to attend the JSP school and a two-week workshop emphasizing career exploration, preparation, and development. Vocational, aptitude, and interest tests were administered and used to determine individual client's strengths and inclinations. Use is made of audiovisual equipment and role playing in order to practice and sharpen skills.

In order to finish VAP successfully, the students had to work with their counselor in developing an aftercare plan. This involved either enrollment in public school, placement in jobs, some combination of the two, or entry into a vocational or adult educational program. Thirty days after termination, the counselors did a check on each of their clients. This contact typically involved a call to the home to see whether any other law violations had occurred, to determine if the youth was still residing at home, and to discover what the youngster was doing with his time. These follow-ups, largely initiated for the purpose of evaluation, occurred three months, six months, and one year after graduation. Ordinarily, once a youth completed the program, HRS no

longer exercised legal authority, although in a few cases the youth might remain on probationary status.

Staffing Patterns

Since VAP was not in operation at the time of our visit, the staff information obtained reflects a situation in which personnel may not have occupied the stated position for the duration of the program's existence. Therefore, the data presented tends to overstate the number of workers employed in the program at a single point in time. Over the course of the two years VAP operated, a total of seven persons staffed the program. Included in this number were those who changed or terminated positions. There were two white male counselors and one black female counselor, all holding Bachelor's degrees and ranging in age from 28 to 32. One of these male counselors had been the job developer before a young black woman took the position. Two persons held the position of screener; both were white high school graduates. The executive director who has been at the agency for six years is a 45-year-old white male with a Ph.D. in psychology.

A number of the staff work at VAP at no direct cost to the program. Included are a black male program coordinator/deputy director with a Master's degree in counseling and two white female teachers with Master's and Bachelor's degrees respectively. Other JSP staff involved were the vocational coordinator for the job-development workshop and those individuals working with YCCIP, YETP, and the Circle of Concern program (medical, dental, optical, and food provision).

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