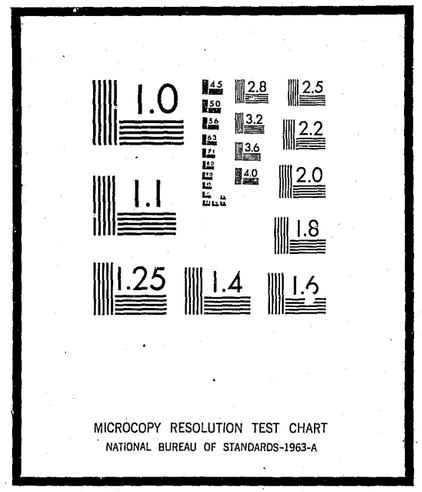

Development Studies Report No. 9
September 1974

ORGANIZING FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project

a Youth Authority
on & Community Corrections Branch
of Program Development

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ORGANIZING FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project
A Second-year Report

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California Youth Authority
Prevention & Community Corrections Branch
Division of Program Development

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PROJECT DIRECTORS

The Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project has had two statewide directors during the program's history: Richard Tillson and, later, William Price. At the local programs the directors have been James Embree and, later, Webster Williams at Toliver (Oakland); co-directors Enrique Aguilar and Eugene Reyes at La Colonia (Oxnard); and Lyndsay Brown at Del Paso Heights (Sacramento).

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TOWARD RATIONAL MODEL-BUILDING FOR YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

This second-year research overview of California's Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project examines a new approach to rational problem-solving in communities. It describes a State effort--hardly perfected--to design and initiate model programs for youth from a unique vantage point--that of invited community broker.

Youth problems, in large measure, are social and institutional phenomena. Practical solutions, moreover, must often reach across community subsystems. Yet until now, plans and programs have invariably arisen from one or another corner of the community. Whether implemented through a police program or a "resident" program, for instance, designs for action have rarely involved other sectors in real sharing of concepts and work. Efforts have been fragmented, designs one-sided.

This analysis points to the promise of action design and model development as a brokerage function. No matter the specific model to be developed, the community "broker" would seem well situated to build bridges between community subsystems and for youth interests. The function would produce a "start-up" process in a community--but also provide an increment of knowledge for further application. Over-

simplified, the notion suggests knowledge-building as part of a "third-party" effort to help a total community work together for its youth and future.

The perspective derives from a Youth Authority demonstration program barely two years old. If inferences seem overdrawn, if "potential" seems the cornerstone of this analysis, bear in mind that significant changes in complex communities are rarely produced in quick thrusts. No matter the organizational need for immediate "outcome" data, the realities often change slowly.

The Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention (YD/DP) Project, pioneered by the Youth Authority in cooperation with specific local communities, demonstrates (1) several models for comprehensive delivery of youth services and mobilization of resources, and (2) a systems model for promoting youth-program linkage statewide. Established in July 1972, the program is aimed at reducing youth crime and delinquency, diverting appropriate youth from the justice system into alternate programs and opportunities, providing acceptable and meaningful roles for youth, reducing negative labeling of youth, and reducing youth-adult alienation.

The resources brought to bear include formal agencies, community groups, indigenous community residents, and youth

themselves. The emphasis is on developing youth opportunities and roles likely to provide deeper commitment to nondelinquent behavior.

Within an integrated (if small) umbrella system of YD/DP programs, several models will eventually be developed, each geared to its unique community setting. The first model, based at Toliver Community Center in NW Oakland, focuses on a black-ghetto target area. The second model serves La Colonia, an impoverished barrio of Oxnard. The third model is under development in the Del Paso Heights area of Sacramento.

An Evolving Frame of Reference

The models have thus far been grounded largely in sketchy ideas about delinquency. Strategies imply systematic understanding, recognized or not, and better specification of propositions underlying action would seem warranted. A certain loose understanding, however, is shared throughout the YD/DP Project despite some disagreements over details and implications.

In general, the project has looked beyond the individual for its focus--or has at least attempted to consider the individual in a social or institutional context. National experience and research indicate that simple direct-service casework fails to respond to delinquency as a patterned social problem. It is not enough, according to the evidence, to locate pathology only in individual delinquents or to assume that the social problem of delinquency distills simply to a random scattering of disturbed or "uncommitted" adolescents.

Despite our good intentions, key social institutions themselves--family, education, work, etc.--operate to deny many youth socially acceptable, responsible, and personally gratifying roles. Youth services and resources are likewise often fragmented and disconnected.

The YD/DP Project has assumed for its most general rationale, then, that delinquent behavior is caused or reinforced by exclusion of youth from the roles which integrate young people into social institutions. This view is also a central assumption in the "national strategy" of Office of Youth Development, HEW.

Still, the project operates more from idiom and loose understandings than from tightly reasoned strategy. In the first place, the state of knowledge makes finely-tuned tactics impossible. The "data" are hardly susceptible to handy engineering uses.

But, in addition, as described in earlier reports, the YD/DP Project is not without a certain degree of confusion about goals themselves.[1] For many staff at all levels (according to questionnaire and interview data), delinquency prevention is taken to be a by-product of a broad and rather unspecified "youth development." For many, reduced target-area delinquency is a long-range goal attainable only through slow progress in

[1]Doug Knight, Howard Lockard, and Ellen Goldblatt, Early Development at Toliver Community Center, Development Studies Report No. 4, California Youth Authority, April 1973. Similarly, a recent national study of Office of Youth Development-funded projects concludes that "project directors, with some exceptions, have not made serious attempts to teach the principles of the [national] strategy to their own staffs let alone to youth service system personnel in general. This represents a serious oversight. . . ." National Evaluation of Youth Service Systems, Final Report, Boulder, Colorado, Behavioral Research and Evaluation Corporation, July, 1974. A particular "national strategy" aside, it would seem that the problem raised here is fundamental and widespread.

opening a variety of opportunities to youth.

In the meantime, some staff suggest, basic issues of youth development ought to be addressed even if immediate implications for delinquency can't be assumed.[2] (Example targets: deprived children who are very young; badly malnourished children and youth of any age; community institutions themselves.) At the same time, other staff view much of their daily activity in relation to immediate issues of delinquency and the justice system.

The connection between the nature of the problem and the nature of the solution thus remains to be specified. In the leap to action, spurred often by funding or other bureaucratic pressures, the connection between "why" and "what" is often short-circuited, or at best drawn hastily. As Irving Spergel has written about delinquency-prevention programs, ". . . particularistic access to resources appears to determine the connection between the problem and the program."[3]

In short, those loose understandings shared by staff, while very real, do not yet form a solid and coherent basis for action--and organizational exigencies often fill the

[2]The notion is akin to Edwin Schur's conclusion that "some of the most valuable policies for dealing with delinquency are not necessarily those designated as delinquency policies." Edwin M. Schur, Radical Nonintervention; Rethinking the Delinquency Problem, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1973, p. 167.

[3]Irving A. Spergel, "Community-based Delinquency-Prevention Programs: An Overview," Social Service Review, 47:16-31, March, 1973, p. 19.

void.[4] Goals and means continue to shift and at times seem virtually interchangeable. When asked in a questionnaire for their perception of program goals, for instance, staff responded with a considerable range of emphasis, as this sampling shows:

> To lessen the flow of our disadvantaged youth into the criminal justice system.
>
> Establish a relationship with the community making them aware of services available--our services as well as services of outside agencies.
>
> Providing the services that the community asks for, if feasible.
>
> To prevent delinquency and to help. . . communities.
>
> . . . To help those who cannot help themselves. . . . To aid them to help themselves.
>
> To help improve the lives of as many people as we can in the target area.
>
> To improve the quality of life in the target area. To divert youngsters from and to reduce penetration into the criminal justice system.

[4] The issue is reminiscent of Peter Drucker's description of management decision-making (Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices, New York, Harper & Row, 1973). Decision-making, he says, too often focuses on the "right answer" rather than on "understanding the problem." Drucker laments the prevailing underemphasis on defining the question, i.e., on probing the nature of the problem itself. We should concentrate on finding out "what the decision is really about, not what the decision should be," Drucker argues.

In the same way, it might be asked, shouldn't delinquency prevention efforts follow assumptions and guidelines as specific as flexibility for change, diversity of approach, and knowledge about the problem allow? Not to specify a basis for action, it would seem, is to invite piecemeal programs of convenience and funding expedience. The importance and meaning of delinquency prevention relative to other youth-program goals might also be made more clear in project planning.

> Curtail delinquency. . . Provide for a better life. . .
>
> Delinquency prevention. Testing feasibility of a comprehensive system of service delivery in an inner city.
>
> Serving the long-range and immediate needs of the. . . community. Personal and close contact with the people. . .
>
> Building a better community to prevent crime in our target areas.
>
> Prevention of delinquency. Assisting the community with various problems. Making it possible for minors and adults to attend school.
>
> To better the living conditions of residents.
>
> Improving quality of life for youth and families. . .
>
> Preventing delinquency.
>
> To offer those services that the community decides it needs. To be a sounding board for changes.
>
> Community organization--developing the community's ability to help itself. Helping people receive services. . . Creating services that don't exist--and getting community people to run them.

But the clarity of problems, goals, and means is a matter of degree. Although moving in jags and starts, the YD/DP Project has evolved its conceptions and experiences to a point of some general agreement worthy of description.

The matter of emphasis, of short- vs. long-range solutions is far from settled. And clearly youth development for humanitarian sake alone has value for all project staff. Nevertheless, as pertaining to delinquency, it would seem useful to describe a best approximation of the dominant assumptions of

project staff in late 1974. A sensitizing framework can be outlined which not only reflects a synthesis of theory and research--but which also seems to capture the essentials of the YD/DP Project's "loose understandings."

The purpose in this section is to outline an evolving framework for prevention that appears to express the common denominator of these "project understandings." No tidy consensus is implied, nor is the outline meant to be more than a sensitizing frame of reference. But if a first priority is the sharpening of guiding assumptions about delinquency as a community problem, then a tentative statement of the project's orientation might advance that purpose.

Concepts presented here take the form of what some sociologists call "primitive terms." That is, they are "basic concepts" likely to produce definitions of useful precision.

This tentative framework, then, includes five empirically-derived propositions about delinquency cause which also seem to undergird the YD/DP Project's orientation to delinquency prevention:

I. Delinquency doesn't exist without social definitions of rule-breaking sanctioned by potential or actual legal processing.	• Delinquency Requires Social Definitions, Political Decisions

Delinquent behaviors (and "status offenses") are always partly the result of applied definitions constructed in a politically

organized society. Thus, "causes" of youth behavior are only one aspect of the delinquency problem. Public definitions filter through social control agencies, which in turn produce rates of events as organizational accomplishments.[5] In sum:

> Delinquency is usually thought to be a behavioral problem belonging to a young person. To a degree, it is just that. It may be useful to recognize it as also being a political phenomenon belonging to the community: By political, we mean having to do with the decision processes of the community.
>
> . . . Strictly speaking, a delinquent act is a specific behavior adjudged [or which could be adjudged] by a duly appointed judicial officer in a court of law to be in violation of the laws of the community, state, or nation. To begin with, the way the laws are written provides the framework within which young people get funnelled into the court process. In most states the lip of the funnel is so wide that almost any youth might slip into it. Narrowing the scope of the juvenile court's jurisdiction is one approach to controlling delinquency.
>
> Many people other than judges make decisions that determine the number of youth who get processed through juvenile courts. The screening process at the police department is probably the single most important way of diverting youth into community alternatives to the court. . . .
>
> The filing policies and case flow procedures of the juvenile court determine how youth are handled and the decisions made about them. Sanctions from the community and/or the attitudes of politically appointed officials often determine the nature of these decision processes. A court and its staff in a large city can either create the need for a new custodial institution,

[5] In one of the best studies of the "negotiated" character of delinquency processing--in a sense, of the arbitrariness of it--Cicourel has shown through ethnomethodology how the practical contingencies of agency workers produce decision-structures and, ultimately, descriptive rates. Aaron V. Cicourel, The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice, New York, John Wiley, 1968.

or it can enable the closing of institutions through its efforts to find community alternatives. These trends are political in nature. That is, they relate to decision processes, and not necessarily to the behavior of young people.[6]

II. Most youth commit delinquent acts. Much delinquency is thus produced within "normal" patterns of behavior.	• "The Delinquent" Is Not a Clear and Different Type

"Self-report" studies demonstrate that most youth at one time or another engage in rule-breaking behavior for which legal processes could be invoked. In short, "normal" youth of all backgrounds produce a considerable volume of delinquent behavior.

The ascribed status "delinquent" is thus not a category defined by intrinsic qualities in the sense, e.g., of medical classification. The status is fuzzy. It always involves social definitions (Proposition I), but it also involves rule-breaking behavior which occurs only intermittently, or occasionally--not continually. Delinquents don't spend most of their time violating laws, and most nondelinquents are not free of law violations. "Self-report" studies reveal considerable overlap; misconduct is a matter of degree and frequency. Static conceptions of "the delinquent" fail to recognize the fluid processes and fluctuating potentials of growing up in modern society.

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[6]Editorial, NCCD Soundings on Youth, National Center for Youth Development of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1:No. 3, May-June, 1974. Emphasis added.

III. Patterns of behavior which produce serious or repetitive delinquency result from the breakdown of social ties--the social bond--between youth and conventional society.[7]	• Serious Delinquent Behavior Results From Weak Ties to Society

Important ties between the individual and society provide a stake in a particular kind of life, a vested interest in a life framework that binds the individual more or less to "legitimate" behavior. But when ties to socializing influences break down and stake in conventional behavior is sufficiently diminished, then young people are effectively "set free" to respond to influences that most youth pass by (or even fail to encounter with any frequency). The ties to conventional society weaken for youth who do not experience acceptable, responsible, and gratifying roles and relationships with conventional institutions and people.

But the ties between youth and society are two-way connections. Is it enough to look to the personal problems of individual youth to explain the weakening of the bond?

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[7]Propositions III, IV, and V are intended to explain systematic and patterned delinquent behavior at its most general conceptualization--yet with enough specificity to yield an orientation to prevention (and even a broad strategy). Important details and sub-issues, it is suggested, can be situated within the framework.

This translation of project idiom into a general frame of reference borrows from a number of sociologists, several of whom lean toward "social control" accounts of delinquent behavior. Though not individually cited here, sociologists whose work has especially influenced aspects of this material include: Richard Ball, Scott Briar, Albert Cohen, LaMar Empey, Martin Gold, Travis Hirschi, Solomon Kobrin, John Martin, David Matza, F. Ivan Nye, Irving Piliavin, Kenneth Polk, Walter Reckless, Albert Reiss, Chester F. Roberts, Jr., Hyman Rodman, Edwin Schur, and Jackson Toby.

IV. That breakdown of the bond to society has two major components: (1) personal controls of the individual (commitment to conformity), and (2) features of social institutions--family, education, work, etc.--which establish the key conditions for the attachment of young people to society.	• Weak Ties Are Revealed in Individual Motives--But Are Patterned by Institutional Processes

A youth who commits a delinquent act is at least situationally freed from the usual moral ties to conventional rules. Commitment to conformity is at least temporarily neutralized.

On the other hand, relatively enduring commitment to conformity depends on the intensity and quality of a youth's integration with social institutions. In those ties lie the social rewards which sustain conventional socialization and yield stakes in conventional behavior.

We may look to the motivations and personal controls of individuals to explain specific acts. But to account for the patterned distribution of acts, for the patterned social problem of delinquency, we must examine the way institutions themselves operate to constrain some youth and disengage others.

Although we may emphasize the pushes and pulls of a youth's "operating milieu" (the natural world he roams in--consisting of parents, friends, school, work, playground, street, agency offices, etc.), the milieu is also shaped heavily by patterned institutional processes.

Thus, the social roles made available by institutions strongly determine whether a youth develops an effective stake in "legitimacy." While some delinquents may be reacting to various personal and social strains, and others may simply be "freed from" or uncommitted to conventional social institutions--and perhaps behaving "subculturally" in situations of deviant opportunity--the common denominator is the effective "freeing" of youth from legitimate relationships and social institutions. For many youth, socially patterned access to legitimate identity and opportunity has simply been insufficient to enmesh them in styles of life and lines of activity likely to keep them within the law.

Where young persons have no access to satisfaction and status through nondeviant life styles, commitment to legal conformity is unlikely to flourish. Youth who are cut off from on-going legitimate achievement of a sense of satisfaction, those who face barriers to legitimate identity and opportunity, must either deal with continual anticipation of failure or free themselves to some degree from the constraint of conventional approaches to conventional goals. "Marginal" life styles, whether they prescribe delinquent behavior or merely permit it situationally, function to provide alternate routes to short-run dignity and competence. For many young people, satisfying life experiences, however tenuous, are wherever they are able to find them.

Some repetitive delinquents may be neurotic, some angry, some normal; but they have in common a weakened commitment to conformity. Already "free" from the binding rewards of institutional roles, they are relatively open to situational inducements.

V. Weak commitment to conformity is translated into delinquent acts because of situational opportunities and inducements.

• Situations Convert Weak Ties to Delinquent Acts

Weak ties to conventional norms, weak commitment to conformity, do not inevitably produce delinquent acts. When internal and external constraints are weak, however, the probability increases that young people will act on motives to deviate. Such motives typically arise within short-lived situations.

This is not to deny that some "uncommitted" youth seek out crime opportunities or that youth without "normal" attachments are more likely to encounter high-risk situations with some frequency. The point, however, is that situations confront youth with a variety of opportunities, inducements, pressures, and temptations. And as Kurt Lewin has put it, "The behavior of a person depends above all upon his momentary position." Only part of that position is his stake in conformity.

Some tempting inducements no doubt overcome rather strong commitments to conformity. In such instances, the release from

moral constraint is itself brief and situational. But the outcome is probabilistic. Weakened commitment to conformity--low stake--is converted to a delinquent act because of the exigencies of short-term, situationally-induced desires and fleeting possibilities.

Furthermore, beyond these dynamics, many delinquent acts are committed because they are comparatively easy to accomplish, often with a minimum of risk.

An Evolving Strategy

There is clearly a gap between even the "loose understandings" of project staff and project activities. The translation of ideas to action is imperfect, especially where ideas and conversational meanings are imprecise and free to shift. The distinction, for instance, even between "institutional change" and "casework" can be surprisingly fuzzy.[8]

Yet if the tentative framework already described has any validity, a description of strategy implications would also seem worthwhile. Again, these are idealizations, discussed in varying terms by various project staff--sometimes explicitly, sometimes not.

The project's "understandings" about delinquency have at least yielded a direction and a philosophy of action. As related to delinquency, the YD/DP Project strategy could in concept be described in terms of three general kinds of intended results:

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[8] The conceptual problem is hardly unique to the YD/DP Project. See, for example, Alfred J. Kahn, "From Delinquency Treatment to Community Development," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and others, The Uses of Sociology, New York, Basic Books, 1967.

I. Developing public understanding and tolerance of the "growing-up problems" and diversity of youth.

II. Strengthening attachment of young people to society by enhancing the community's capacity to provide participating stake in societal institutions.

III. Promoting a reduction in situational inducements and opportunities for crime and delinquency.

In one sense, and in very general terms, Part I of the evolving strategy emphasizes programs and policies to diminish negative reactions to youth, whereas Part II highlights the affirmative building of healthy societal institutions to socialize the young. Part III emphasizes the need to reduce situational inducements to crime and delinquency.

Part I asks that we curtail programs and processes that degrade youth. It calls for repudiating the notion that delinquents are basically different, for accommodating--especially legally--the widest possible span of youthful conduct, and for limiting reactions to youth which mainly debase, exclude, or lock out. Program elements which aim at diverting youth from the justice system are one example of a Part I tactic.

Part II suggests that avoiding negative reactions to youth is not enough. If the sense of personal stake, of something to be gained or lost, is indeed at the heart of legal conformity, then it is also not enough merely to build the efficient

"service-delivery system." More affirmatively, we must ameliorate conditions of life that weaken the bond between youth and society. Part II looks to helping communities provide stake in legal conformity for greater numbers of youth. At issue is not simply the community's capacity to react with casework--but the capacity to integrate more youth into the important role structures of community life. Broadly conceived, the aim is to expand opportunities for success experience in the institutional arenas that really count. The focus is on involving youth and the community in reforming institutional and system processes which hinder youth access to mainstream opportunity.

Part III indicates that the importance of situational opportunities be considered. That numbers of youth will remain uncommitted to conformity is inevitable. Since much delinquent behavior is actuated or made easier by situations themselves, prevention methods might well include urban planning and design, weapon control, target-hardening, various innovations in environmental engineering, planning for peer-group influence, etc.

As the YD/DP Project has unfolded, some of these concerns have been addressed, although others await new models in different communities. Future designs might well invoke more specific propositions regarding goals, means, and demonstration variables. But the first models are clear enough in their

general approach. Organized on the assumption that many youth problems are compounded by unresponsive social institutions, they are designed to link up community resources for youth, while fostering youth access to institutional roles which impart feelings of competence, meaningfulness, belongingness, and self-potency. Foremost among program components is a youth advocacy function featuring youngsters, staff, and local adults working in concert for youth interests along a variety of fronts.

The First Two Models: NW Oakland and La Colonia (Oxnard)

The Toliver model of NW Oakland has sought to build a lasting network of youth services in a black ghetto dominated by social problems. Oakland itself shows the seventh highest rate of reported crime of some 400 American cities over 50,000 population (Uniform Crime Reports, FBI). In turn, at least by official count, the crime problem is most severe among youth in Oakland ghettos.

Educational problems are likewise severe. A high school in the heart of the target area produces a median 12th-grade reading score of 6.1 compared to the California median of 11.4. That the drop-out rate is also high is not surprising. Youth are cycled away from an effective stake in school life at an early age. Poverty and unemployment are a main feature of life. In the large area adjacent to Toliver Center itself,

over 80% of families with children are on welfare. Hundreds of youth are veritably forced into the street life of West Oakland. The target area itself has a population of nearly 50,000.

The Toliver design has called for development of a system of resources, partly keyed to progressive police-diversion policies. The object is to establish routes to youth opportunity, as well as an integrated network of services and resources which can remain in place as a result of development work by YD/DP Project staff. An ultimate criterion, for instance, will be the "turnover" of police-referral casework to responsible local residents gradually integrated into the process.

The La Colonia (Oxnard) model, a little over one year old, has aimed at better integrating a barrio of Oxnard into the mainstream and opportunity structure of community life. The pivotal mechanism--a community board--has been designed as a link pin between a neighborhood block organization of La Colonia and the larger resources and community of Oxnard. A better balance of power has also been sought between the young people of the barrio and the myriad authorities who, in effect, have been gatekeepers to youth opportunity in the city.

The La Colonia barrio, about 15,000 population, has historically been victimized by extreme poverty, segregation, and a high rate of delinquency and youth crime. The drug problem among La Colonia youth has proven especially serious. The school drop-out problem

is immense. The median school attainment of La Colonia adults is a startling 5.1 school years, and one in three 16- and 17-year-olds in the barrio is not in school. County planning documents note that the unemployment rate of La Colonia workers "has recently soared as high as 40 percent." For young people in such communities, the worlds of school and work hold more despair than opportunity.

THE SECOND YEAR

In general the ongoing work of the YD/DP Project has produced achievements along two major dimensions. In the first place, as a micro-model of statewide leadership and coordination, the YD/DP operation tends to bear out the usefulness of such a statewide function. In addition, the initial target communities have themselves profited from the joint endeavor in line with project aims. In a sense, then, two kinds of YD/DP Project results can be conceptualized. First, process, or systems development, achievements reflect strategic development--the building of self-maintaining community problem-solving structures, the establishment of fruitful relationships among local agencies and groups, the enhancement of indigenous leadership and wider participation in youth and community affairs, and the creation of new capacities for future youth development. Second, task achievements include the more immediate and delimited achievement of the system tasks, such as provision of needed services, increased youth access to important social roles, and reduction of delinquency.

The Umbrella System: The Joint Delinquency Prevention Board and the Alliance of Communities

A statewide (if limited) Joint Delinquency Prevention Board has been developed to connect organizations, government agencies,

and local citizens (1) to each other, and (2) to new ideas, plans, and resources. A new legal entity, this policy board subfunds (and otherwise assists) local community programming and is a crucial conduit for local input to statewide planning. Above all, the Board has forged useful linkages--partnerships for youth development where before there was fragmented effort, duplication, a degree of competition, and inadequate access to resources. A central YD/DP Project staff has directed and supported the local efforts, tying the Joint Board and its policies to the target communities. The central staff has provided program administration, community-organization liaison, and research/evaluation.

Both of the ongoing local operations--at Oakland and Oxnard--have been jointly funded, and the Sacramento (Del Paso Heights) program is scheduled for joint funding. Through that mechanism, scattered local organizations and agencies have been encouraged to work together in fashioning a common pipeline of resources. The overall YD/DP Project effort is currently funded by Youth Authority, California's Office of Criminal Justice Planning, and the Office of Youth Development. City, county, and private resources have also been obtained.

Binding the several local programs within a single, supportive, shared operation, then, is the statewide Joint Delinquency Prevention Board. The Joint Board, linking state and local jurisdictions through a "joint powers agreement," was

established in August 1973. It serves three main functions: (1) to provide policy guidance and advisory assistance to the program, (2) to elicit local resident input to the comprehensive statewide planning effort, and (3) to secure maximum funds from sources consistent with program objectives--and with more efficiency than otherwise possible. By mobilizing combined power and resources, local programs have access to more money (for subfunding local proposals), to statewide planning, to advisory assistance, and to cross-fertilization of ideas and methods. Moreover, a new action role (guided by YD/DP aims) is now available to local county delinquency prevention commissions.

Represented in the present joint powers agreement are the State of California (Department of the Youth Authority), two members plus the Director of the Youth Authority as an ex-officio member; Alameda County, represented by the Delinquency Prevention Commission (two members) and the Alameda County Chief Probation Officer as an ex-officio member; Ventura County, represented by the Ventura County Delinquency Prevention Commission (two members) plus the Ventura County Chief Probation Officer as an ex-officio member. The agreement provides for adding Del Paso Heights, Sacramento representation.

The Joint Board subfunding process, one key to the resources link-up, typically begins in the local program community. An individual, community group, or agency develops an idea for youth development and delinquency prevention. This idea is then elaborated

as a proposal and submitted through the County Delinquency Prevention Commission to the Joint Board for funding. (Local YD/DP Project staff, as needed, help shape ideas and provide technical assistance.) The process also gives "self-help" fund-raising experience to local groups and leaders.

So far, the Joint Board has funded a job training and development program in West Oakland; a general service program consisting of tutorial, emergency food, child care, and general counseling services in West Oakland; Pop Warner football and Sea Scout programs in Oakland; a preschool/day-care program in La Colonia; a La Colonia Girls' Drill Team; a Substance Abuse program in La Colonia; and a "Food Pantry" program in La Colonia.

A separate legal entity, the Joint Board is also empowered to contract with individuals or groups to supplement existing programs in the target areas.

Clearly, the early development and success of the Joint Board were the major statewide systems-linkage achievements of Fiscal Year 1973-1974. As the project newsletter declared in a 1973 editorial by Jack Fandrem Robberson:

> Now that the Board is a fact, the potential which the idea originally seemed to hold appears a little less as mere potential and a little more like a possible reality. For the first time a mechanism exists in California which could make for delinquency prevention and youth development planning at the State level. The State-level planning could draw input from county level (DP Commissions) which in turn could draw planning input from the community level through the community boards in the community programs. There could (and in fact must) be citizen participation at all three levels.
>
> Looking at a different dimension, if several (3? 50?) county DP Commissions through the Board pooled its lobbying efforts in the legislature new possibilities in terms of commitment of resources beyond the limited federal grants come into view--e.g., revenue sharing and legislative appropriation. Doing it this way to keep kids away from the correctional system makes so much human sense.

The central YD/DP Project staff team binds the Joint Board and its policies to the target communities. As the central administrative unit, the team facilitates development of local programs and, through its director, retains responsibility for the system-wide operation.

In coordinating that system, the central operation has been able to (1) stimulate local interest in programs for reducing delinquency and (2) initiate some consolidation of administrative/planning, fiscal, and service-delivery functions. As a result, the Joint Board now brings together communities, counties, and the state to plan for youth development and delinquency prevention in target areas. Despite the still immense room for improvement, a new context for action would indeed seem at hand.

By developing integrated linkages, the central project has thus provided early evidence of the efficacy of (1) total system joint planning, (2) joint budgeting, (3) joint funding, (4) funds transfer as needs change, (5) centralized personnel practices, (6) joint use of staff, (7) purchase of service, (8) joint

development of operating policies, (9) joint development of program solutions in relation to resources, (10) information-sharing and record-keeping, (11) joint evaluation, and (12) central support services, including the management of grants.

For the first time in California, then, a model system--albeit rudimentary--offers a general approach to statewide delinquency prevention planning and youth-program linkage. The feasibility is increasingly borne out that statewide planning can elicit input from county prevention commissions, which in turn can link up with local agencies and boards. Citizen and agency participation through all three levels can stimulate concern, thoughtful action, and continuity of effort. Vital information--problems, goals, data, and plans--is communicated with reasonable speed and shared purpose. The sheer efficiency of coordination is no small gain.

The central administrative team continues to develop the comprehensive model by planning the further elaboration of the YD/DP system as a whole and facilitating the planning and development of the program in each community; by seeking the funding resources required; by determining the use of available resources for systems development; by carrying out the community organization work with top administrators at the federal, state, county and city agency level; by coordinating the operation of a statewide youth service system; by evaluating system process and impact; by providing technical assistance to the community programs; by serving as staff to the Joint Delinquency Prevention Board; and by

maintaining administrative responsibility to the Youth Authority through its Prevention and Community Corrections Branch.

A New Role in Locality Development: The Model Builder As Strategist-Community Broker

It also appears the Youth Authority and its community staff occupy a unique vantage point in initiating model development. As community brokers in a "start-up" process, such staff seem well situated to build bridges between community subsystems. In the Toliver program, for instance, Youth Authority staff have helped Oakland Police implement progressive diversion practices while simultaneously working with groups hardly known for their support of police. La Colonia staff were the impetus behind creation of an independent Inter-Agency Council of human service agencies for better coordination of citywide resources and also achieved La Colonia representation on that council--something of a first in local relations.

Despite situations of conflict, the YD/DP Project developer seems in good position to maintain a goal-directed strategy. This is not to suggest that the developer's work has amounted merely to comfortable and unbiased mediation. Youth Authority community developers have not been disinterested third parties. They must take stances--and they have. Moreover, in reality, such staff have often worked from one corner of a bargaining triangle, having their own agenda, power concerns, tactics, biases, and organizational needs. Thus, though "well situated," the role is inevitably dynamic

and complex. Yet the most impressive work of these staff has occurred in those complex situations, in the delicate maneuvering required to harness organizational/citizen-group conflict in line with strategy.

The useful vantage point of YD/DP staff, then, has yielded up the most important challenge as well: helping to reconcile people and organizations driven apart by routines of self-interest. Police and marginal youth, for instance, often define their entanglements in ways unlikely to produce any outcome except an unrelenting cycle of hostility. Despite personal biases of the systems developers, the saving grace has typically been the structured role of "self-aware outsider" coupled with a guiding master strategy.

In its most fundamental conceptualization, the method has involved both (1) helping indigenous people acquire skills, resources, and decision-making influence; and (2) prompting agencies, businesses, or other more powerful factions of the community to participate in this "coming together" to meet youth needs. Such systems development, then, can be seen as a "start-up" process--in one sense a unique "third-party" effort to help a total community begin working together for its children and future. Early achievements and the accumulation of learning experiences augur for a new vision of youth development and delinquency prevention in California. Still in its early stages the program has seemingly laid the foundation for new spheres of cooperation between citizens,

communities, and levels of government in mobilizing for youth development.

The Toliver Model in NW Oakland/Building a Network of Services in an Alienated Community

In the NW Oakland impact area, the hub of the resource system remains the Toliver community youth center. The center has been home base for the community-development operation (aimed at agencies and indigenous groups) as well as intake referral, crisis intervention, casework, group work, accredited alternative schooling, preschool programming, recreation, and other services.

The Toliver operation began July 1972, and its early development has been described in a first-year progress report.[9]

Despite a "Community and Youth Development Section" in the Toliver nomenclature and administrative structure, the community-development function has been construed as program-wide and not neatly separated from direct-service activities. The evolved action plan has called for a self-conscious use of the service function (1) to locate broader development needs, and (2) to parlay "service" issues into community development objectives.

More than a year ago the internal research feedback-into-planning at Toliver called for "new tactics. . . to foster community

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[9] Doug Knight, Howard Lockard, and Ellen Goldblatt, Early Development at Toliver Community Center, Development Studies Report No. 4, California Youth Authority, April, 1973.

organization activities aimed at influencing larger systems and social institutions or at mobilizing indigenous groups to plan and act on their own behalf." In the early unfolding of program, service activities seemed case- and place-bound. Later months, however, were marked by significant change, no hollow achievement given the strain that typically accompanies such transition. Clearly, the most visible change in Fiscal Year 1973-74 was Toliver's growing capacity to trace its line of cases back into the community, to the sources and potential remedies of some of the problems--and to involve other agencies and groups in its efforts. Justice-system (and other) agencies and indigenous groups alike were drawn into the work.

Target-area Delinquency Change. Various data may well reflect the wider scope of activities, although certainly the delinquency data are difficult to interpret. As Table 1 illustrates, this very first target area of Youth Authority's youth development/delinquency prevention effort has been witness to an 18% decline in official delinquency contacts. The target-area reduction was 27% for girls, 16% for boys. For boys and girls alike, the sharpest change was observed among the more serious offenses.

On the other hand, it is hardly automatic that the program caused that decline. A black-ghetto comparison area in East Oakland, selected and described early last year, produced a 10% decline in such delinquency contacts for the same time periods. Unfortunately, an attempt at ex post facto matching of census

TABLE 1

OFFICIAL DELINQUENCY CONTACTS BY
OAKLAND POLICE, TOLIVER TARGET AREA

Second Half of 1972
Vs.
Second Half of 1973

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Delinquency Offenses			Status Offenses	Total	Delinquency Offenses			Status Offenses	Total
	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV	
July - December 1972	92	89	50	41	272	6	5	16	52	79
July - December 1973	77	74	40	38	229	6	0	10	42	58
% Decline	-16%	-17%	-20%	-7%	-16%	NC	-100%	-38%	-19%	-27%

NOTE: "Delinquency contacts" include arrest, notices to appear, other citations, and reprimand/releases. Offense categories are numbered in general order of severity (with I most severe), according to Office of Youth Development, HEW, definitions.

tracts, target area vs. comparison area, was abandoned as invalid. Substantial economic and other differences between areas (including delinquency rates themselves), considered with the relationship between those other variables and the delinquency measure, forced to a halt an effort to statistically adjust for area differences through analysis of covariance.[10] (A preliminary report that "the Toliver target area-East Oakland comparison area difference was significant, according to a Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test" was misleading for generally the same reason. The matching of census tracts was insufficient.)

On the other hand, since much of late 1972 was devoted to program development at Toliver, it should be pointed out that the timing of that "before-after" comparison would indeed seem synchronized with the program's move into high gear. Consider, for instance, that from July to December 1972 only 4 delinquency cases were referred to Toliver by Oakland justice-system agencies. During the same period of last year--following a year's program development and systems linkage--precisely 140 youth were referred by justice-system agencies.

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[10] The central problem simply couldn't be surmounted through sheer statistical control. Covariance adjustment procedures are often used for reducing bias due to the covariate even where only intact groups (here, areas) are available--where no "assignment" is possible. However, the results are likely to be misleading where intact groups and treatments (areas and presence/absence of program) occur together "naturally." See, for example, Selby H. Evans and Ernest J. Anastasio, "Misuse of Analysis of Covariance When Treatment Effect and Covariate Are Confounded," Psychological Bulletin, 69:225-234, April, 1968.

Although early 1973 (like late 1972) was devoted to development of the police-diversion system, by year's end nearly 160 youth offenders had already been diverted--referred to Toliver by the police because of Toliver's linkage with youth resources. Many referral offenses were serious; battery, theft, and robbery were among the six most common. Yet statistics from the Oakland Police agreed closely with YD/DP Project research data: less than 11% of these youth came to the attention of police for a repeat offense last year. (Since those recidivists' Toliver contacts had been distributed evenly through the one-year time span, the recidivist rate would not seem due to some artifact of "community-exposure period.")

Services, Referrals, and Community Organization. In addition to Toliver's resource development and coordination efforts with some 50 agencies and groups in Oakland, the program's own field workers worked with 932 ghetto individuals with problems during 1973. Increasingly, the spotlight fell on youth showing history of justice-system involvement. During the second half of 1973, about 64% of those 559 clients were currently or previously "justice-system-involved." In the first quarter of 1974, 79% of those 202 clients were so classified. Table 2 shows the referral source and primary presenting problem for those 1134 clients encountered from January 1973 through March 1974. The data suggest the wide-ranging youth problems addressed by Toliver workers. Table 3 shows the variety of referrals to other resources.

TABLE 2

REFERRAL SOURCE AND PRIMARY PRESENTING PROBLEM OF TOLIVER (NW OAKLAND) CLIENTS

January 1973 through March 1974

(In Percent)

Referral Source		Primary Presenting Problem	
Schools	5 (58)	School-related	12 (132)
Social Agencies	24 (266)	Drug-related	1 (15)
Family	7 (82)	Family-related	14 (161)
Friends	12 (134)	Social	9 (98)
Community Residents	7 (82)	Employment-related	11 (123)
Outreach	10 (118)	Physical Health-related	1 (8)
Self	8 (91)	Mental Health-related	2 (18)
Law Enforcement	18 (208)	Juvenile Status Offender	9 (105)
Juvenile Court Intake	0 (1)	Delinquent Offender	11 (123)
Probation/Parole	8 (86)	Emergency Needs	31 (351)
Health Agencies	1 (8)		
TOTAL	100% (1134)	TOTAL	101% (1134)

TABLE 3

REFERRALS TO OTHER AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS FROM TOLIVER PROGRAM, BY TYPE OF SERVICE OBTAINED

January 1973 through March 1974

(In Percent)

Diagnosis and Evaluation	7 (56)
Psychological Counseling	2 (12)
Social Counseling	6 (50)
Vocational Counseling	11 (82)
Educational Counseling	4 (35)
Drug-related Counseling	1 (8)
Social Casework	7 (51)
Crisis Intervention	9 (70)
Legal Assistance	3 (21)
Vocational Training	4 (29)
Job Development and Placement	10 (77)
Drug Abuse Treatment	1 (9)
Remedial Education (Incl. Tutoring)	3 (26)
Special Education (Incl. Alternative Schooling)	2 (17)
Medical Treatment	1 (6)
Recreation	1 (10)
Cultural Enrichment	6 (46)
Transportation	1 (5)
Temporary Residential Care	6 (46)
Emergency Food	15 (117)
TOTAL	100% (773)

As described in an early progress report, "few problems have been neatly resolved. . ., and often the case goal must simply be to keep the client on his feet, free from the traps of negative life sanctions--with his options still open." The massive problems of ghetto life are hardly to be solved on a case-by-case basis.

Still, even some months ago, a University of Colorado, Bureau of Sociological Research, national study team--while concurring with (and quoting) last year's project research recommendation for staff augmentation/strategy changes to enhance community organization--was nonetheless already reporting significant Toliver results: Target-area youth, said the unpublished Colorado report, "tend to perform better in school, get along better at home, and get in less trouble with the law as a result of the program."

In contrast to the earliest days of the Toliver program, a good part of the 1973-74 period has seen an increasing emphasis on community organization and youth-directed local development. These outreach activities have been aimed at encouraging and enabling agencies and formal groups to adopt practices which give youth a stake in legally conforming behavior. The strategy was to help such organizations--and private industry--open roles which entice increasing numbers of marginal youth into the reward system of the mainstream instead of the reward system of the street.

Thus, once beyond the early program-transition problems, the new clarity of objectives opened up the community program. A fresh mix of tactics produced new linkages and process involvements.

A number of activities and accomplishments illustrate both the new and continuing efforts. For instance, a main link to the black community was established through the North Oakland Parish, a coalition of churches. Providing access to an important institution in the black community, the Parish simultaneously received subfunding support from Toliver--an "exchange" process linking organizations in the same community.

Cooperation with the Oakland Public Schools had originated at Toliver's inception. For two years, Toliver has operated the only facility in the city offering classroom instruction to expelled children of elementary school age. The public schools have contributed a full-time teacher. Having thus demonstrated the possibilities, Toliver now seeks to move the program into the school system itself (and possibly to generate other affirmative programs in the city schools). The aim is to encourage schools to work with students, to less readily cycle them out of the setting. As a first step, Toliver's school will be housed at a public school site during the next academic year.

Not only has the Oakland public schools provided a full-time teacher (and loans of equipment), but in exchange a Toliver extension worker has been headquartered at a public school to

assist teachers with "discipline problems," to tutor children in basic skills, and to make home visits.

Toliver's relationship with the Oakland Police Department represents the program's major achievement in coordinating agency efforts. After long negotiation over legal responsibilities (involving the city attorney and police hierarchy), a diversion system was established in September 1973. Since then, as described, referral of police cases to Toliver has become increasingly routine. In the latest reporting period, the Oakland Police became the leading referral source, providing nearly 60% of new Toliver cases. To insure coordination, the police have assigned a liaison officer to the Toliver diversion operation. Police-community relations are further enhanced through the Toliver newsletter. For each issue a police officer writes an article of community interest. Moreover, the Black Police Officers Association meets regularly at Toliver Center, uses its clerical resources, and has contributed to Toliver social functions.

A working relationship was also developed with County Probation, although fewer referrals have been forthcoming than planned. A liaison probation officer has been designated, and several intake officers have used the Toliver resources. The Family Crisis Unit of that agency has worked closely with Toliver workers, especially over problems of target-area status offenders. At the latest monitoring, nearly one-fourth of

Toliver cases were probation referrals. The Family Crisis Unit, the Oakland Police Department, and Toliver jointly produced a video-tape simulation of the progress of a case involving the three agencies. This videotape has been screened at workshops and will be used in exploring diversion processes with other agencies. A probation officer has been assigned to train Toliver staff in aspects of family crisis intervention.

Toliver has also gained representation on both the County Delinquency Prevention Commission and the Human Relations Commission, binding ghetto youth interests more solidly to local government.

Negotiations with the area's rapid transit authority, supported by political representatives, were aimed at developing mini-parks on ghetto land owned by that authority. The effort ultimately failed. Helpful alliances and learning experiences were nonetheless acquired.

Toliver's crisis-intervention program averaged no more than six crisis situations per month during its year of operation--an added pressure to redirect the early casework overemphasis. Group work with youth has largely supplanted the original "crisis work."

Numbers of local youth were put in touch with new experiences, including experiences in new roles and routes to opportunity. Wrote one boy later: "With your aid I was able to attend the

Junior Statesmen Summer School in Sacramento. . . . It was a change for 'the group' to have to put up with views constantly conflicting with their own, for I was one of the very few to make it into the program that did not sprout from a high or middle-class family." Second example: a Toliver-sponsored youth conference convened in early June at a Bay Area hotel. Over 200 young people participated in workshops on "Youth--Struggles and Survival." A majority of attending youth expressed interest in future conferences. According to plans, Toliver's future development of conferences will feature more direction by youth and less by Toliver's adult staff.

After sponsoring a small clerical training program for a year in cooperation with County Catholic Charities, Toliver was able to move the program out of the Center and into full control of Catholic Charities.

Program staff have helped and supported local fund-raising for youth activities--not only through its own system's Joint Board procedure but also through assistance to other local efforts (as, a Food Coalition and a YMCA proposal for shelter care for local agency referrals).

Paraprofessional staff from the community have become involved in writing proposals for funding, in a variety of community-work training (including the conducting of workshops themselves), and in direct work with local police.

Toliver's Community Advisory Board, its Youth Advisory Board, and its cadre of 12 young paraprofessionals have helped to lend citizen input to the program. Citizen participation may grow stronger as the recently subfunded programs take root.

Volunteers from the community, colleges, and business have supplemented Toliver's program. Casework, school, preschool, and recreation services have been enhanced by the additional personnel that volunteers provide. In some situations (preschool, boys' rap group), parents have assumed full responsibility for an activity. Both Toliver and the volunteers benefit from the association. Toliver receives input from the community about its operations; volunteers receive on-the-job training to increase employment potential.

After several months' development, a small medical clinic was opened at Toliver in June. Children's Hospital provided a part-time doctor and other resources, but the venture was ultimately abandoned because of the very small patient-caseload.

To provide more effective tutorial services and to bolster community resources, Toliver is instituting a pilot "Homework House" project in association with a public school. This program will soon provide after-school tutoring help to 50 students at the homes of families living near the grammar school. The cooperation and participation of parents will be an integral part of the program.

A preliminary study has also addressed the feasibility of turning over considerable Toliver casework and support services

to black churches in the community (with Toliver support and supervision). Given the far-reaching police support already developed in the area, speculation has emerged that Toliver might "transfer" much of its own credibility to the churches. Whether such churches have sufficient resources to assume those responsibilities remains to be seen. As broker between formal and informal system components, the Toliver operation does foresee potential for revitalizing indigenous efforts--and linking them to local government. An alternative "turnover" prospect is the Urban Social Service Corporation of Oakland, an applicant for county revenue-sharing funds.

Toliver's advocacy role in behalf of the hungry poor culminated in the establishment of the Alameda County Emergency Food Coalition. Because the Welfare Department had been unable to respond effectively to the need for emergency food, Toliver organized a coalition of 14 food-dispensing groups throughout the county. Collected data demonstrated that over 88% of the requests for food were from people on or applying for welfare assistance; 81% were referrals from County social workers. With this information, Toliver assisted the Coalition in devising a County revenue-sharing proposal for $163,500 to alleviate the problem of hunger among the poor. Supported by the Alameda County Welfare Department, the proposal was ultimately funded.

In sum, it seems clear that several organizations and agencies have indeed been encouraged to work more closely together as compared to the earliest days of the project. At the same time, however, attempts at widespread systems linkage--involving many local organizations--probably "peaked out" by late 1973 or so.

The situation is partly reflected in Table 4.

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN SYSTEM-LINKAGE RATING SCORES,
TOLIVER CENTER LINKAGES WITH KEY ORGANIZATIONS

June 1973 to June 1974

Toliver Link with:	Average High Scores on Six Linkage Scales (Participation, Strategy, Agreements, Reciprocation, Procedures, Aims) 1973	1974	Summary Linkage Change
Welfare	1.5	1.5	NC
Police	3.3	3.8	+ .5
Juvenile Court	3.3	2.3	- 1.0
Probation	3.3	3.2	- .1
Employment Services	1.5	3.2	+ 1.7
Health and Hospitals	1.8	3.2	+ 1.4
Recreation	3.5	2.7	- .8
Schools	3.7	3.3	- .4
Associated Agencies	3.3	---	- 3.3
Food Coalition	2.7	3.7	+ 1.0
Legal Aid	1.8	1.7	- .1
YMCA	3.3	2.3	- 1.0
North Oakland Dist. Council	3.2	1.8	- 1.4
Colleges	2.5	2.5	NC
Catholic Social Services	3.3	---	- 3.3
Churches	2.3	3.7	+ 1.4
Delinquency Prevention Commission	3.0	4.0	+ 1.0
Joint Delinquency Prevention Board	---	4.0	+ 4.0

NOTE: Tabled scores represent total-linkage average ratings based on highest degree of formal system development on each of six linkage scales. The six scales--participation, strategy, agreements, reciprocation, procedures, aims--tap aspects of shared activity between Toliver and specified organizations. For example, the 1973 Toliver-Police Department linkage score was 3.3--that 3.3 representing the mean of the "highest-degree-of-linkage" values for all six scales. See Appendix.

Project researchers have necessarily used these data only in conjunction with field notes about organizational process. Numbers can provide some structure for clue-hunting and can corroborate qualitative data, but the numbers considered alone can be misleading. For example, the "weakened" link between Toliver and Catholic Social Services in fact represents a successful effort at moving a small clerical-training program into the community. (See page 40.)

Table 4 displays a summary statistical rating of Toliver linkages to various "key" organizations in mid-1973 and mid-1974, based on a systems-status assessment instrument developed for national research by Office of Youth Development.[11] The table shows a mixed picture of linkage change. It partly reveals a "maturing" program which, by mid-1974, had tested the organizational and political realities. The program had sorted out, in effect, the spheres of operation which seemed to prove practical--and had de-emphasized involvements which seemed less productive (given the program's limited resources and lack of power in a large, complex city). By mid-1974, in a sense, Toliver had "located" its most workable day-to-day network of services (including organized youth-group functions) and, narrowing its focus, had trained its resources on those activities.[12]

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[11]The Appendix describes the rationale and presents the linkage-rating items. From those items, six linkage categories were constructed by OYD planners, each category intended to represent a dimension of formal systems development. In OYD's use, the heaviest weighted item given a positive response is the score for the dimension. For instance, under the category "Formal Agreements," the most heavily weighted item asks whether linkage to an organization is specified by law. For situations where that holds true, the link to that agency would receive all points possible (4) for the "Formal Agreements" dimension.

Empirical analysis reveals, however, that the six linkage categories are not independent dimensions. Several alternative cluster analyses have indicated that two dimensions account for most item variance. But even at that, "it appears that the two major clusters or dimensions are themselves intercorrelated" (Robert Hunter, "Interim Report on PERF Analysis," December 17, 1973, unpublished draft). For that and other statistical reasons, data presented here have been averaged across dimensions to produce a single index of linkage achievement. Hence, larger numbers are intended to signify a higher degree of formal system development.

[12]Table 4 shows that a number of linkages "weakened" from 1973 to 1974--at least by this standard. Yet the mean rating of the "best" ten linkages in 1973 was 3.3; the mean of the "best" ten in 1974 was 3.5. This jibes with research observations. Toliver has somewhat narrowed its interorganizational focus--but in doing so has somewhat solidified its main relationships.

In large measure the data call into question the notion of a grand and well-integrated youth service system operated from a weak power position in a big city. It seems evident that the sheer size and political complexity of Oakland (compared to Oxnard, for example) tend to negate easy inroads into local government. The would-be "coordinator" faces baffling problems when attention is directed "downtown" or toward huge urban bureaucracies.[13]

Recommendations. Project research has recommended two broad changes of emphasis for 1974-75 (notwithstanding Toliver's impact on the justice system and on services for youth). First, it would seem time for development of a more durable "organization for youth" in West Oakland--a self-maintaining core structure capable of surviving funding shifts, particular staffing changes, and the like. Second, despite the vast power imbalance and complex politics of Oakland, organizational efforts should raise sights toward the key resource "gatekeepers" of the city. These two recommendations may be merged to suggest (1) development of a structure having survival potential,

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[13]A "coordinator" seeking real institutional change in any metropolis would face stiff challenges. For historical perspectives on the Oakland scene see Aaron B. Wildavsky and Jeffrey L. Pressman, Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland. . ., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973; Edward C. Hayes, Power Structure and Urban Policy: Who Rules in Oakland?, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1972; and Oakland Task Force, An Analysis of Federal Decision-making and Impact: The Federal Government in Oakland, San Francisco, Praeger, 1969.

and which (2) better links the West Oakland community with the resource monopoly of local government and business.

The La Colonia (Oxnard) Model/Building Bridges between Barrio Block Organization and "Downtown"--La Mesa Directiva As Link to Resources

This newer program is operated by La Mesa Directiva, a policy board consisting of 15 elected members--eight under age 21--who live in the La Colonia community. In this model the indigenous board (organized by YD/DP Project community developers) connects resources with a new neighborhood block organization--and, through the Office of the LC Program Director, maintains liaison with central staff, local government, the Ventura County Delinquency Prevention Commission, and other youth-serving agencies and groups.

Directly supervised by the Office of the LC Program Director are 10 Trabajadores de la Juventud (youth workers), who serve 10 geographic areas of La Colonia. These young community representatives help in identifying problems, bringing service, organizing block meetings, and coordinating community work. La Mesa, now represented on the County Delinquency Prevention Commission, subfunds community proposals and spearheads action programs of its own.

Early subprojects include Day Camp, the Ecology Program, Back to School, Arts and Crafts for Little People, Los Carnalitos, Girls' Drill Team, Law Enforcement Awareness, a Community Information program, La Colonia Youth Movement program, Drug Substance Abuse program, and Food Pantry Service.

Target-area Delinquency Change. The initial data on delinquency change in La Colonia provide a mixed picture. The Trabajadores de Juventud joined the two program developers in July 1973. Relying on that program base point, Table 5 shows the change in target-area delinquency contacts comparing July 1973-March 1974 with the same nine months of 1972-1973. Boys' delinquency contacts have risen 28%, whereas girls' delinquency contacts have declined by 38%. The combined group change, a function of the disproportionate official involvement of boys, appears as a 6% delinquency-contact increase.

The meaning of the mixed picture is not entirely clear. Some data, however, suggest that shifts in police decision-making or reporting itself account for the increased police contacts for boys. For example, Table 5 reveals a 76% increase in contacts for boys in the most serious offense category (I). Yet untabled data raise questions about that change. Of those "most serious" police contacts, 88% of the 1972-73 contacts and 83% of the program-period contacts became probation-intake cases. Yet the probation department's intake decisions provided a different picture. Probation referred six of the 1972-73 "most serious" cases to juvenile court but only three of the program-period cases. In short, 18% (6/33) of those "serious" contacts were ultimately deemed by probation to warrant a court hearing in 1972-73, whereas only 5% (3/58) required a court hearing during the program period.

TABLE 5

OFFICIAL DELINQUENCY CONTACTS BY
OXNARD POLICE, LA COLONIA TARGET AREA

July 1972-March 1973
Vs.
July 1973-March 1974

	MALES					FEMALES				
	Delinquency Offenses			Status Offenses	Total	Delinquency Offenses			Status Offenses	Total
	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV	
July 1972-March 1973	33	60	94	75	262	9	31	18	68	126
July 1973-March 1974	58	60	106	110	334	6	14	15	43	78
% Change	+76%	NC	+13%	+47%	+28%	-33%	-55%	-17%	-37%	-38%

NOTE: Offense categories are numbered in general order of severity (with I most severe), according to Office of Youth Development, HEW, definitions.

That trend was not confined to Offense Category I. Indeed, even though total police contacts of boys increased by 72 (28%) comparing pre-program and program months, the total cases (boys) adjudged by probation to warrant court referral decreased by 2 (5%). Put differently, 16% (43) of the 262 total "boy contacts" in 1972-73 led to a court referral, but only 12% (41) of the 334 "boy contacts" in the program-period led to referral.

The 5% decrease in court referrals for boys may or may not be more indicative than the 28% increase in police contacts. (The 38% decline in police contacts of girls was accompanied by a 15% decline in court referrals.)

Certainly the opening months of the LCYSP community organization did not produce police-referrals to the program, as Table 6 demonstrates. During this organizational period, project work with police focused instead on background community issues. For example, a weekend-evening roadblock of La Colonia's main thoroughfare had been a police routine since riots in 1971. Two years after the riots, citizens still were simply not allowed to drive in a central section of the community during specified hours. Months of negotiation between police and a project youth committee were required before the roadblock was abandoned. Project "brokers" had helped assuage--if not eliminate--the bitter hostilities reinforced by the real and symbolic roadblock.

TABLE 6

REFERRAL SOURCE AND PRIMARY PRESENTING PROBLEM OF LA COLONIA YSP CLIENTS

June 1973 through March 1974

(In Percent)

Referral Source		Primary Presenting Problem	
Schools	22 (286)	School-related	18 (240)
Social Agencies	8 (111)	Drug-related	1 (16)
Family	4 (52)	Family-related	32 (421)
Friends	3 (40)	Social	6 (72)
Community Residents	0 (0)	Employment-related	15 (194)
Outreach	60 (778)	Physical Health-related	0 (5)
Self	1 (10)	Mental Health-related	0 (0)
Law Enforcement	0 (0)	Juvenile Status Offender	2 (23)
Juvenile Court Intake	1 (9)	Delinquent Offender	1 (16)
Probation/Parole	1 (9)	Other*	24 (316)
Health Agencies	0 (2)		
Other*	0 (6)		
TOTAL	100% (1303)	TOTAL	99% (1303)

*"Other" includes difficulty with various agency forms/regulations, translation needs, transportation needs, and recreation needs.

Now that credibility with officialdom has been largely established, and other influential relationships are in place, project planning with police has turned to direct police-diversion services. If the police-diversion referral system is successful, that achievement (even apart from its direct service to youth) may well set in motion a new cycle of improved relations--of positive action and reaction--in La Colonia and Oxnard.

Services, Referrals, and Community Organization. The groundwork would now seem accomplished. The opening project phase has been a useful blend of organizational and service activities. Nearly 1800 Colonia youths have participated in the programs in the last year. Their time involvement has varied--two weeks for some, 6 months for others. Some 1400 residents have received direct services from staff, with a smaller number referred to other organizations. (See ten-month data in Tables 6 and 7.)

Moreover, new systems linkages have led to a new pattern of community influence in youth affairs. A number of achievements offer illustration.

For example, a member of La Mesa Directiva, the created community board, was appointed to the Ventura County Delinquency Prevention Commission after negotiation. A local community member continues to represent the interests of La Colonia.

TABLE 7

REFERRALS TO OTHER AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS
FROM LA COLONIA YSP, BY TYPE OF SERVICE OBTAINED

June 1973 through March 1974

(In Percent)

Educational Counseling	7	(15)
Drug-related Counseling	6	(14)
Crisis Intervention	1	(3)
Legal Assistance	1	(3)
Job Development and Placement	40	(90)
Drug Abuse Treatment	7	(16)
Special Education (Incl. Alternative Schooling)	2	(4)
Medical Treatment	15	(34)
Transportation	5	(12)
Initial Counseling Plus Community-service Referral	15	(33)
TOTAL	99%	(224)

Each Trabajador de Juventud formally (with research technical assistance) and informally surveyed his assigned neighborhood blocks, informing residents about the program and possibilities, and determining needs. The main thrust of the first year's neighborhood block organization has been (1) to assess needs, (2) to devise solutions in a participatory process, and (3) to develop a network of community organization to draw people together around a common purpose. Area advisory councils in each of the ten geographical areas assure advice and leadership in the Mesa Directiva.

The project has established close working relationships with many agencies, including County Board of Supervisors, County Delinquency Prevention Commission, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Oxnard High School and Elementary School Districts, Parks and Recreation, Housing Authority, Oxnard Police, County Juvenile Court and Hall, Probation Department, Ventura and Moorpark Colleges, County Welfare, City Council, HRD, Mental Health, Community Relations, Family Counseling, County Sheriff, Community Action Council, and others. Some agencies--Welfare, Probation, Mental Health, and Housing Authority--have committed resources to the project by formally assigning personnel.

The project was instrumental in creating an Inter-Agency Council of organizations that service Oxnard and La Colonia. Represented are City of Oxnard, Police Department, Welfare

Department, Health Department, Mental Health, Parks and Recreation, Legal Aid, Human Resources Development, LCYSP, the schools, and others. The Council has been responsible for coordinating casework when families are involved with multiple agencies. The Council has since written two important proposals--both approved--relevant to La Colonia. One was for an emergency food-distribution program--the Food Pantry Service. The second was a program approved by the high school board of trustees to keep pregnant girls in school.

A local youth conference was held with approximately 70 persons participating. It led, in turn, to a series of meetings between La Colonia youth and Oxnard police, including the Chief and his immediate staff. These meetings were helpful in averting a serious crisis during weeks of turmoil relating to police-community conflict in the barrio. (See page 49.)

The project has also revitalized a "blue-ribbon" riot committee established after the 1971 La Colonia disturbances. LCYSP has worked with this Social Action Committee, encouraging the Committee's work with the City Council. Numerous La Colonia services have been improved or established as a result. SAC has also recommended to the city council that a gymnasium be built in La Colonia. SAC is thus a link between formal and informal community components, lending further credibility to project operations. It was in SAC discussions that the Chief of Police

acknowledged his appreciation of the way LCYSP "has been able to handle many of the local problems, especially youth-police problems."

Both the Ecology Program (a community clean-up effort) and Day Camp (providing a summer camp for 6- to 11-year-old children) have been strongly supported by the public schools and Parks and Recreation.

Arts and Crafts for Little People, a preschool/day-care program, has been relocated from a school to a church. Keyed to parent involvement (through the newly-formed Arts and Crafts Parent Association), the program has developed into a highly effective local undertaking, according to a June 1974 evaluation report. Parent participation has likewise been obtained for other programs.

A combined effort by the project and the Community Action Council made possible La Colonia's first effort in combating drug abuse. These two entities formulated a Substance Abuse Coalition that includes community residents, and developed a successful $68,000 proposal for a drug abuse program.

With the assistance and support of a County Supervisor, the project and local 4-H Club wrote and received approval for a $100,000 grant for additional delinquency prevention programs in the Colonia community. Some $10,000 of county funds were attracted as "match."

Staff brought together Parks and Recreation, Boys Club, and several other youth organizations to sponsor a Colonia Olympics. Approximately 225 youths participated in the many sports events during the Christmas vacation.

Collection of research and baseline data has depended on cooperation by Oxnard Police, Ventura County Probation, Juvenile Court, and a UCLA research center. Two years of baseline data have been systematically analyzed and provide the project with justice-system data never before collected for La Colonia. Baseline data have helped community residents better understand local problems. Example: the high relative frequency of glue- and paint-sniffing among youth.

Project research has also determined "drop-out danger points" in local school careers,[14] giving rise to a Back to School program. LCYSP youth workers have counseled, tutored, and otherwise encouraged successful school involvement. The Los Carnalitos tutorial program has hooked up as many as 15 volunteer tutors with students in need.

A subfunded Girls' Drill Team (for girls 8 to 18) has provided counseling and social activities. The team has received strong community support and appreciation, offering new experiences to La Colonia girls.

The Law Enforcement Awareness program has exposed youth to the justice system through visits to courts, the District

[14] For young people in this barrio, the move from junior high to high school turned out to be the critical drop-out point, according to data developed by the on-site researcher.

Attorney, Highway Patrol, Probation, and others. The idea has been to allow youth to see officials as people, as well as to acquaint the youngsters with the operations (and the locations) of government units.

A La Colonia Youth Movement program has addressed unique problems of black youth living in the area. Black culture and history provide the basis of the "movement."

Staff have maintained special contact with the Department of Human Resources Development. This relationship has provided Colonia residents with many job opportunities that never before existed. As a direct result of the project, employment opportunities for Colonia youth during the past two summers have been excellent, especially considering decreased opportunities for youth in the rest of Oxnard. Through "hard bargaining" with the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Public Employment Program, and the County's summer employment program, approximately 200 Colonia youths have been employed. Together they have earned close to $100,000 in salaries, no part of which was project money. Thirty persons--over half of them Colonia residents--have been employed by the project as program coordinators, assistants, and peer counselors. Various private, city, and county groups, organizations, and agencies continue to contact the project when trying to reach large numbers of Colonia residents. Example: visits by Department of Corrections and Department of Forestry for recruiting community residents as Correctional Officer trainees and Firefighters.

Support has been drawn from nearly all sectors of the community. (Eg.: $1 annual lease of a city building; the research

finding that nearly one-third of Colonia residents would allow their homes to be used for block meetings; the coordinated drive that netted thousands of dollars for Christmas gifts for 600 target-area children; the excellent media coverage, including the printing of Voice of La Colonia by Ventura Star Free Press, etc.) That new broad support represents a base for still more positive change.

As with Table 4 for Toliver, Table 8 shows a summary statistical rating of project linkages to selected "key" organizations, based on a systems-status assessment instrument. (See Appendix.) Again, larger numbers reflect higher degree of formal system development on six linkage scales. The higher 1974 scores for a very large number of organizations reflect the La Colonia model's emphasis on meshing barrio interests with a wide variety of connecting points in a "dominant" community and local government.

The pattern of linkage change at La Colonia is different from change at Toliver. Recall that the Toliver program in Oakland has tended to narrow its interorganizational focus while somewhat solidifying its main relationships. La Colonia, on the other hand, has apparently strengthened relationships without having to narrow its scope of community activity.[15] That is,

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[15] Not only has La Colonia's "best" linkages grown stronger (mean rating of "best" ten linkages for 1973 = 3.3, mean of "best" ten for 1974 = 3.7), but nearly all its rated linkages changed toward higher scores for 1974. Cf. Table 4 and note 12, p. 44. While the measuring instrument only partly addresses project concerns (and even contradicts them on some items), these change differences correspond closely with research field notes about organizational process.

TABLE 8

CHANGES IN SYSTEM-LINKAGE RATING SCORES,
LA COLONIA PROJECT LINKAGES
WITH KEY ORGANIZATIONS

June 1973 to March 1974

La Colonia Project Link with:	Average High Scores on Six Linkage Scales (Participation, Strategy, Agreements, Reciprocation, Procedures, Aims) 1973	1974	Summary Linkage Change
Welfare	2.7	3.6	+ .9
Police	3.5	3.6	+ .1
Juvenile Court	2.0	3.1	+ 1.1
Probation	2.8	3.6	+ .8
City Government	3.2	3.6	+ .4
Employment Services	2.2	3.3	+ 1.1
Health and Hospitals	1.7	2.8	+ 1.1
Mental Health	2.7	3.5	+ .8
Recreation	3.3	3.6	+ .3
Schools	3.3	3.6	+ .3
Community Action Commission	2.8	3.6	+ .8
Neighborhood Youth Corps	3.6	3.6	NC
Colleges	2.0	3.5	+ 1.5
Community Service Org.	2.8	3.5	+ .7
Housing Authority	2.2	2.2	NC
County Sheriff	3.5	3.5	NC
Board of Supervisors	3.8	3.8	NC
Delinquency Prevention Commission	3.3	4.0	+ .7
Community Relations	2.5	3.2	+ .7
Joint Delinquency Prevention Board	---	4.0	+ 4.0

NOTE: Tabled scores represent total-linkage average ratings based on highest degree of formal system development on each of six linkage scales. The six scales--participation, strategy, agreements, reciprocation, procedures, aims--tap aspects of shared activity between La Colonia YSP and specified organizations. For example, the 1973 LCYSP-Welfare Department linkage score was 2.7--that 2.7 representing the mean of the "highest-degree-of-linkage" values for all six scales. See Appendix.

Project researchers have necessarily used these data only in conjunction with field notes about organizational process. Numbers can provide some structure for clue-hunting and can corroborate qualitative data, but the numbers considered alone can be misleading.

the La Colonia project has maintained its wide net of relationships in Oxnard--and has tended to improve the quality of those ties as well.

The difference in "systems development" between the La Colonia and Toliver projects is not surprising. The two models are not the same; their aims and operations have differed for good reason. Having more than five times the population of Oxnard, Oakland presents a more knotty web of community life, politics, and bureaucracy. The constraints and opportunities for change differ from city to city, and clearly any approach even bordering on "systems development" is more practicable in Oxnard. Hence, La Colonia's community-development activities have been somewhat less service-bound[16] than at Toliver and have tended to connect with higher echelons of local bureaucracy.

In short, attempts to coordinate programs and resources for youth (in the absence of authority or power) may well be more readily workable in a city like Oxnard than in Oakland, where community organization is impeded by size and complexity of government.

Recommendations. Project research has outlined two broad recommendations for LCYSP programming. First, justice-system case diversion should become a major program emphasis. The diversion program should be well understood and supported by

[16] That is, at Toliver, linkages with other organizations have more often aimed at initiating or supporting direct-service or group-work operations (often relating to particular cases). Community-wide issues, with several exceptions, have been more easily engaged in Oxnard, the smaller city. It should be emphasized that such differences are a matter of degree, that both projects have undertaken a variety of operations.

police, probation, and other officials. It should (1) offer intensive supportive services to "diverted" youth, but should also (2) strive to help marginal youth find access to legitimate roles in social institutions. Second, even for La Colonia greater emphasis (within limits of resources) should be placed on opening opportunities within institutions themselves. Tutoring, for example, is mainly intended to help individuals in the school setting. However, the setting itself should be a target for change. Efforts aimed at improving local institutions--say, schools--should in the long run yield greater benefits for larger numbers.

Del Paso Heights (Sacramento)/Groundwork

Preliminary planning is in progress for the Del Paso Heights, Sacramento program. An ethnically-mixed poverty area, the "Heights" produces not only a high delinquency rate but high concentrations of unemployment, drug abuse, vandalism, substandard housing, and other serious social problems. Heights schools stand near the very bottom of the state in key education-related factors. An ad hoc committee of area citizens, the County Delinquency Prevention Commission, and YD/DP Project staff are currently designing a model to meet those challenges.

INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

The Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project has demonstrated (1) a program for promoting youth-program linkage statewide, and (2) two local models for mobilizing resources for youth.

The development of a Joint Delinquency Prevention Board, though limited to several jurisdictions, has connected organizations, agencies, and local citizens to each other--and to new ideas, plans, and resources. Based on experience in the two communities--Oakland and Oxnard--Youth Authority model developers seem to occupy a strategic vantage point for bringing model operations into communities. Such personnel are in good position to maintain a design- and goal-directed strategy despite the pushes and pulls of community relationships. Action design and model development may thus be usefully seen as a brokerage function.

Future designs might well invoke more specific propositions regarding goals, means, and demonstration variables. Tests of model concepts and strategies are useful to the extent results are "transferable" as knowledge. In addition, experience in YD/DP Project programming and research reaffirms that ongoing research feedback is vital to self-correction in program planning and daily community activity. Data which reflect on the

consistency of theory, goals, objectives, and activities seem especially indispensable to a developing program immersed in complex community problems.

Broad-based community programs require new perspectives for planners and youth workers. Among Youth Authority staff accustomed to an individualistic, "case"-orientation, the transition to institutional/systems-change activities is difficult. Since the newer concept is more complex than a case-treatment concept, and its sphere of operation much larger, the new project goals tend to usher in new levels of staff misunderstanding and communication problems. Difficulties are exacerbated by confusion of goals throughout the federal/state/local funding structure,[17] as well as the various levels of project staff. Despite the ready use (in this report, too) of terms such as "access to social roles," such concepts require a great deal more specification.[18]

For better or worse, case-by-case services are frequently delivered in the name of "institutional change." The institutional/systems approach is not structured by a long-established, guiding frame of reference. Hence, it is easy to continue to accentuate "the case"--with casework simply dressed

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[17]Not only are goals within government units sometimes blurry, but different funding agencies obviously have different interests. In recent months, for example, Office of Youth Development has promulgated a "national strategy" aimed at systems- and institutional-change, whereas Law Enforcement Assistance Administration sources (in California, Office of Criminal Justice Planning) have emphasized work with justice-system cases.

[18]The notion of "access to roles," e.g., can be welded onto any pet strategy. "Cases" can be helped to meet institutionalized obligations, or institutions can be structurally reformed. Do we change students or schools? Unemployed workers or the job market? The distinction is easily glossed over, but it is critical. We tend now to make the decision by default. We should at least consider whether we have drifted into tinkering and fine-tuning--and, beneath it all, blaming the victim. William Ryan, Blaming the Victim, New York, Random House, 1971.

up a little differently, with the community delivering new kinds of cases, and with a new vocabulary attached to program elements. The transition seems especially difficult when an operational unit is "converted" en toto. Residual operating procedures tend to remain.

The transition for staff also seems more demanding where community problems, politics, and power are overwhelming or baffling. "Small" successes in direct-casework service tend to reinforce traditional activities, especially since indirect impact is slower, more nebulous, and less personal.

The "service-system" concept may well need rethinking--especially when applied to large cities with big government bureaucracies. Agencies and other formal organizations do not necessarily "coordinate" at the convenience of relatively powerless community "brokers." As indicated by several studies of Model Cities projects, "systems coordination" is a dubious proposition in any model if systems builders do not develop or already possess either "authority to coordinate" or some effective political power vis-á-vis local agencies and informal organizations.[19]

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[19]An excellent summary of research on "coordination" tactics is Roland L. Warren's "Comprehensive Planning and Coordination: Some Functional Aspects," Social Problems, 20:355-364, Winter, 1973. Among other conclusions, Warren points out that:

> The most notable aspect of the coordination strategy, despite its apparent face validity, is a long history of failure of the strategy to meet expectation. . . . The failure of more recent efforts even to implement the necessary actions. . . is widely acknowledged. . . . Even more modest attempts at coordination, where executive power apparently exists to enforce it, suffer a similar lethal attrition. . . .

As Warren indicates, a frequent hope is that "the parties whose activities are to be coordinated are willing parties to the process and collaborate because they see their own interest coinciding with that of the other parties."

But unfortunately, Warren has discovered, "the dynamics of voluntary coalitions act to restrict the areas of coordination to unimportant minutiae while dodging the important issues or to exclude from the coordinative decision-making process those actors who disagree with the dominant preferences."

Especially if authority is not formalized, community development seems dependent on mobilizing active participation and leadership of concerned neighborhood citizens--people with vested interests and nonagency perspectives.[20] Such community participation, in turn, seems to depend on at least small increments of success in community problem-solving. In any case, it would seem that the successful community "broker" must be immersed in local organizational politics and must involve resident leaders.

Both of the YD/DP Project model operations--at Oakland and Oxnard--have made progress in line with their design strategies. The differing changes in delinquency rate pose questions not readily answered. The Oakland target area shows a delinquency-contact decrease, whereas the La Colonia, Oxnard area shows an increase for boys and a decrease for girls. Although some data suggest that shifts in police reporting or decision-making may account for the La Colonia increase in boys' police contacts, it remains exceedingly difficult to attribute changes in the delinquency measure to the programs. Moreover, measurable aggregate changes in target-area youth behavior (delinquent or otherwise) may not be an immediate outcome of institutional/systems intervention, despite short-term evaluation needs.

Success in diverting youth from the justice system may depend not only on (1) changing attitudes and ideologies, and

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[20] In effect, this principle is an argument for full democratic participation to assure responsive government. See, e.g., John M. Martin, Toward a Political Definition of Juvenile Delinquency, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

(2) establishing a diversion process--but also on (3) whether such systems-change threatens agency survival, workload, or "boundary-maintenance" of its sphere of activity. Field notes substantiate the notion that formal agencies may have organizational "uses" for youth quite apart from formal agency goals.

For Toliver, project research has recommended two broad changes of emphasis for 1974-75 (notwithstanding Toliver's impact on the justice system and on services for youth). First, it would seem time for development of a more durable "organization for youth" in West Oakland--a self-maintaining core structure capable of surviving funding shifts, particular staffing changes, and the like. Second, despite the vast power imbalance and complex politics of Oakland, organizational efforts should raise sights toward the key resource "gatekeepers" of the city.

Project research has also outlined two broad recommendations for La Colonia programming. First, justice-system case diversion should become a major program emphasis. The diversion program should be well understood and supported by police, probation, and other local officials. It should (1) offer intensive supportive services to "diverted" youth, but should also (2) strive to help marginal youth find access to legitimate roles in social institutions. Second, even for La Colonia greater emphasis (within limits of resources) should be placed on opening opportunities within institutions themselves.

Finally, the obvious ought to be emphasized. There are limits to local action. Hard work in community organization should

be recognized as only one corner of the big picture. Major problems of young people are at least partly rooted in national social policy:

> Many of the problems to which local coordination and planning is addressed have aspects which transcend the borders of specific communities and, hence, do not lend themselves to solution by action at the community level alone. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is the overwhelming influence of federal economic policy on unemployment rates, as contrasted with the extremely minor impact of local manpower training programs.[21]

To ignore societal influences as outside the scope of local concern is to preserve the status quo. If we grant that national policy has a bearing on youth development in local neighborhoods, then it is proposed that local and state responsibility ought to extend to organized advocacy in the arenas of national policy-making.[22] In the long run, even local organizations might have their greatest impact as irritants for large-scale national change.

Future reports will describe progress in Oakland, Oxnard, Sacramento, and elsewhere, as well as detail new Youth Authority approaches to program development in California.

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[21] Roland L. Warren, "Comprehensive Planning and Coordination: Some Functional Aspects," Social Problems, 20:355-364, Winter, 1973. Emphasis added.

[22] Delinquency Causes and Remedies, Research Report No. 61, California Youth Authority, February 1972, esp. pp. 49-61.

APPENDIX

A standardized instrument, the Youth Service System Status Assessment Format, has been used to measure the nature and degree of linkage between the projects and local organizations and agencies. This description of the instrument borrows heavily from Office of Youth Development's evaluation manual. The Format was devised under OYD auspices.

The format is a set of 49 statements which address aspects of system linkage. For each statement, a project researcher rated whether that statement did or did not describe the linkage between a particular organization and the project.

The statements used in rating fall into six general categories designated as:

1. Participation and Approval
2. Understanding of and Agreement with Project Strategy
3. Formal Agreements
4. Reciprocation
5. Procedures
6. Aims

The items are intended to tap dimensions assumed to be important in systems-building for youth. For instance, the strength of an inter-agency linkage may be assessed in terms of the degree to which agencies support the linkage. Assessment of the level of support looks at four considerations: (1) the authority of persons who participate with and who approve participation with the project; (2) the agreement of persons in the agency with the strategy of the project; (3) the extent to which formal agreements have been developed to define the linkage; and (4) the extent to which the agency reciprocates with the project; that is, the extent to which the agency commits its own resources to the linkage.

Over time, according to OYD planners, it might be expected that linkage between a project and an agency will come to involve persons at higher levels of authority, to be approved by persons at higher levels of authority in the agency, to involve a greater degree of agreement with the purposes of the project, and to involve greater commitment of the agency's resources to the linkage.

The strength of an inter-agency linkage can also be assessed in terms of the procedures which the two

agencies use in planning, coordinating, managing, and evaluating their joint work. It is expected by OYD planners that the more deeply involved agencies are in joint work, the more substantial the joint effort; and the more extensive the commitment of each agency to the joint effort, the more continuous, extensive, organized, and formal will be the joint procedures used to conduct affairs under the linkage. And the converse may hold; the more extensive procedures the agencies agree to participate in, e.g., planning, the more substantial and extensive may be the joint efforts which they undertake.

The strength of an inter-agency linkage may also be assessed in terms of the extent to which the agencies' joint activity requires commitment of resources from each of them, requires changes of reorientations within each of their programs, or requires modifications of their allocation of resources and personnel or revision of their respective policies, procedures, and practices. It is explicit in at least the OYD systems approach to youth development that changes in allocation of resources, reorientation of programs, and revisions of legislation, policies, procedures and practices will be required if a youth services system is to be developed, if inappropriate labelling and alienation are to be reduced,

and if increased access to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles for youth is to be achieved.

The strength of a linkage, then, can be assessed in terms of the aims of the linkage to which both the agency and the project are willing to subscribe. That is, the stronger the link, the more willing the agency and project may be to undertake efforts which imply revisions in allocation of resources, reorientation of programs, and revision of policies, procedures and practices.

The 49 Format statements are presented below by category. As a crude indication of relative importance of items, a simple scoring system provides weights, or values, for all statements. Each statement receives a weight from 1 to 4 based on OYD judgment. Statements weighted 4 tend to show more formal system development than statements scored 1. Those score weightings appear to the left of each item in the format. (Statement 1 designates the existence of any relationship.)

Weight	Statement #	
	1.	Your project has some relationship with this agency. (If the answer is "no", move to the next agency.)
		PARTICIPATION AND APPROVAL
(2)	2.	Persons from this agency who cooperate with your project are from the "worker" level in their agency, i.e., teacher, counselor, patrol-man, social worker, probation officer.
(3)	3.	Persons from this agency who cooperate with your project are from the "supervisor/middle management" level of their agency, i.e., school principal, police precinct captain, welfare supervisor, court intake chief.
(4)	4.	Persons from this agency who cooperate with your project are from the "policy-making" level of their agency, i.e., school superintendent, police chief or juvenile division chief, welfare director, juvenile judge, mayor.
(2)	5.	Persons from this agency who cooperate with your project do so on their own initiative.
(3)	6.	Persons from this agency who cooperate with your project do so with the approval of persons at the supervisor/middle management level of their agency.
(4)	7.	Persons from this agency who cooperate with your project do so with the approval of persons from the policy-making level of their agency.
		UNDERSTANDING OF AND AGREEMENT WITH PROJECT STRATEGY
(1)	8.	Persons in this agency have been introduced by your

Weight	Statement #	
		project to the elements of the National Strategy, which deal with reduction of inappropriate labelling, increase of access to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles, and reduction of alienation of youth.
(1)	9.	Persons in this agency have been introduced by your project to the elements of the systems approach to youth development, which deals with joint planning and evaluation of joint programs, joint management and execution of programs, coordination in the delivery of services, etc.
(2)	10.	Persons in the agency endorse the elements of the National Strategy, but in your opinion are not able to implement or apply them in specific instances.
(2)	11.	Persons in this agency endorse the elements of the systems approach to youth development, but cooperate with your project only in specific instances.
(3)	12.	Persons in this agency endorse an attempt to identify and eliminate inappropriate labelling practices in their agency and to support increase of access to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles for youth.
(3)	13.	Persons in this agency endorse the development of joint planning, program development and execution, and joint evaluation with your project.

Weight	Statement #	
(4)	14.	Persons in this agency have taken steps to identify and eliminate inappropriate labelling practices in their agency and to support increase of access to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles for youth.
(4)	15.	Persons in this agency have taken steps to begin joint planning, joint program development and execution, and joint evaluation with your project.
		FORMAL AGREEMENTS
(1)	16.	Your project's linkage with this agency is specified in a verbal, but not written agreement.
(2)	17.	Your project's linkage with this agency is specified in a letter of agreement or memorandum of agreement.
(3)	18.	Your project's linkage with this agency is specified in a contract between the agency and your project.
(4)	19.	Your project's linkage with this agency is specified in an ordinance or statute.
		RECIPROCATION
(1)	20.	This agency refers youth to your project.
(1)	21.	Your project refers youth to this agency.
(2)	22.	Your project contributes staff time to this agency.

Weight	Statement #	
(2)	23.	This agency contributes staff time to your project.
(3)	24.	Your project contributes or contracts money to this agency.
(3)	25.	This agency contributes or contracts money to your project.
(3)	26.	Your project utilizes this agency's staff to help design program and/or to determine practices.
(4)	27.	This agency utilizes your staff to help design program and/or to determine practices.
(4)	28.	This agency and your project participate jointly in efforts which require staff time, money, and resources from both the agency and your project.
		PROCEDURES
(1)	29.	Telephone calls are utilized to iron out specific difficulties or to conduct specific business.
(1)	30.	Occasional meetings are utilized to iron out specific difficulties or to conduct specific business.
(2)	31.	Regular meetings are utilized to oversee joint activity.
(2)	32.	A joint committee has been created to review progress and make decisions for a specific joint program.
(3)	33.	A joint committee has been created to make recommendations

Weight	Statement #	
		and review progress over broad areas of the activity of the agencies.
(2)	34.	A written procedure specifies how a specific joint program will be coordinated.
(3)	35.	A written procedure specifies how the agency and your project will coordinate broad areas of their activities over time.
(3)	36.	There is a joint planning procedure for a specific joint program.
(4)	37.	There is a joint planning procedure for broad areas of the activities of the agency and your project over time.
(3)	38.	There is a joint evaluation procedure for a specific joint program between your project and the agency.
(4)	39.	There is a general joint evaluation procedure for broad areas of the activities of your project and the agency.
		AIMS
(1)	40.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to provide a service which was not provided before, utilizing your project's funds or funds obtained from some source other than the agency.
(1)	41.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to expand the agency's service, utilizing resources other than those of the agency.

Weight	Statement #	
(2)	42.	The aim of your joint program is to coordinate the flow of youth between this agency and another agency(ies), or between your project and the agency, to services which the agency currently provides.
(3)	43.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to expand the service of the agency, utilizing the agency's resources.
(3)	44.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to modify the agency's program to make it better fit existing youth needs.
(3)	45.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to modify the agency's program so that its program and your program, or its program and the program of another agency, are more complementary.
(3)	46.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to review the current utilization of funds and personnel and other resources and to make modifications in line with existing needs.
(4)	47.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to review the utilization of funds, staff, and other resources to determine whether changes may be made which will reduce inappropriate labelling, reduce youth alienation, or increase the access of youth to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles.

Weight	Statement #	
(4)	48.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to review policies, procedures and practices of the agency to determine whether changes may be made which will reduce inappropriate labelling, reduce youth alienation, or increase access of youth to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles.
(4)	49.	The aim of your joint program with this agency is to conduct, together with other agencies, an on-going planning and evaluation effort for agency activities generally, toward a plan for youth services which will provide for the most efficient coordination of the services which are needed, and which will reduce inappropriate labelling, reduce youth alienation, or increase access of youth to socially acceptable and personally satisfying roles.

Project Title _____

Project ID # _____

YOUTH SERVICES SYSTEM STATUS ASSESSMENT FORM
PART ONE: SYSTEM LINKAGES (Continued)
Initial Quarter 2 3 4
(Circle One)

Welfare	Probation	School District	DP Commission	Police
Jurisdiction (1) (2) (3)	**Jurisdiction** (1) (2) (3)	**Jurisdiction** Q. S. (1) (2) (3)	**Jurisdiction** (1) (2) (3)	**Jurisdiction** (1) (2) (3)
1	1	1	1	1
Participation	**Participation**	**Participation**	**Participation**	**Participation**
2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)
3 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)	3 (3)
4 (4)	4 (4)	4 (4)	4 (4)	4 (4)
5 (2)	5 (2)	5 (2)	5 (2)	5 (2)
6 (3)	6 (3)	6 (3)	6 (3)	6 (3)
7 (4)	7 (4)	7 (4)	7 (4)	7 (4)
Strategy	**Strategy**	**Strategy**	**Strategy**	**Strategy**
8 (1)	8 (1)	8 (1)	8 (1)	8 (1)
9 (1)	9 (1)	9 (1)	9 (1)	9 (1)
10 (2)	10 (2)	10 (2)	10 (2)	10 (2)
11 (2)	11 (2)	11 (2)	11 (2)	11 (2)
12 (3)	12 (3)	12 (3)	12 (3)	12 (3)
13 (3)	13 (3)	13 (3)	13 (3)	13 (3)
14 (4)	14 (4)	14 (4)	14 (4)	14 (4)
15 (4)	15 (4)	15 (4)	15 (4)	15 (4)
Agreements	**Agreements**	**Agreements**	**Agreements**	**Agreements**
16 (1)	16 (1)	16 (1)	16 (1)	16 (1)
17 (2)	17 (2)	17 (2)	17 (2)	17 (2)
18 (3)	18 (3)	18 (3)	18 (3)	18 (3)
19 (4)	19 (4)	19 (4)	19 (4)	19 (4)
Reciprocation	**Reciprocation**	**Reciprocation**	**Reciprocation**	**Reciprocation**
20 (1)	20 (1)	20 (1)	20 (1)	20 (1)
21 (1)	21 (1)	21 (1)	21 (1)	21 (1)
22 (2)	22 (2)	22 (2)	22 (2)	22 (2)
23 (2)	23 (2)	23 (2)	23 (2)	23 (2)
24 (3)	24 (3)	24 (3)	24 (3)	24 (3)
25 (3)	25 (3)	25 (3)	25 (3)	25 (3)
26 (4)	26 (4)	26 (4)	26 (4)	26 (4)
27 (4)	27 (4)	27 (4)	27 (4)	27 (4)
28 (4)	28 (4)	28 (4)	28 (4)	28 (4)
Procedures	**Procedures**	**Procedures**	**Procedures**	**Procedures**
29 (1)	29 (1)	29 (1)	29 (1)	29 (1)
30 (1)	30 (1)	30 (1)	30 (1)	30 (1)
31 (2)	31 (2)	31 (2)	31 (2)	31 (2)
32 (2)	32 (2)	32 (2)	32 (2)	32 (2)
33 (3)	33 (3)	33 (3)	33 (3)	33 (3)
34 (2)	34 (2)	34 (2)	34 (2)	34 (2)
35 (3)	35 (3)	35 (3)	35 (3)	35 (3)
36 (3)	36 (3)	36 (3)	36 (3)	36 (3)
37 (4)	37 (4)	37 (4)	37 (4)	37 (4)
38 (3)	38 (3)	38 (3)	38 (3)	38 (3)
39 (4)	39 (4)	39 (4)	39 (4)	39 (4)
Aims	**Aims**	**Aims**	**Aims**	**Aims**
40 (1)	40 (1)	40 (1)	40 (1)	40 (1)
41 (1)	41 (1)	41 (1)	41 (1)	41 (1)
42 (2)	42 (2)	42 (2)	42 (2)	42 (2)
43 (2)	43 (2)	43 (2)	43 (2)	43 (2)
44 (3)	44 (3)	44 (3)	44 (3)	44 (3)
45 (3)	45 (3)	45 (3)	45 (3)	45 (3)
46 (3)	46 (3)	46 (3)	46 (3)	46 (3)
47 (4)	47 (4)	47 (4)	47 (4)	47 (4)
48 (4)	48 (4)	48 (4)	48 (4)	48 (4)
49 (4)	49 (4)	49 (4)	49 (4)	49 (4)
Ave. High Scores:	Ave. High Scores:	Ave. High Scores:	Ave. High Scores:	Ave. High Scores:
Ave. High Score 3 Jurisdictions	Ave. High Score 3 Jurisdictions	Ave. High Score 3 Jurisdictions	Ave. High Score 3 Jurisdictions	Ave. High Score 3 Jurisdictions

SAMPLE

END