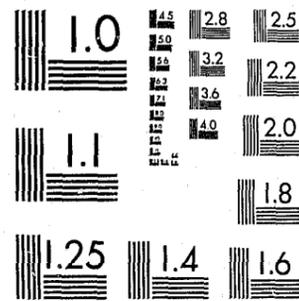


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ACQUISITIONS

BARRY KRISBERG
CAROLYN MC CALL
JUDY MUNSON

Acknowledgements

This study was supported by two separate small grants from the California Youth Authority. Throughout, the research staff of the Prevention and Community Correction Branch of C.Y.A. gave generously of their time and expertise. In particular, Richard Tillson and Doug Knight greatly facilitated our work with Youth Authority Staff. Perhaps, the most exciting part of the entire research project was the good-natured joint effort by NCCD and C.Y.A. staff to seek the truth within the YDDPP. Special appreciation should also be expressed to several former joint board members who fully cooperated with the research team.

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Chapter I

Introduction

On Dec. 31, 1977 the Joint Powers Delinquency Prevention Board passed quietly out of existence. The end of the Joint Powers Board signaled the formal demise of an extraordinary experiment in large-scale delinquency prevention. For nearly five years, state officials from the California Youth Authority joined with local citizens and agency representatives to promote novel approaches to delinquency prevention. Comprehensive programs of community organization and youth service were established in three poverty communities in California. Approximately three million dollars from diverse funding sources were channeled into the three target communities of Toliver, a black community in northwest Oakland; La Colonia, an impoverished barrio in the city of Oxnard, and Del Paso Heights, an ethnically mixed area in the city of Sacramento.

Established by the Youth Authority in July 1972, the overall program was referred to as the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project (YDDPP). The Youth Authority's goal was to reduce youth crime by diverting youth from the justice system into alternative programs and opportunities. Innovative youth services were to be created to provide acceptable and meaningful roles for youth, reduce negative labeling of youth and reduce

youth-adult alienation. A crucial assumption of the YDDPP effort was that comprehensive services can only be provided through cooperative and coordinated efforts involving all the agencies having partial responsibility for providing youth services. In each of the target communities, Youth Authority staff attempted to create mechanisms for developing a youth service system.

Youth Authority staff emphasized the need to develop new modes of community participation and to foster community involvement in the development and delivery of youth services. Local residents were encouraged to actively participate in the political process and to assert their rights to improved services from established governmental agencies.

Linking up residents of poverty communities with established social and juvenile justice agencies involved a variety of entities:

1. The California Youth Authority was the initiator, and partial funder of the YDDPP. Youth Authority staff included a central administrative team, as well as local project directors. Central staff solicited local interest in delinquency prevention, developed funding proposals, and coordinated state-wide fiscal research and administrative activities of the project. Youth Authority staff developed the concept of the Joint Powers Delinquency Board and provided staff support to the Joint Board.

2. The Joint Powers Delinquency Prevention Board was a special vehicle created to enable the Youth Authority to concentrate a \$200,000 annual delinquency prevention allocation from the state into the three target communities of the YDDPP. The Joint Board consisted of local citizens, representatives of county probation departments and Youth Authority officials. The Board awarded funds (referred to as "subfunding") to the three local projects and served as a conduit for local input to statewide prevention planning. For the first time in California's history, residents and officials of three geographically dispersed counties met regularly to promote innovative programming for youth. The Joint Board sought to enhance the activities of county delinquency prevention commissions and reviewed pending state legislation in the youth area.

The Joint Board linked Youth Authority and local jurisdictions through a "joint powers agreement," a legal mechanism by which units of local government create a special governmental entity to solve inter-jurisdictional issues such as environmental protection, water use and transportation. Multi-jurisdictional agreements in the delinquency prevention field are virtually non-existent. Moreover, a unique feature of the Joint Board was the intergovernmental connections of State and local officials.

3. County Delinquency Prevention Commissions were actively involved in the YDDPP through participation on the Joint Board

and, in some cases, these local commissions were viewed by the Youth Authority as administratively and fiscally responsible for the youth service projects. Delinquency prevention commissions are comprised of private citizens appointed by the chief Juvenile Court Judge of each county to review existing prevention efforts and to encourage improved youth programming. Commissions are generally staffed by the county probation departments and often serve a dual function as juvenile justice commissions, overseeing local detention practices and other juvenile justice policies.

4. Local Citizen Project Boards were established in Toliver, La Colonia and Del Paso Heights. These citizen boards acted both in advisory and policy-making capacities, often providing direct input to projects. It was hoped that these local boards would eventually assume complete operational control of the youth service projects.

5. Units of local government, local social service and juvenile justice agencies were incorporated in the YDDPP through their participating on the Joint Board, providing staff support to delinquency prevention commissions and acting as fiscal agents for the youth service projects. Youth Authority staff believed that these three counties would ultimately assume responsibility for financial support of the youth service systems originated

through YDDPP activities. Moreover, the overall objectives of YDDPP included a strong focus upon linking up local agencies with youth, community residents and project staff.

How well this complex conglomeration of individuals, agencies, and governmental units met their collective goal of delinquency prevention is the subject of this report.

What NCCD Was Asked to Accomplish

In August 1977, the Joint Powers Board, through the California Youth Authority, awarded a contract to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) to evaluate its activities. NCCD was asked to examine the pivotal role of the Joint Powers Board in the YDDPP. Specifically NCCD was asked to provide "some historical description of how the projects unfolded, information from a number of groups of people on the success and problems of the projects through community, public agency, and project staff responses..." The research was to pinpoint accomplishments and failures as these were influenced by organizational and political issues.

The evaluator was asked to examine the connections between program rationales, goals and activities. Research was to be focused upon "the main lessons to be passed along to others." NCCD's contract with the Youth Authority mandated a focus upon

"real-world process concerns" such as community resistance, hidden agendas, program drift and other issues of implementation in a complex and political world.

NCCD's research team was given wide latitude by the Youth Authority to develop and respond to emergent research questions uncovered during early weeks of field work. The research relied heavily upon qualitative methods including structured and unstructured interviews, limited site observations and an extensive review of collected project materials. Available quantitative data were analyzed and incorporated in this report where appropriate.

Although the research project was formally designated an "evaluation" of the Joint Board, it was apparent from the outset that traditional evaluation research techniques could not be applied. First, the "evaluation" was to cover projects and activities which evolved during the last five years. The La Colonia project no longer existed and only limited aspects of the YDDPP continued in Toliver and Del Paso Heights. Thus, there existed virtually no opportunity to observe on-going project activities or to interview current clients. Second, no comprehensive research design was implemented during the life of the projects and there was no effort to establish appropriate experimental or quasi-experimental designs for an impact evaluation. NCCD reviewed all YDDPP research documents

to collect basic data on clients, services and program impact. Such quantitative data were primarily collected to satisfy the reporting requirement of various funding sources and did not comprise a consistent data set suitable for traditional program evaluation. Third, the Joint Board's funds represented only part (approx. 10%) of the total support for a much larger delinquency prevention effort. Often Joint Board funds were used to enhance programs substantially supported from other sources. Thus, it would have been nearly impossible to sort out program effects attributable to the support of the Joint Board as opposed to other funding agencies. Finally, the Joint Board possessed too limited research funds to attempt a comprehensive reconstruction of a five-year, three million dollar, multi-site youth program.

At the close of this research, NCCD convened a small two-day conference of key Youth Authority staff, selected Joint Board members and local community representatives. The results of that meeting are summarized in Chapter Six of this report. One of the strongest recommendations of conference participants was for the Youth Authority to document and assess more comprehensively the processes and accomplishments of the YDDPP. Most Youth Authority staff affiliated with the YDDPP remain convinced that the five-year effort required careful review and assessment by current state policymakers.

Indeed, what emerged from NCCD's six-month research effort constitutes more of a case study in delinquency prevention with a focus on broader issues such as delinquency prevention theory, the translation of theory into practice and the appropriate strategies for successfully linking together key participants in prevention efforts. NCCD collected extensive data on the context in which the Joint Board, the Youth Authority and the local projects functioned. NCCD's research efforts emphasized the relations of theory and project implementation. Particular attention was paid to issues in program development with respect to structures of decision-making and authority.

NCCD research staff believe this report represents only one possible research product from a comprehensive delinquency prevention effort possessing significant implications for future youth services in California and throughout the nation. The NCCD research team strongly urges the Youth Authority to seek adequate funding from extra-mural sources such as the Federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to fully document the "lessons learned" from the YDDPP experience.

Study Methods

The Joint Board study began with a group interview with Youth Authority staff who comprised the Central Unit of the YDDPP.

This interview established data sources and helped NCCD clarify the scope of the evaluation effort. An early problem for the research team was to understand the intended focus of their efforts in the complex YDDPP. NCCD understood its mission as an evaluation of the Joint Powers Board, but the researchers were repeatedly informed that they must comprehend the broader context of the YDDPP and the organizational structure of the Youth Authority. The Joint Board, we were told, could only be assessed in relation to its role in the larger youth project. After NCCD's first orientation with Youth Authority Central Unit staff, the research team remained confused about how to separate out Joint Board activities from the melange of events, personalities and activities of the previous five years. It was agreed that NCCD would investigate the broader YDDPP with a special focus upon Joint Board activities.

The research team reviewed a mass of data made available by Youth Authority staff. These data included project proposals, interim evaluation reports to various outside funding sources, minutes of Joint Board meetings, a newsletter of the YDDPP, and assorted memoranda prepared by program participants. Especially valuable to NCCD's preliminary research efforts were a series of "developmental studies" produced by Doug Knight and other staff of the YDDPP. These reports provided excellent insights into the early stages at Toliver, La Colonia, and Del

Paso Heights. In these reports Youth Authority staff appeared quite cognizant of the theoretical implications of their efforts and often were quite candid in assessments of project shortcomings and political constraints.

Interviews were arranged with as many Joint Board members as could be located. Discussion with Joint Board members confirmed the overall direction of NCCD's study in that all interviewees urged the researchers to examine the entire YDDPP and situate the Joint Board's role in these efforts. One Board member went so far as to assert that a narrow focus on the Joint Board would be a "Youth Authority coverup." Most Joint Board members felt that NCCD's report should assist other delinquency prevention commissions and communities considering similar local strategies for delinquency prevention.

Because of the limited time allocated for the Joint Board study (only six months) the actual field work was compressed into a narrow time frame. NCCD interviewed over 30 persons intimately familiar with the local youth service projects. Persons interviewed included Youth Authority Central Unit staff, several Joint Board members, all project directors from Toliver, La Colonia, and Del Paso Heights and community residents who served on local advisory boards. Also interviewed were Youth Authority on-site researchers, youth service staff and local, juvenile

justice officials. Time constraints precluded locating and interviewing clients of the various projects.

NCCD research staff employed a standard interview format. (See Appendix A). Interviews generally lasted one hour and were open-ended in content. In most cases these discussions were tape recorded with the permission of the interviewee. Tape recorded interviews were transcribed and reviewed among members of the research team. These data were juxtaposed against the wealth of documents to produce the core empirical data of this report. Research staff employed the strategy of "grounded theory" in which empirical regularities are formed into tentative hypotheses; these hypotheses are immediately subjected to testing against available data. Often such testing suggests the need for new sorts of data and alternative research questions. Through an iterative process of observation, theory-building, empirical testing and theory refinement, the qualitative researcher builds towards a final set of interpretations of the data.

This study presents very limited data on processes by which clients were identified and selected. Within the limits of this contract, NCCD was unable to develop adequate descriptions of how services were developed and operated by the three youth service projects. Such data exist in fragmentary form for all

three target communities. However limited, the data might represent a valuable source of information for Youth Authority officials. For example, it would still be possible to develop more systematic data on the methods of community organization employed by Youth Authority staff.

At the close of the evaluation effort, NCCD presented its tentative research findings to a group of 16 key YDDPP participants during a two-day conference convened in San Francisco. Youth Authority staff, Joint Board members and community residents were asked to review our conclusions and offer corrections as well as alternative interpretations. The conference proved quite useful in confirming and "fleshing out" observations about the project. Results of these workshops and general discussions are presented in Chapter Six. The research team also employed a questionnaire completed by all conference attendees and additional responses were gathered from those unable to participate in the conference.

Necessarily, an analysis or assessment of the YDDPP experience draws upon one's own personal background, practical experiences and theoretical orientations. No claim is made that the current report constitutes the most accurate evaluation of the YDDPP. Rather, the research team presents its findings and interpretations towards facilitating critical thinking among

former project participants to promote broader awareness about the accomplishments and limitations of the Joint Board and the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project.

Chapter 2

Historical Context of YDDPP

The California Youth Authority has been described as the "Superagency for Youth," (Lemert, 1970: p. 9). Over the last three decades the Youth Authority accumulated an ever expanding mission and its staff have achieved worldwide recognition in the field of youth corrections. A brief review of the growth of the Youth Authority's mandate helps clarify its role in the YDDPP effort. Where appropriate, past developments have been connected to aspects of the YDDPP project.

During the forties and fifties, California, Wisconsin and Minnesota developed separate versions of the Youth Authority concept. Under the Youth Authority model, criminal courts committed youthful offenders from sixteen to twenty-one years old to an administrative authority, which determined the proper correctional disposition.*

*California originally set the maximum jurisdiction age at twenty-three years, but later reduced it to twenty-one. Some states used an age limit of eighteen years, so they dealt strictly with juveniles. In California, both juveniles and youth were included in the Youth Authority's jurisdiction.

The Youth Authority concept was developed by the American Law Institute, which drew up model legislation and lobbied for its adoption in state legislatures. The American Law Institute is a non-profit organization, seeking to influence the development of law and criminal justice. The Institute is oriented towards efficiency, rationality and effectiveness in legal administration.

The prestigious panel who drafted the Model Youth Authority Act sought to halt the apparent rise in crime through the substitution of training and treatment for retributive punishment. The treatment philosophy of the first Youth Authority was similar to the approach of William Healy and the Child Guidance Clinic. California's legislators were persuaded by Healy's focus upon the diagnosis of individual offenders.* The Youth Authority, in its original concept, was an administrative entity charged with determining proper treatment plans for youthful offenders.

*Interestingly, Dr. Healy actually debated sociologist Clifford Shaw before an audience of legislators. The YDDPP project is more directly tied to Shaw's theories and his Chicago Area Project than it is to Healy's.

The California legislature carefully limited the powers of the Youth Authority in juvenile matters. Juvenile court judges exercised the option of committing juveniles above a specific age to the Youth Authority but the Juvenile Court could also order them discharged.* The act explicitly affirmed the autonomy of the local court through these words:

"Nothing in this chapter (act) shall be deemed to interfere with or limit the jurisdiction of the juvenile court."

(California Statute, 1941:
Chap. 937, Art. 1704, p. 2593.)

Unlike the A.L.I. Model Act which established a state-controlled probation system, the California legislation kept probation within the local courts.

The Youth Authority Act and subsequent amendments extended limited powers to the Director of the Youth Authority to receive reports from the courts, inspect juvenile halls and county camps receiving Youth Authority or state subsidies, to set standards for juvenile detention and to develop standards for probation work.

*The right of the juvenile court judge to revoke a committee to Youth Authority was later eliminated.

According to Lemert:

Significantly, however, these powers were never employed at least not coercively. Instead they were subordinated to a policy of cooperation that more or less became the official ideology of the C.Y.A. In effect, if not intent, these powers became a foundation for co-optative methods through which the organization sought to achieve its goals, methods that evolved primarily from work done by the Division of Field Service. (Lemert, 1970: p. 52.)

The cooperative ideology and sometimes cooptative methods of the Youth Authority forged in this period were readily apparent in the YDDPP and Joint Board effort. Strong traditions of close working relationships with counties permitted Youth Authority personnel to gain approval from local juvenile justice officials for the youth service projects, and the concept of a Joint Board. Often local agencies tolerated project activities and staff solely because of the "prestige of the Youth Authority." NCCD was told by a number of interviewees that local justice officials would often call the Central Unit to complain about various issues surrounding the youth service projects. Our informants made it clear that justice officials generally assumed that Youth Authority staff were "on their side" and thus could be trusted to "cool out" improper program directions. This reservoir of goodwill and trust appears to have been a crucial element enabling fairly radical methods of community organizing to receive the surface blessings of local juvenile justice officials.

Perhaps, the most significant event in the history of the Youth Authority occurred in 1942. Scandals at the Whittier State School for Boys, including several runaways and two well-publicized suicides, focused public attention on the fragmented and deteriorating California reform schools. After a California State Assembly Interior Committee investigation, the governor asked the Youth Authority to take over the management of three youth correctional institutions (Whittier, Preston and Ventura). This decision was fateful to the original mandate of the Youth Authority for diagnosis, training and treatment of youthful offenders. One knowledgeable insider reported that the need to administer existing institutions and to promote construction of new juvenile correctional facilities established the budget priority for the Division of Institutions within the Youth Authority. Even today the vast majority of Youth Authority funds are expended to support facilities and staff at correctional institutions.

The Division of Institutions soon began to claim the largest portion of the time and attention of Youth Authority administrators and, thus, organizational efforts in the areas of prevention, parole services and technical assistance to county justice agencies and institutions staff strongly influenced this overall direction and ideology of the Youth Authority to maintain and expand correctional institutions.

Lemert comments:

Recruitment practices, in-training programs, and job assignments tended to preserve a custodial pattern of action within the Division of Institutions, despite the C.Y.A.'s informal dedication and official allegiance to the purposes of individualized treatment. (Lemert, 1970: pp. 52, 53.)*

Pre dominance of the Institutions branch within the Youth Authority continues today. Although a majority of Youth Authority staff seem to value prevention as a higher priority than corrections and to recognize the harms of incarceration, the organizational ethos of the Youth Authority remains rooted in its custodial functions.** For the Central Unit of the YDDPP this meant a constant struggle for them to establish legitimacy within the Youth Authority hierarchy. At least for a few years YDDPP staff were able to command the attention and full support of top agency officials. But, changing top leadership signaled the "loss of the political base of the project within the Youth Authority." Members of the Central Unit felt general skepticism among Youth Authority management, that an agency that "locks kids up" should not be sponsoring

*See also Robert L. Smith, 1955.

**Doug Knight "A California Strategy for Preventing Crime and Delinquency," 1975: p. 6.

community-involved delinquency prevention programs. Moreover, staff of the YDDPP viewed themselves as pariahs within the Prevention and Community Corrections Branch with its dominant focus on detention and local correctional facilities. YDDPP Central Unit staff believed their project was often viewed by peers as "one more experiment" to be abandoned with the termination of grant funds.

In the 1950's and 1960's Youth Authority staff developed a variety of psychologically oriented treatment approaches for its institutionalized and paroled populations. Youth Authority research efforts gained national prominence in examining new diagnostic and treatment approaches, such as guided-group interaction, group therapy and the use of psychological tests to predict parole outcome.

In this period of optimism and discovery many new diagnostic and treatment approaches were evaluated. Correctional administrators and social scientists hoped for a significant breakthrough in treatment, but it never came. Although some questionable evaluation studies claimed successes, there is no evidence that the new therapies had a major impact on recidivism. In fact, some people began to question the concept of enforced therapy, and argued that treatment-oriented processes might be more oppressive institutional routines. (Krisberg and Austin, 1978: p. 42.)

Several of the YDDPP Central staff had enthusiastically participated in these experimental treatment efforts. Their first-hand experience with the failures of institutionally based treatment was one factor causing them to lobby for a

strong mandate in the prevention area. YDDPP Central Unit staff were convinced of the insensitivity and irrelevance of these therapies to the life situation of the poor, black and brown youth who had begun to comprise a majority of the Youth Authority's client population.

In the 1960's the Youth Authority was in the forefront of the trend toward community-based corrections. The central idea was that rehabilitation could be accomplished more effectively outside conventional correctional facilities. This led to a series of treatment programs such as partial release programs, halfway houses, expanded parole services and to attempts to decrease commitment rates to juvenile institutions. For example, the Youth Authority, together with the National Institute of Mental Health, sponsored the Community Treatment Project as an attempt to replace institutional treatment with intensive parole supervision supported by psychological diagnosis and intervention methods. Offenders were assigned to different levels of supervision and to specific parole officers based upon assessments of their Interperson Maturity or I-Level.

In 1965, staff succeeded in a bold campaign to convince the legislature to give cash subsidies to local counties to strengthen probation services and to reduce rates of commitment

to Youth Authority facilities. The amount of funds received by counties was calculated upon a decreased rate of commitments from a county, using a base or average rate for several selected years for that jurisdiction. Subsidy money was earmarked to develop new types of probation supervisory programs (California Welfare and Institutions Code, Art. 7, 1820-1827; Stats 1965, Chap. 1029).

Proponents of community based corrections argued that correctional costs could be reduced and rehabilitation results improved in a community context. Reducing state expenditures became more attractive as state governments experienced the fiscal crunch of the late 1960's and the 1970's.* It was also believed that reducing institutional populations would alleviate tension and violence within the institutions.

Several unanticipated consequences of their community corrections programs confronted Youth Authority officials in the early 1970's. For example, the community programs appeared to screen out "less serious offenders" and those youngsters sent to Youth Authority institutions were perceived as more dangerous and, as a result, kept in custody for longer periods of time. During

*See James O'Conner, 1973, for a discussion of the causes of this fiscal crunch.

the decade after Probation Subsidy, the average Youth Authority ward was older, more likely charged with a violent crime and more likely to be a third world person. Both length of institutional stay and length of time of parole increased during the same period (1966 - 1976).*

Another important development was the decline in client population for the Youth Authority. During the post-subsidy decade, first commitments to the Youth Authority decreased from a rate of 148 per 100,000 youth population in 1968, to a rate of 86 per 100,000 youth population in 1977. There was a rapid decline within the institutionalized population until 1972 which has since stabilized. The declining rates of commitment to the Youth Authority also has substantially reduced the parole population. On January 1, 1970 there were 14,463 persons on parole; seven years later the parole population had shrunk to 7,659 - just over one half of the 1970 population.

These declines in client population posed obvious budgetary implications for Youth Authority officials. Faced with empty beds and steadily declining caseloads, Youth Authority leaders contemplated declining state budget allocations and massive layoffs of parole personnel. Within this historical context,

*The younger and less violent offenders often spend substantial time within County institutions. (See Lerman, 1975.)

staff ideas to branch out into new services that might help retain personnel naturally met with high interest within the organization.

It is in this context of shrinking clientele and budgets that the YDDPP was formulated - as an attempt to involve the Youth Authority directly in community-based prevention. Ironically, the same fiscal constraint that had led to the budget crunch, Probation Subsidy, would also cast these new programs in competition with other agencies for scarce funds. Now the Youth Authority on a local level would be sparring for the same youthful clients as county probation departments seeking probation subsidies.

The idea for a YDDPP began when Youth Authority personnel at the Toliver Parole Center in Oakland proposed a model for community-based delinquency prevention (Project COOL). Parole staff observed that siblings and friends of their parole clients expressed interest in utilizing the facilities of the parole center. Toliver staff proposed that the programs and facilities of the center be expanded to include all neighborhood youth and that the focus of Toliver become delinquency prevention.

Concurrently Youth Authority officials became aware of large amounts of federal funds available for delinquency prevention

from HEW's Office of Youth Development. In fact, former Youth Authority staff held prominent positions within that agency. The basic concepts of Project COOL were reshaped to be consistent with federal funding guidelines and a comprehensive proposal was presented to HEW.

Subsequently, a large research and demonstration grant was awarded to the Youth Authority to develop youth service systems in three California communities. Prerequisites of federal funding subtly shaped the ideas of program planners. Support within the Youth Authority hierarchy was won for a plan that brought in substantial extra-mural funds to partially defray Youth Authority administrative costs and to provide a vehicle for retaining endangered parole staff. In the spirit of the ever expanding superagency for youth, California embarked upon the creation of a program possessing a rather grandly conceived design and utilizing large numbers of existing Youth Authority staff. The Joint Board was created almost as an afterthought as a joint-funding vehicle by which the Youth Authority could concentrate state general funds for county prevention activities into the emerging YDDPP. Since subfunding (Joint Board) monies could be used as matching funds for large HEW and LEAA grants, the Joint Powers agreement held the potential for significant multiplication of the relatively meager \$200,000 annual state allocation.

Final plans for the YDDPP reflected influences beyond the bureaucratic needs of the Youth Authority or the expediency of grantsmanship. Project planners possessed a genuine commitment to radically alter the "state of the art" in delinquency prevention and to expand the range of services offered the Youth Authority. Motivated by what one staff member described as "naive liberalism," the members of the YDDPP sought to apply the community organizing techniques of the war on poverty to three California communities. Moreover, the Central staff was deeply influenced by movements emphasizing ethnic pride and community control. They were trying to apply radical social change tactics within the fabric of a delinquency control effort. Focusing in on social change caused YDDPP Central Unit to ponder appropriate strategies for building bases of power among the disenfranchised. Program plans reflected a basic philosophic stance in favor of grass roots democracy.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the YDDPP story was that Youth Authority staff were able to gain the confidence and support of community residents during a period when most social observers assumed that impoverished ethnic communities deeply distrusted representatives of the establishment. Further, Central staff were able to gain support for seemingly radical ideas within a correctional bureaucracy designed to control youth crime. Central Unit staff saw connections between the

pursuit of social justice and delinquency prevention, insights which eluded most of their academic and practitioner peers.

In the next chapter we examine how this ambitious social experiment was articulated in terms of theoretical assumptions and specific programmatic goals.

Chapter 3

"What Have They Done To My Song": Delineation of Theory and Goals in YDDPP

The contextual mix of organizational setting, funding expediency, and diversive political agendas contributed to an eclectic and not well articulated theory of delinquency prevention as the base of the YDDPP. Theoretical ambiguities are evident in both early proposals and later in attempts to synthesize the emerging theoretical framework of the entire project. The California experience in delinquency prevention well illustrates how the poverty of theory contributes to structural ambiguities and conflicting perceptions of program aims and methods.

Contradictions in theory often result in contradictions in practice causing confusing and often pointless conflict among program participants. More attention to explicit theoretical differences among main YDDPP participants, together with strategies for testing and refining basic assumptions, might have helped YDDPP staff to anticipate serious operational problems. Had YDDPP staff devoted more effort towards integrating theory and practice, their five-year research and demonstration effort might have produced a clearer and more profound consensus on principle guidelines for future Youth Authority Prevention efforts.

To their credit, Central Unit staff grasped the desirability of a theory-based strategy:

Delinquency and crime prevention efforts should follow assumptions and guidelines. Those assumptions and guidelines, furthermore, should be as specific as flexibility for change, diversity of approach, and knowledge about the problem allow. Not to specify a basis for action is to invite piecemeal programs of convenience and funding expediency. (Knight, 1975: p. 7.)

In reality Central Unit staff found themselves under a number of unique constraints even during early stages of program development:

1. Although delinquency prevention was a statutory mandate as a Youth Authority responsibility, there were few previous major agency attempts at prevention programming and the Youth Authority had no official policy statement or guidelines to structure YDDPP goals and methods.
2. Delinquency prevention occupies a precarious position within the range of Youth Authority operation, i.e., maintaining correctional facilities and programs and supervising parolees. It might even be argued that the goal of delinquency prevention exists in competition with other agency functions. Prevention implies activities aimed at severely limiting the number of youth who are formally processed by the juvenile justice system - an anomaly for a major component of that same justice system.
3. The Youth Authority's prior activities were rooted in cooperative relations with county justice officials and

not working directly with community residents. For example, community interactions in the parole area were generally confined to helping specific clients as opposed to advocacy on behalf of all residents of a community. (Recall Lemert's observation that service to local justice agencies was part of the dominant organization ideology of the Youth Authority.) Advocacy activities were limited to instances in which a presumed correctional approach required Youth Authority staff to advance their clients' needs. Put differently, the Youth Authority was an arm of government, representing established interests and only rarely had its staff assumed advocacy roles in conflict with other public agencies. Plans for YDDPP implied a vastly expanded concept of appropriate advocacy roles for Youth Authority staff.*

4. The multiple sources of funding dictated at least two different sets of prevention strategies that constrained project planners. Funds available from HEW's Office of Youth Development encouraged focus upon youth development and attempts to create "youth service systems." Monies

*This conflict is well illustrated in the paper developed by Toliver Project director, James Embree, "Systems Change".

available from the State Office of Criminal Justice Planning (a conduit of Justice Department funds) focused upon the objective of diversion. Moreover, later funding guidelines led youth projects into drug abuse prevention and work with juvenile status offenders. Agency agendas, such as the desire to retain existing parole staff in Oakland, or the Youth Authority's desire to enhance the activities of local delinquency prevention commissions, added yet another theoretical dimension to the YDDPP project.

Working within these contradictions, Youth Authority Central Unit staff and on-site project directors worked out a set of paper goals attempting to cover all bases of different fundors' priorities and organizational agendas. Subsequent attempts to crystallize the theoretical framework of YDDPP were likewise fashioned to satisfy multiple agendas and constrained by a traditional Youth Authority posture of remaining somewhat detached and non-partisan on issues in which various local officials held widely divergent viewpoints.*

*Lemert provides an excellent example of this type of dilemma for CYA - the intense controversy surrounding redrafting of California's juvenile court codes in the 1960's. "The plight of the CYA during the controversy . . . is best pictured as an agency caught up in the strands of its own carefully nurtured policy of service and consultation. Being in a special position, the CYA could neither be neutral or actively supportive." (Lemert, 1970: p. 144.)

It is worthwhile to review the proposed goals and theoretical framework developed by YDDPP staff. Basic ambiguities or contradictions in these concepts greatly contributed to recurring operational problems plaguing the entire project.

The Proposed Goals of YDDPP:

Analysis of proposals developed during the YDDPP project reveals a fairly standardized listing of broad aims. These goal statements are repeated, virtually intact, from proposal to proposal. These proposals outline three approaches to delinquency prevention: one aiming at reducing youths' alienation from their communities; one advocating the development of youth service systems, articulated social and juvenile justice services, to facilitate positive youth development; and a third proposing a more integrative organizing of the community at large to begin to address the needs of its youth.

The first avenue to delinquency reduction was to be accomplished through achievement of the following interim objectives:

1. Reduction of the amount of youth-adult alienation within the community.
2. The development of more socially acceptable and meaningful participatory roles for youth in the community.
3. The elimination of the negative labeling of youth by the community, particularly youth with problems.

Program planners asserted that these objectives implied "the development of a youth advocacy program involving both adults and youths."

The second goal of delinquency reduction - that of establishing a system of coordinated services for youth - attempted to address youths' needs through an external arena. Youth services systems are supposed to promote diversion, reduce delinquency and enhance the development of youth. Proposals explain that youth service systems will provide a broad base of social, educational, recreational and counseling services aimed at "breaking the negative cycle of social and economic dependency." Youth employment was to increase through more use of educational and training opportunities and youth were to participate in neighborhood self-help projects.

The third major goal aims at facilitating community organization, self-help, and pride, as a way of fostering youth development.

Goals are:

1. To develop a climate in the test areas that will enable residents, clients and social agencies to cooperate in meeting community needs.
2. To contribute to a general social and environmental cooperation among residents of the target areas, specifically in the ability to identify common problems affecting youth and to take concerted action to resolve them.

Connection among these rather broad aims of community organizing, youth advocacy, and diversion are not well spelled out in these proposals. It would be easy for various readers to reach very different conclusions about the purposes of the YDDPP. Particularly confused are the boundaries between final goals and interim objectives. For example, often it appears that delinquency reduction is the ultimate program goal, but sometime, delinquency reduction is pursued to "break a cycle of dependency and delinquency," or to reduce adult-youth alienation. Likewise, the proposals leave unclear the relationship of the goals of diversion to the broader effort by the "elimination of labeling of youth that creates negative consequences."

From proposal to proposal there are slight variations in the ways these diversified aims are stated. The initial Youth Authority proposal to HEW makes reference to "systems change" as an underlying reference. This reference is absent in proposals for La Colonia and Toliver. The Toliver grant applications for the Office of Criminal Justice Planning (LEAA funds) expands the general objectives of reducing youth-adult alienation and the elimination of negative labeling by stating specific ways the goals may be accomplished, such as converting a vacant lot into a mini-park, and improving safety features for youngsters by erecting school crossings. La Colonia's HEW proposal (May, 1973 - April, 1974) described the objective of

developing a community structure linking agencies within the community to establish an advocacy process geared to the individual in need, as well as to systems or policy concerns. The language of the La Colonia proposal suggests that the concept of a community advocacy process is related to the overall focus upon systems change articulated in early HEW proposals.

By the inception of the Del Paso Heights project, service systems linkage had become more of a focal point. In fact, other avenues of delinquency reduction, such as diversion, advocacy and provision of youth services, are absent altogether. The four project objectives for Del Paso Heights were:

1. To facilitate the organization of Del Paso Heights residents to serve the needs of their youth in delinquency prevention through the development of a project-wide advisory board (Resident Board) and neighborhood youth advocacy boards.
2. In response to needs determined by community boards to create a greater degree of cooperation among existing youth resource holders, including public and private agencies and community groups in the prevention of delinquency through demonstrated sharing of knowledge and reallocation.
3. To provide a means of developing a greater degree of cooperation between Del Paso Heights community and the various aspects of government in the prevention of delinquency through demonstrated responsiveness of governmental agencies to concerns of the community boards.
4. Within three years to develop the capacity of the Del Paso Heights community to effectively continue operation of the program.

The major shift in the Del Paso Heights project's goals apparently stemmed from the conclusions of Central Unit staff that Toliver and La Colonia had placed too much emphasis on direct services. In Del Paso Heights, Youth Authority planners sought to demonstrate the viability of an exclusive orientation upon "systems change." However, it appears that this term had changed its meaning for Central Unit staff. Whereas La Colonia and, to a lesser extent, Toliver embraced a posture of systems change through advocacy, the Del Paso Heights proposal presents the image of more cooperative and supportive linkages between public agencies and community residents.

An Evolving Frame of Reference

Although numerous "developmental studies" and internal memoranda speculated about theoretical gaps in implementing the projects, the ongoing managerial problems inherent in administering so complex an endeavor seemed to preclude an analysis of some of the structural roots of specific project problems. For example, Central staff often criticized the on-site project directors for their overemphasis on direct services as opposed to "system change" efforts. Site directors similarly declared the Central Unit staff as "too distant and abstract" and unable to appreciate the real needs of communities. A graphic example of this is related by a Central Unit staff person,

"...we were trying to emphasize some of the indirect ways of influencing things in those communities...and they needed to give poor people food and shoes. And we were saying there aren't enough shoes to go around anyway. You see our point? There really are not enough shoes to go around."

This dispute surfaced again at the NCCD-sponsored evaluation conference. Behind the obvious point of disagreement existed fundamentally different perceptions about the purpose of specific project activities. What to Central staff appeared ineffective, small-scale direct service programs, were interpreted by on-site staff as crucial steps in community organizing. It was evident that project staff and its Central Unit were operating under quite distinct assumptions and strategies, although they often used similar terminology to describe the program. At stake were conflicting theoretical assumptions, only partly attributable to the differing contexts of the participants (Youth Authority administrative offices versus poverty communities). Vague formulations of the overall objectives of YDDPP likewise contributed to intra-project conflicts among staff, community board members, delinquency board members, delinquency prevention commissions and local government officials at all three sites.

After two years of operational experiences of the YDDPP, research staff produced a report summarizing the interim

results of demonstration projects. Authored by Central staff members, Doug Knight and two on-site researchers, Renee Goldstein and Jesus Gutierrez, the research report* provides an excellent portrayal of the theoretical structure of the YDDPP. Further, the authors present a thoughtful discussion of different types of action strategies emerging at each project.

Of special interest is the authors' attempt to articulate a set of empirically derived propositions meant to reflect the essentials of the YDDPP project. Knight, et al. attempted to sharpen the "loose understandings" among project staff through a "sensitizing framework" permitting participants to clarify their specific agreements and disagreements about the underlying theory of the YDDPP.

"The [YDDPP] is not without a certain degree of confusion about goals themselves. 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 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 . . . At the same time, other staff view much of their early activity in relation to immediate issues of delinquency and the justice system." (Knight, et al., 1974-5)

*(Knight, Goldstein and Gutierrez, 1974)

The evolving frame of reference is presented in terms of basic concepts designed to produce definitions of useful precision. Knight, et al., offer the following five propositions:

1. Delinquency doesn't exist without social definition of rule-breaking sanctioned by potential or actual legal processing.
2. Most youth commit delinquent acts. Much delinquency is thus produced within "normal" patterns of behavior.
3. Patterns of behavior which produce serious or repetitive delinquency result from the breakdown of social ties - - the social bond - - between youth and conventional society.
4. That breakdown of the bond to society has two major components:
 - (a) personal controls of the individual (commitment to conformity), and
 - (b) features of social institutions -- family, education, work, etc. - - which establish the key conditions for the attachment of young people to society.
5. Weak commitment to conformity is translated into delinquent acts because of situational opportunities and inducements.

Taken together these five statements attempt a bold synthesis of a vast theoretical and research literature on delinquency. While impressive, however, this framework goes somewhat overboard in its quest for simplification. It mixes theoretical traditions of the conflict theory and the consensus view of society. Knight, et al., are sensitive to the politically negotiated aspects of deviance, but confuse this issue by later relying upon the positivistic concept of a "commitment to

conformity". They fail to consider that the possession of this "commitment to conformity" is equally subject to a politicized definitional process.

This framework relies on a theoretical tradition plagued with circular logic. The youth's alleged commitment to conformity is demonstrated by his behavior - either law violating or law abiding. Moreover, this behavior only becomes "delinquent" when it has been officially so labeled. Then this officially labeled delinquent behavior itself is seen as an indicator of an internal psychological state which is translated into delinquency through a series of pushes and pulls - a circle which confuses causes and effects considerably. Further, this theory does not specify whether the problem or lack of commitment to conformity in the part of the youth resides in the cognitive, emotional, or evaluation dimensions of human action. Put differently, is this crisis for the youth one of understanding, of feelings or of values? Much sociological research has pursued this issue without arriving at any level of consensus.

Another theoretical problem with the YDDPP framework is that it seriously mixes levels of analysis. Proposition #4 connects the joint foci, individuals and society, with the etiology of delinquency. Although the authors repeatedly clarify their view of society's culpability in the genesis of delinquent careers, the causal arena remains the individual's psyche. More

attention could have been paid to distinguishing between causes of individual behavior versus the generation of differential rates of delinquency. Knight, et al. never successfully bridge the two analytic levels thus contributing to the confusing character of the entire theoretical framework.

Perhaps the most serious problem with the YDDPP framework is its lack of full articulation. This grand synthesis is produced in less than seven manuscript pages. The authors provide a grossly inadequate description of their key terminology. Merging so much theory with so little argumentation seems to defeat the original intentions of YDDPP staff. Rather than assisting participants to clarify specific action strategies, the "framework" offers little more than jargon-laden slogans. The framework actually obscures several key theoretical issues and thus contributes further ambiguity to the YDDPP experience.

The Underdeveloped Political Agenda

Neither the goals statements nor the "framework" accurately reflects the political theories that occupied most of the attention of YDDPP staff during its five years. YDDPP staff spent scores of hours debating strategies of social change, but their perspective was never clearly formulated. Knight, et al. briefly introduce one dimension of their political strategy - the Youth Authority as an "Invited Community Broker."

"The 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 interest. The function would produce a "start-up" process in a community --but also provide an increment of knowledge for further application. Oversimplified, the notion suggests knowledge-building as part of a "third-party" effort to help a total community work together for its youth and future."
(Knight, et al., 1974: p. 1-2)

Youth Authority Staff planned to enter the local political process, on behalf of poverty communities, using the vehicle of local delinquency prevention commissions - groups for which CYA has a statutory mandate. YDDPP Central Unit staff believed that delinquency prevention commissions could be politically activated and thus become better advocates for communities. At the same time, YDDPP staff hoped to involve poverty community residents on these commissions - "to educate uptown and to politicize downtown." Youth Authority staff believed that the more well-to-do members of these commissions would help forge informal bridges to local power brokers who controlled resources. The Joint Board subfunding strategy was viewed as a mechanism towards developing patterns of positive working relationships between the powerful and the powerless.

The "invited community broker" theory exists largely subrosa and unarticulated in internal memoranda and staff debates. Its main propositions were neither clearly stated nor subjected to empirical verification. Moreover, it does not appear that the

Central staff's political strategy was widely discussed with on-site project directors. For example, one project director referred to this strategy as "...really at a higher level. It had very little effect on me and the program." While virtually all YDDPP staff seemed agreed upon the desirability of community empowerment for its own sake as well as for the purposes of delinquency prevention, each on-site project director and members of the Central Unit followed individually developed political organizing strategies without much sharing at a state-wide level. Better communication about their social action assumptions might have led to constructive criticism sharpened by comparative experiences. Had the project directors fully understood the common problems at each site, they might have more clearly perceived the structural roots of their problems.

"What Have They Done to My Song?"

Several aspects of the YDDPP reflect the confusion of multiple levels of unarticulated theories among diverse participants. Youth Authority staff, community residents, researchers and local justice officials were all interacting with very different perceptions about the needs of poverty communities, the causes of dependency and delinquency and viable strategies for social change. From any particular vantage point, the actual program seemed a distortion of original plans.

Differing perceptions of community needs and appropriate action modalities were augmented by very ambiguously defined authority and responsibility. The next chapter contains further descriptions of these organizational contexts. The point here is: confusions over power and authority were rooted in the several underdeveloped theoretical frameworks. Serious deficiencies in the YDDPP's theory necessarily placed several participants "out on a limb." One project director exemplified this by commenting on the rather nebulously defined community organization approach, stating that, "The people are going to test you - who's side are you on? Are you with the system or are you with the community?... We needed to have some guidelines and I could never get an answer from the agency on how far can we go."

Members of resident boards, Youth Authority staff, Joint Board members, and county officials all found themselves bearing paper, and sometimes, responsibilities, but possessing very little real power. This situation began with a lack of articulation in theory and was aggravated as successive entities (such as the Joint Board) were superimposed onto an already complex organizational melange.

Perhaps the Joint Board members were the most poignant victim of the lack of adequate theory. Not only didn't the Joint Board have a theory, it operated with an extraordinarily vague mission:

- 1) to connect organizations, government agencies, and local citizens to each other, and to new ideas, plans and resources;
- 2) to subfund (and otherwise assist) local community programming;
- 3) to be a crucial conduit for local input to statewide planning.

Joint Board members never fully grasped how they were to produce the connections implied in their first goal. Since the Joint Board was staffed by Youth Authority Central Unit staff, it is difficult to imagine what linking activities other than their monthly meetings were not redundant to Central Unit efforts. For example, the Joint Board did sponsor training sessions for other delinquency prevention commissions but this activity was a regular mission of the Youth Authority and was accomplished through extensive Youth Authority staff work.

Joint Board Members were enthused about their role as a conduit for local input at the State level. For a time, Joint Board members expected that based upon their unique experiences they would be appointed to the statewide advisory panel to Youth Authority; their hopes were not realized.

From time to time, the Board tried to develop new agendas. Minutes of Joint Board meetings, for example, contain discussions of pending legislation. Some members expressed an interest in taking formal positions in youth legislation, but these plans

never materialized. An interest was also expressed in a community education process through the media about the need for improved youth services, but this too was not fully operationalized.

The subfunding process presented another set of contradictions to Joint Board members. Lacking a theory of delinquency prevention or even a precise set of goals, members possessed no formal criteria against which to evaluate various funding proposals. In fact, they funded virtually all project proposals brought to them. Lacking a rational basis for allocating funds, the Joint Board basically had to abdicate their decision-making authority and simply divide the funds equally among the three counties. Actual proposal review for the subfunding process reverted largely to local delinquency prevention commissions.

Operating within a conceptual vacuum, the Joint Board became a rubber stamp for local decisions. Importantly, the Joint Board retained its administrative responsibility for the funds: a position which inevitably pushed their concerns in the direction of auditing fiscal records, requesting additional programmatic documentation and attempting some limited attempts at evaluating the impact of the subfunded programs.

These social processes often played out in terms of feelings of being manipulated or betrayed (depending upon one's vantage

point). This feeling of distrust is well illustrated by one Joint Board member's observation that, "YA has a long tradition of being a carpetbagger." Another Joint Board member commented on the Youth Authority's involvement with the Joint Board by saying "They steered things in terms of what they really wanted done...sometimes it was difficult for us...to say no...when they had it all pre-planned, pretty well programmed."

Chapter 4

Project Development

Translating delinquency prevention theory into the street work of a poverty community can be expected to produce some discrepancies, even with the best of theories. In YDDPP, theory, as we have seen, was eclectic, somewhat contradictory and not coupled with well-articulated strategies for implementation. As always, the test of this mix of intent and method was in the real world of practice in the three target communities. There each group of participants translated the general project design into what they saw as the specific service needs and politics of their own community context.

In this process of implementing the YDDPP, there were some operational differences paralleling the variations in design, among the three projects. Certainly, one of the most salient factors in project development was the melange of socio-political factors on the local project level. Relations between the projects and other agents of the juvenile justice system were characterized by conflict. This conflict was critical, moreover, because projects were dependent on these agencies for their ultimate financial survival after the YDDPP. There was no structure within the overall design to resolve this conflict, and the Youth Authority staff did not commit

the necessary time or resources to projects to ameliorate this conflict either.

There was, however, a striking congruence in the orientation of each project to a common goal - that of community empowerment in the face of adversarial relationships between public agencies and their clientele and interagency conflict of social service and juvenile justice gatekeepers in each community.

This orientation toward community empowerment grew because project staff were confronted with community residents who were having considerable problems with established social service and juvenile justice agencies and who appeared to possess little political or economic power. The goal of organizing the community became one of addressing conflicts between communities and public agencies. However, the YDDPP Central Unit staff, and other funding agents, continued to stress the importance of making cooperative linkages with these established agencies. A gap in perceptions about program activities developed offering revealing insights into the problems of creating an adequate theory of organizing in a poverty community.

Specifics of Community Context and Project Design

Toliver Center was created in Northwest Oakland, a racially segregated, impoverished black community located within a

heavily urbanized area. Oakland has the seventh highest rate of reported crime in some 400 American cities with over 50,000 in population.* Almost all (95 percent) of the Youth Authority's parolees in Oakland reside in the Toliver flatlands neighborhoods. Poverty and unemployment are endemic, with over 80 percent of families there receiving some form of public assistance. There are educational problems as well - average high school reading scores in the Northwest Oakland community are well below statewide averages. (Average reading scores are 6.1 grade level for N.W. Oakland, as compared with 11.4, statewide.)

Poverty programs and community organization already had an extensive history when YDDPP began at Toliver. The area had been through the 1960's with huge influxes of funds, with the kind of community conflict engendered by programs like Model Cities, and with urban disturbances by highly politicized groups like the Black Panther Party of Oakland. The prevailing attitude was that outside funders were not to be trusted, but that the community itself could utilize outside resources to do some organizing on its own. At this particular time in the

*For complete descriptions of the Toliver Community see "Community Oriented Open Line" (COOL), CYA Proposal to California Council on Criminal Justice (1971) and Knight, et al. (1974).

area, there was an indigenous effort in community organization and political empowerment going on, spearheaded by the Black Panthers.

The YDDPP's design for Toliver consisted of transforming an already existing parole center with its staff of parole agents into a community-oriented program diverting youth from the juvenile justice system. The new Toliver program would set up youth service systems utilizing community resources and connecting these with established agency services. The problems in this design were at least three-fold. First, a considerable retraining and restructuring was needed to turn a parole operation into a youth diversion and community service organization. Second, the very agencies with which Toliver was supposed to establish service linkages (social service and justice agencies), were often considered by community residents as adversaries to their community. Third, the community's long history with poverty programs imposed from the outside has produced a general climate of distrust for any new efforts of this kind.

In contrast to the highly industrialized and urban character of N.W. Oakland, La Colonia is a Mexican-American barrio in the agricultural lands of Southern California. The populace of approximately 15,000 consists primarily of economically deprived farmworkers. La Colonia's history is tragically characterized by extreme segregation, poverty and racism. One of its most

striking geographic features is the community's isolation from the neighboring city of Oxnard: the barrio is literally hidden and separated from the town by a railroad track and a large hedge. Recorded unemployment has been as high as 40 percent, educational attainment is very low (a median level for residents of 5.1 years in school), and youth crime and youth conflict with neighboring police are typical problems.*

The Colonia, while severely oppressed, has not always been quiet. The community erupted in a serious riot in 1971 and as a result community-police relations were still strained when this youth services project began. Similar to the Toliver area, barrio residents bore a distrust of outsiders, heightened by their insular status in relation to the city of Oxnard.

The program design, in terms of community organization, was perhaps the most ambitious of all in La Colonia. The intent was to involve local residents in decision-making from the beginning through the advisory board, La Mesa Directiva, which was to be elected by the entire community. Attempts were made as well to

*For description of La Colonia see Knight, et al., (1974) "In Colonia Youth Service Project" proposal to the California Council on Criminal Justice (1973), and "Colonia Family Living Study: Summer-Fall 1971" (Ventura County Neighborhood Youth Corps, February 26, 1972)

structurally link up the community with established gatekeepers, by having the County of Ventura assume fiscal agency for the project. Other program goals, such as youth diversion, took a backseat to the larger goal of community empowerment. In fact, the later problems that were to occur in La Colonia had much to do with this goal of empowerment, in a community context of extreme economic and political oppression.

Although situated in the more urban setting of Sacramento, Del Paso Heights shares some of the characteristics of La Colonia. It is a rural-looking area, miles from the urban center, with many unpaved streets and few services. The area contains most of the low-income workers and welfare recipients of the county. Del Paso Heights is a racially mixed area, with a population 51.9 percent White, 33 percent Black, 11.9 percent Chicano, and 3.2 percent other, but Black residents are highly concentrated in the community's core.*

Literally out of the sight and consciousness of the state's capital, Sacramento, the community of Del Paso Heights has been struggling through its ten years of annexation to the city with

*For descriptions on Del Paso Heights, see "The Del Paso Heights Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project", CYA proposal to the California Council on Criminal Justice (1975) and "Del Paso Heights, the City Apart", a Sacramento Union reprint (Sacramento, The Sacramento Union).

minimal levels of services and opportunities. Through the years, community organizing efforts have been aimed at upgrading housing and municipal services. Conflicts between residents and local law enforcement agents were frequent occurrences. Police-community relations considerably worsened prior to the YDDPP's inauguration because of the mistaken killing by police of a Black 15-year old in 1972.

The YDDPP design for Del Paso Heights concentrated mainly on the goal of creating linkages between community services and established services. The project, in fact, was not supposed to deliver direct services on its own, but rather to assist the many small indigenous community efforts which were already operating. Similar to La Colonia and Toliver, residents of Del Paso possessed a deep distrust of public agencies.

Common Themes in Project Development:

First steps in implementing each project entailed overcoming residents' distrust of outside agents and funders. This issue had been anticipated in part by the YDDPP Central Unit staff. To respond to this problem, Youth Authority on-site project directors were carefully selected for their sensitivity to problems of impoverished, racially segregated communities and each project director was chosen because he represented the predominant ethnic group within each target area. Further, an initial period of six months was allowed in the program's design

for preliminary community education to overcome resident distrust and resistance.

All of the site directors reported to NCCD that they encountered initial distrust on the part of residents and went to special lengths to overcome community suspicions of their intent. In Toliver the problem was especially severe, because the program was operating within a facility that had previously served as a parole center for the control of community youth, and residents had to be convinced that the Youth Authority had changed its service orientation towards community development and youth diversion. In La Colonia, a series of community-wide meetings were necessary before residents were willing to become involved. In Del Paso Heights, the site director inaugurated an extensive process of door-to-door canvassing and neighborhood meetings to inform the community about the project and solicit interest in its goals.

This effort of community education and initial organization also required that site directors immerse themselves in the ethos and culture of their respective communities, to become "one of us" rather than the "one of them" used by residents to characterize outsiders. This strong sense of identification between staff and community grew as each project developed, becoming largely responsible for the successes in community organization. This

growing community orientation also produced, however, a sense of distance between Youth Authority staff at the local project level and the Central Unit in Sacramento.

This distance is best exhibited in the debate within the project about "direct services versus institutional change." Youth Authority away from the local project level focused continually on the need for these communities to make relevant links with established services and political processes: the YDDPP Central Unit staff continued to stress the importance of utilizing delinquency prevention commissions to effect change in local juvenile justice agencies; HEW adhered to an aim of service linkages, in which project impact would be measured by the numbers and kinds of contacts projects had with established agencies; OCJP focused on juvenile diversion, which was, in turn, dependent on the project's establishing referral networks with police and probation departments responsible for processing or diverting youth in their systems.

These goals of external funding agents all required the cooperation of established institutions. Paradoxically, the term "institutional change" came to mean that poverty communities historically isolated from agency resources now were required to make connections to them in some relevant way.

*The Office of Criminal Justice Planning (OCJP) and the California Council on Criminal Justice (CCCJ) are two components of the California State Planning Agency.

Local projects, on the other hand, existed in communities where a lack of cooperation and support from public agencies was endemic. Moreover, residents often perceived themselves in conflicting relationships with social services and juvenile justice agencies. It should be noted that in this particular period established services were experiencing some degree of economic crisis. There were substantial cutbacks in welfare services and caseloads for example. Schools were in trouble, as teaching staff were being laid off and external funds for special educational programs were being withdrawn. At the community level the YDDPP organizers were confronted with a situation in which little would be gained by linking up with shrinking or adversarial institutionalized services. The real issue, as they saw it, was how to organize each community in order to demand from these agencies the services and resources that residents needed.

This community organizing took myriad forms at the three project sites. Advocacy became a common theme in that project staff often represented the rights and needs of residents to social service or juvenile justice agents. Alternative, community based services such as day care programs, experimental schools, and emergency food projects were created to fulfill peoples' survival needs not being satisfied by existing agencies. In some instances, community services, such as cultural programs for youth and

neighborhood improvement campaigns were enacted, appearing to bear little relationship to the stated goals of youth diversion.

These efforts were interpreted by the YDDPP Central Unit staff and other external funders as merely providing "direct services" and not addressing the goals of "institutional change." On a local level, these efforts were viewed as organizing strategies to unite residents around day-to-day survival issues and to build community pride and self-determination. This basic gap in perceptions persisted throughout the life of the project. It was exacerbated by the "we - they" split that developed between projects and established agencies on the local level, and site directors and the YDDPP Central Unit staff.

This split was particularly critical on the local level, because it was there that the projects' ultimate long-term impact would be measured and their survival beyond the initial funding period would depend. All three projects were to be at least partially supported by each county's correctional services agency after the close of the Youth Authority's involvement. Furthermore, both Toliver and La Colonia relied on local justice agents for referrals of youth for services.

In the area of referrals, there were problems from the outset. In Oakland, a long-standing conflict between the Alameda County

Probation Department and the Youth Authority precluded much cooperation from taking place. In addition, local police were initially worried about their own legal liability for clients in their custody who would be referred to Toliver for treatment. In La Colonia an even more confrontive relationship developed. Project staff attempted to stimulate youth awareness and politicization about their rights with correctional agents. Reactions by law enforcement officials to this education of their clients was not favorable. In addition, some police officers expressed to the NCCD evaluators that they did not trust project staff to counsel youth because many possessed police records of their own. Indeed, with conflict already existing between justice agents and residents in each community before the YDDPP, it is rather remarkable that diversion took place at all.*

It was also apparent that La Colonia and Toliver were competing with local justice agents for the same clients. As pointed out earlier, this critical conflict ensued in a time of general economic crisis when cities and counties were experiencing a fair amount of competition among established agencies for the

*An independent research effort rated the La Colonia program one of the most successful diversion programs in the entire state. (See Bohnstedt; 1978)

same clients. This conflict may have effected the projects' ultimate survival considerably. Toliver participants report that it was only after a highly publicized campaign to "save Toliver Center" that the Probation Department agreed to include the Center in its revenue-sharing contract. La Colonia staff contend that competition for clients with the Ventura County Probation Department was the underlying reason that the project was unable to survive.

It is difficult to test the accuracy of project staff's allegations about county interagency conflict after the fact and with the limited objective data available. It seems clear, however, that links between projects and established agencies on the local level were critical ingredients in the final demise of the YDDPP. Indeed, such linkages were often expressed in the loosely stated goals and theories guiding the project's development. These theories, however, did not take into account the structural conflict and the "we - they" patterns that historically characterized these communities' relations with these very public agencies. Further, the fact that the YDDPP local project directors had become advocates for poverty residents vis-a-vis public agencies, in order to establish their credibility in these communities, contributed to that conflict.

The YDDPP Central staff, moreover, cannot be exempted from their role in this conflict either. There was a lack of foresight in the initial design in that well-articulated structural links were not attempted at the outset between local projects and juvenile justice agents. Lacking such linkages, the other role that the Youth Authority could play was the one they described for themselves as "invited community broker."

Participants on the local level reported that when the Central Unit staff did play this role of invited legitimator for local programs, they were very helpful in setting up needed links with established institutions. For example, one La Colonia staff member expressed that local police would never have sat with youth in gripe sessions unless the influence and stature of the Youth Authority had not been behind the project. Staff at Toliver related that this kind of intervention and legitimation by the Youth Authority was critical to obtaining any level of support from the juvenile justice system.

The problem that seems to have developed in the Youth Authority's fulfillment of its own designated role was the agency's lack of flexibility in terms of time and staff resources allotted to each project. In each of the three programs, an insufficient amount of time with the Youth Authority's full support was

mentioned by local project staff as a critical factor mitigating against success. The YDDPP, of course, was bound to some extent by funding periods determined by outside agencies like OCJP and HEW. Nevertheless, one of the major lessons of the project is that whatever the funding periods and parameters, projects such as this one require not only a well-articulated theory of how they are to succeed, but also the flexibility on the part of the sponsoring agency in terms of time and staff support, to see that they can have a fair chance of success.

Chapter 5

Organizational Structure: Who's in Charge?

The Youth Authority, as primary developer and administrator of the YDDPP, had fiscal and administrative responsibility for project activities. However, as the project evolved its multiple funding base with subsequent increases in fiscal agents, lines of authority and responsibility became blurred. This structural diffusion was further complicated because the project sought ultimately to develop poverty resident advisory boards into legal entities that were capable of administering the programs after the YDDPP had run its course. Definitions about what roles these citizens boards were to play during the YDDPP were often ambiguous. When problems erupted within communities about "people power" or management in general, administrative and fiscal structures had become so complex, it was very difficult to determine who was really in charge. These structural problems can best be described by giving an overview of emerging management roles and styles as the project developed.

The YDDPP began with the Youth Authority's broadly-stated mandate from the State of California for fostering programs in delinquency prevention. The legislature's charge to the Youth Authority contains no clearly stated procedures about how to manage such efforts; there was a great deal of administrative and policy flexibility for the project to utilize. This

flexibility often facilitated some very "creative" fiscal and administrative arrangement structures. It may be true that the great flexibility, and even ambiguity, management that evolved was one of the more salient and valuable parts of the project. It is also true, however, that this lack of clean management patterns presented a series of problems as the project developed.

During early stages at Toliver, the Youth Authority had a clear, undifferentiated line of fiscal and administrative control between the Central Unit staff and the local project's administration. The Youth Authority's Division of Community Services' Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project (YDDPP) was the primary and only fiscal agent for the seed grants from the Office of Criminal Justice Planning and HEW. In these early days no significant problems in fiscal or administrative management appeared.

At Toliver staffing was provided by the Youth Authority mainly from its own ranks - with Youth Authority administrative and research staff providing primary management, and Alameda County Youth Authority parole agents making up the main casework team. Extra staff were sought from the community and were designated as "parole aides" (originally conceived as non-Youth Authority staff, but after project directors had waged a lengthy battle

on their behalf, were ultimately absorbed as Youth Authority employees at the close of the project). Project staff were clearly part of the Youth Authority and any disagreements that developed were not based in management structures. The project's citizens' advisory board, moreover, was perceived as only advisory by Youth Authority staff. This hole was clearly defined and communicated to the board and no significant problems developed at the local level over who was in control.

In July 1973, one year after Toliver Center began, the Joint Powers Delinquency Prevention Board was set up. The primary rationale for this Board, as described earlier, was to facilitate subfunding of specific services. The Youth Authority needed a legal entity, linking the three target counties, to concentrate its state general fund monies for delinquency prevention. The Joint Board thus became a vehicle for the Youth Authority to spend its own state-allocated money on this pilot effort.

With the establishment of the Board, the first split occurred between administrative and fiscal roles. Now money and power did not flow in such a straightforward manner through the Youth Authority to the local project level. Some of the funds available for project activities now had to be sought by local programs from this new entity. The Youth Authority, however, still maintained supervisory control in that it supplied local

projects with administrative staff and also provided staff support for the Joint Board.

As the project expanded into La Colonia, management began to become more diffused and complex. At this point, about one-third of the way through the project's life, YDDPP Central Unit staff were at the height of their commitment to their aim of organizing poverty communities. La Colonia appeared to present an excellent context for an attempt at real community control coupled with the involvement of established gatekeepers that could make this desired community development a reality. Accordingly, the Central Unit staff encouraged both the development of a strongly politicized community advisory board, La Mesa Directiva, as a part of the project as well as the involvement of the County of Ventura through its Delinquency Prevention Commission.

This joint effort might be seen as addressing the aim of community organization and empowerment. It also, however, considerably increased the complexities of project management. Now, while the administrative staff was still provided by the Youth Authority, the project was also responsible to the County of Ventura and the Joint Board, in terms of the procurement and management of project funds. Lines of authority were diffused further with two fiscal agents, the Joint Board and Ventura County, sharing

supervisory control over project activities. Moreover, a community board, while still only advisory, was being given mixed messages about its governance over the project.

Adding to these growing ambiguities was the rather loose and imprecise fiscal accounting system Ventura County instituted to manage and disperse grant funds for the project. Ventura County was apparently responding to the considerable stature of the California Youth Authority. With the Youth Authority as primary project administrator, there seemed little concern needed over the issues of fiscal accountability. In addition, the Youth Authority Central Unit staff by their own admission had "sold" the program hard to the County and had not pushed for precise procedures for administering funds for fear of losing the County's commitment early in the life of the project. It is also true that the Youth Authority staff who served as site project directors subsequently encouraged informality in allocating and accounting for funds to allow themselves as much autonomy and fluidity as possible in administering the program. To cite just two examples of fiscal sloppiness: (1) Project directors actually received a few checks for thousands of dollars made out in their own names from public funders for program services; (2) It was almost impossible to ascertain later what the status of community staff had in terms of the County's own civil service system.

The first problems in the splitting of fiscal authority and accountability appeared, however, not at the project level, but within the Joint Powers Board. These took the form of accounting inaccuracies in subfunded projects. These discrepancies were not major and were perhaps to be expected in a subfunding process that was quickly and expediently set up with few initial rules for monitoring funds dispensed to local community groups. Nevertheless, the effect of these discrepancies upon the Board was dramatic as members began to realize that they actually might have legal liability for the grant funds they were allocating.

Beginning in December, 1974, the Board started to tighten up auditing procedures for all subfunded projects. By early spring, 1975, they had hired their own accountant and had begun assigning him increasing responsibility in program evaluation for the purposes of funding decision-making as well as for the careful monitoring of grant expenditures. A project participant called this turning of the Board to tighter administrative procedures a "vindication of bureaucracy." It can also be seen as a natural reaction of an advisory board in the face of a growing tangle of fiscal ties coupled with unclear definitions of fiscal and legal responsibility.

Concurrent with this metamorphosis of the Joint Board was the eruption of the management crises in La Colonia. These were rooted in the structural ambiguities of the project and occurred

in both the county's fiscal management and in the role of La Mesa in administration. The situation precipitating both problems was the withdrawal of Youth Authority supervisory staff, as a part of the planned exit of the state agency. Neither the community nor Ventura County appeared ready for its new role and responsibilities.

When the Youth Authority withdrew its own staff, a long-time community resident, and previously researcher and assistant director, took over the directorship. The County of Ventura reacted with some alarm to this changeover. There was particular consternation over the muddled fiscal procedures that had evolved for the project. With the formal legitimation of the Youth Authority gone, the County moved quickly to tighten accounting processes.

The Youth Authority's withdrawal also brought into public scrutiny pre-existing conflicts between the project's administration and its board, La Mesa. This conflict was due largely to the ambiguity in administrative structures. While La Mesa was on paper only an advisory board, in reality this body had often been accorded more supervisory powers. Indeed, the main intent of the YDDPP project was to enable La Mesa to ultimately assume control of the youth service program. The departure of Youth Authority staff created considerable confusion about the new director's source of authority: Was he accountable to the

Youth Authority because of its primary sponsorship of the YDDPP; to the County of Ventura, through its Delinquency Prevention Commission as primary fiscal agent; or to La Mesa Directiva, which was shortly to incorporate as a legal entity and assume the administration of the project?

Matters were further exacerbated by personality and power conflicts going on within the project. These conflicts, however, also had structural roots due to the ambiguity in power balance between the board and the project's administration.

The building conflict between La Mesa and the new project director ultimately brought all of these structural ambiguities out in the open and all major participants into interaction - project staff, La Mesa, the Delinquency Prevention Commission, the County Executive, the Probation Department, the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, the Ventura Board of Supervisors, and the YDDPP Central Unit staff. An extensive Management Audit was compiled, including detailed analyses of both fiscal and administrative matters. A partial listing of the lengthy recommendations to the County Board of Supervisors of Ventura, made in this report, shows the range of management discrepancies and the attempts to make clearer definitions of roles:

1. That your Board endorse the continued involvement of the Ventura County Corrections Services Agency and

the County Executive's Office in providing a smooth transition for the Project from its present crisis until it becomes an independent body. These County agencies would provide the ongoing technical assistance to the Project, along with the Youth Authority, in developing records and monitoring devices that will fulfill the County requirements. It is anticipated that this direct involvement will provide the Project with management expertise to insure fiscal, personnel and management practices.

2. That your Board support and recognize that the California Youth Authority is the direct supervisor of ... the Director of the La Colonia Youth Services Project.
3. That your Board endorse the Youth Authority taking the prime responsibility for providing training to the new La Mesa Directiva, in order to prepare them to fulfill their responsibilities as a governing body for the Project.
4. That your Board direct the County Executive to develop a seminar course that would make explicit the management approach that would be necessary in handling the administration of grant funds, programs, personnel, evaluation, etc.

It appears that some effort was made to enact these recommendations and to salvage the project. By this time, however, the situation had become so highly politicized and internal conflicts and distrust were so severe that rescue efforts proved impossible. Soon after this management audit, La Mesa disbanded and the project was terminated.

At the same time that management difficulties were escalating in La Colonia, the Youth Authority was implementing the last of the three model programs in the Del Paso Heights community of Sacramento. Here similar issues of fiscal agency surfaced again. However, unlike Ventura, Sacramento County withdrew as fiscal agent for the project because of legal advice that the County might be held responsible for hiring project staff after the grant period. The management model that was developed at Del Paso was closer to that at Toliver with the Youth Authority assuming the primary administrative and fiscal roles.

Even with Del Paso's more straightforward structure, structural difficulties again appeared. In this case, the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, the major fundor, became concerned about lines of authority, commitment, and accountability among the various entities involved in the project. Similar to the situation in Ventura, few formalized grievance and review procedures had been set up. To address these issues, OCJP ordered an evaluation of

the project before granting the second year of funding. The recommendations in this evaluation, partially cited here, sound remarkably like those of the management audit of La Colonia, particularly in the attempt to clarify the Youth Authority's role as primary agent, in the commitment on the part of county-based agencies, and in the ways the project's advisory body, the Association Board, was to assume governance.

1. The Youth Authority should fulfill its responsibility for administering the Project by:
 - a. Defining clearly a process for monitoring the Project;
 - b. Providing technical assistance and training to Project staff and Association Board;
 - c. Clarifying the Youth Authority's commitment to the Project and the Del Paso Heights community.
2. The Delinquency Prevention Commission should assume a stronger role as proponent for the Project by:
 - a. Serving as prime sponsor for the Project as a County agency;
 - b. Monitoring the Project to assure program objectives are being accomplished; and
3. The Association Board should begin immediately to assume authority over the Project in terms of policy and direction setting.
4. The role of the Association Board should be strengthened by:
 - a. Establishing clear understanding of the primary purpose and objectives of the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Project;
 - b. Obtaining the assistance and training necessary to exercise its proper role as administrator of the Project.

The quite similar management problems at La Colonia and Del Paso Heights provide illustration of the structural contradictions

plaguing the YDDPP. In their zeal to promote innovative strategies of community-involved delinquency prevention, Youth Authority planners mixed together too many legal and quasi-legal entities. The various citizen boards and governmental officials apparently never fully grasped the implications of the project's grant applications describing the intended administrative relationships. One clear message is that the Youth Authority should have demanded more active involvement among county officials and citizen boards during project planning stages. The YDDPP experience demonstrates that ambiguous managerial and administrative structures remain unproblematic during periods of early optimism and in the absence of serious operatory issues. But, when the blush of optimism is replaced by staff disputes, community conflicts or questions of program accountability, looseness and flexibility in administration can portend confusion and even disaster for the project.

Ironically, many observers of the YDDPP were quick to blame community residents for the conflicts and fiscal breakdowns within the projects. (Undoubtedly, this explanation could serve to assuage ones' own complicity in the problems of the YDDPP.) Likewise, insidious racism feeds upon paternalistic explanations that people of color cannot manage their own affairs. NCCD's research suggests that the structural roots of problems in the YDDPP result from inadequate theories and poorly delineated strategies of implementation. Moreover, long standing neglect of community needs by established public agencies created the

climate for community distrust and conflict. Assigning the problems of the YDDPP to the "lack of sophistication of community folks" continues the ignominious tradition of blaming the victim,* well known in governmental practice and social science theory.

On balance, community residents demonstrated remarkable patience and facility while participating in a complex and highly problematic political strategy. They typically responded to organizational ambiguities with honesty and good faith. Few funds were misallocated and virtually all project-sponsored activities were responsive to the goals of external funding agents. Community residents, themselves often facing dire economic conditions, voluntarily contributed hundreds of hours towards bettering the lot of their community youth.** Anomalies in record-keeping, fiscal affairs, and personnel procedures were created, albeit unintentionally, by representatives of public agencies and government who should have known better.

*For an extensive discussion of these issues in social programming see William Ryan, Blaming the Victim. c 1971-76.

**In Ventura County, the generally well-to-do Delinquency Prevention Commissioners were paid \$30 per meeting.

Chapter 6

Evaluating the YDDPP Experience

The limited data on the YDDPP's impact points toward a positive assessment of its results. For example, state-wide Youth Authority research on diversion concluded that the La Colonia program was among the best diversion programs in California (Bohnstedt). A national survey of youth service programs reported that Toliver's youth "tend to perform better in school, to get along better at home and to get in less trouble with the law as a result of the program" (Alexander, et al., 1973, p. 38). Similarly the Del Paso Heights project received local support to continue funding for its programs.

Records on numbers of clients services are incomplete, but one can safely estimate that several thousand young people participated in various project activities. Partial data from La Colonia and Toliver suggests that the youth were experiencing a number of problems in schools, within their families and the juvenile justice system. Unfortunately, the YDDPP record-keeping problems extended to keeping track of clients and thus, no firm evidence exists as to the scope of the project's impact on clients.

The community organizing efforts seemed quite successful at both Del Paso Heights and La Colonia, where active resident boards played important roles in project functioning. Even at Toliver,

where community organizing was not a manifest objective, the YDDPP developed an important local constituency supporting their programs. NCCD researchers were able to interview only a few resident board members, but our interviewees gave positive assessments of their participation in the YDDPP experience. Extensive local community support at each site was documented by various news clippings describing well-attended project activities. Many volunteers lent the YDDPP their time and expertise and the community-based elections for project advisory boards received substantial turnouts.

An Evaluation Conference

Because of the limited impact data about YDDPP activities and because NCCD wished to tap the accumulated wisdom of project staff, a two-day evaluation conference was convened in San Francisco on June 28-29, 1978. NCCD Evaluation Staff assembled many people who were prominently involved in the YDDPP to review and analyze the YDDPP experience, and to formulate potential new directions in delinquency prevention efforts, focusing particularly on community-involved models.

Participants included Youth Authority Central Unit staff, Youth Authority site project directors, several Joint Board members, community board members and local project staff. (A list of invited participants is given in Appendix B.)

The conference structure included an opening afternoon session introducing the objectives and summarizing NCCD's major research findings. This was followed by a group discussion. The second day attendees were split into two workshops to respond to a series of specific questions and to formulate recommendations for future delinquency prevention efforts. The workshops then merged into one group and shared recommendations. At the close of the evaluation, each individual completed a written evaluation of the YDDPP. Persons unable to attend the San Francisco meeting were mailed questionnaires to elicit their responses.

In the opening session of the first day NCCD introduced the three-fold goal of the conference:

1. To discuss and evaluate the Youth Authority's YDDPP, including the Joint Board, and the local projects;
2. To raise significant issues for statewide delinquency prevention planning;
3. To develop recommendations for better structuring state and local efforts in delinquency prevention planning and programming.

NCCD staff summarized significant research issues and preliminary findings of the study. Particular attention was drawn to the problems in meshing delinquency prevention theory with project design and service delivery and to the differing perceptions

about goals and strategies among project staff. Also highlighted were the structural ambiguities that developed in the system linkage approach connecting state, county, and local structures in an attempt to effect institutional change and to improve youth services.

After the presentations by NCCD staff, the conference participants were asked to comment on their own most important learning experiences resulting from their involvement with the YDDPP. The following is a synopsis of concerns expressed throughout this discussion period.

A reoccurring concern was the three-year commitment promised by the Youth Authority to these projects, questioning why even this limited time frame was not completed. Youth Authority Central Unit staff responded that the original commitment was open with no set time limit, but that the YDDPP lost its political base within the Youth Authority hierarchy. It was explained that the projects were designed for political reasons and when YDDPP Central Unit staff could not provide instant success stories (i.e., could describe no lasting "models" in the weekly/monthly feedback sessions with Youth Authority officials), YDDPP lost its political support within the agency with the result that interest for project continuance waned. Moreover, the Youth Authority saw these projects as "developmental", implying a short-term experiment. "When in the hell are we going to move

away from demonstrations" was a commonly-voiced frustration. One person commented that perhaps "developmental" models were a way of maintaining the status quo, becoming a "buy-off" to avoid dealing with bigger national and societal problems.

A Youth Authority staff person reminded the group that the Youth Authority was really in the business of locking kids up. Delinquency prevention has low priority; more emphasis in this direction could put a juvenile justice agency in a position of self-annihilation because successful delinquency prevention could put it out of business.

A positive result of the Youth Authority's involvement was that the agency's name carried credibility, opening doors in the local areas. One Youth Authority administrator commented that the greatest potential of the YDDPP, that of establishing community development corporations, was never realized.

The frustrations, cynicisms and "burned out" feelings voiced at the administrative level were poignantly counteracted with positive feelings of those who worked at the community level. A reoccurring theme of personal growth and of "learning a lot" was heard from the site staff of the three projects. For many their involvement in these communities was one that "changed their lives" and the lives of others who worked in the programs. Said one person, "many street people were able to hold jobs and are still

advancing in careers because of the opportunities afforded by contact with the projects."

Several persons commented on community benefit, through the direct services to individuals and through the unification and solidarity built within the community's boundaries. Communities experienced their first real successes in terms of approaching the political system. However, one site project director expressed grave concern that the collapse of the projects will be a "forecase for the future." He feared it would be a long time before his county would touch a program like the YDDPP again. Moreover, the failure within his community went far beyond the local scene. His comments stressed the importance of racism in the demise of the project. Another project director, who characterized the programs as mere "bandaids", opined that the real problem was one of attitudinal change and racism.

Several participants expressed the importance of learning in hindsight from errors made. The research and evaluation components of the projects were insufficient while on-going, but many project staff felt that it was not too late to record their experiences. The overall feeling of former project staff was that this had been an important experiment in delinquency prevention for the Youth Authority and that it should be adequately documented and assessed. A project director added that a system of "do's and don't's" written in street language was needed for others wishing to work in a poverty community.

Another view held by many participants was the need for better advanced planning and training before project implementation. One county representative stated that basic project "survival skills" should be taught. For example, his county had no system with which to handle the fiscal aspect of the projects. Further, better fiscal and managerial training of staff is imperative, because neglect in these areas later proved critical at each project site.

In addition, conference participants stressed the need for more clearly defined administrative structures. Many YDDPP staff believed that programs needed more realistic goals and a firmer programmatic structure. One project staff member stated "there is no crime in admitting you are an expert" as opposed to asking a community "what do you want?" Community boards need better training with clearer pre-defined roles and policy making responsibilities outlined prior to onset.

The second day of the conference began with participants dividing into two workshop groups to answer a series of eight questions focusing on specifics about delinquency prevention commissions, the Joint Board, community resident boards, the Youth Authority's role in assisting local groups in delinquency prevention, and ways to improve the YDDPP approach. In the afternoon session the two groups reconvened with NCCD staff summarizing each group's discussion.

The first workshop group noted that delinquency prevention commissions often spend most of their time on juvenile justice matters and that prevention was a far-lower priority for them. They recommended a restructuring of commissions in terms of composition and mandate. It was felt that delinquency prevention commissions need a better power base, otherwise their work becomes tokenism. Often, actualization of delinquency prevention objectives came more from an informal power structure based on personalities and ad hoc relationships. However, there seems to be no other local group that could provide an already established operational structure to support innovative youth programming. The group agreed that public agencies would probably just maintain the status quo and that the decisive participation of the private sector was required to stimulate new directions in prevention.

From the discussion of delinquency prevention commissions, the first group expanded into broader concerns. One expressed opinion was that the power essentially resides at the national level, and thus, delinquency prevention at a state level is not a crucial issue. One Youth Authority official expressed the pessimistic feeling that delinquency prevention becomes "tinkering" and that there will continue to be only small amounts of money allotted for it. Some conference members argued that one had to deal with the broad national problems of poverty, unemployment and crime before tinkering with prevention.

Counteracting this position, another group within the workshop held that "we can't wait for the solving of these national problems." Community efforts can have an impact as long as they are well-planned and well-structured. Acceptance and support from the prevailing juvenile justice bureaucracies was essential to support local prevention efforts.

The second workshop produced similar recommendations. They too affirmed the value of private citizens' boards in planning state agencies' approach to serving youth, suggesting specific recommendations in relation to the function of delinquency prevention commissions:

1. The boards should be elected on a district basis to ensure a better socio-economic balance in membership.
2. Delinquency prevention commissions should have their own staffs and budgets, and exist independently from local probation departments.
3. Delinquency prevention commissions should continue their present role of setting standards for delinquency prevention and of monitoring county institutions, but this role should be expanded to include control over planning and fiscal allocating for all delinquency prevention efforts funded by public monies.
4. These groups should change their name to Youth Development Commissions to avoid the negative labeling of youth inherent in the term "delinquency."

5. They should be governing boards initially well-trained in well-established procedures and involved in the entire process of planning, funding and implementing youth development efforts.

Workshop members supported the Joint Board strategy of a statewide commission for youth development. To form this entity delinquency prevention commissions should be grouped by regions based on geographic and issue affinity, and a prescribed number of representatives from each local region should sit on the State Delinquency Prevention Commission. The State Commission would serve similar functions as the already existing one, except there would be direct representation on the commission by elected local commissioners. It was also recommended that the mandate of the state commission be expanded into a "watchdog" role over how all youth-oriented state agencies planned, funded and implemented youth development projects.

On future involvement of the Youth Authority in prevention efforts, this workshop group was of two opinions. A majority, including the Youth Authority participants, believed that prevention should be removed from Youth Authority entirely, since the aim of diverting youth from the system was in direct conflict with the agency's maintenance of youth within the juvenile justice system, either in institutions or on parole. A smaller number of workshop participants were fearful of removing prevention efforts from the purview

of the Youth Authority, however conflicting these might be, because of the potential danger that even more youth would be incarcerated if a strong state-level mandate for diversion and prevention did not exist.

The second workshop group felt strongly that the community control, organization emphasis of the YDDPP approach should be retained. They stressed the importance of high levels of flexibility and commitment on YA's part to these efforts in terms of funding, of grant time periods, and of the provision of technical assistance. In addition, the group held as critical the establishment of initial links between the projects and the county social service and juvenile justice systems upon whose cooperation efforts for youth depend.

It was generally felt by both workshop groups that the Joint Board was a valuable component of the YDDPP effort because it facilitated continuity between the three projects and allowed a stream-lined method of dispersing money to the programs. Participants believed that the Joint Board needed to learn more from each program to develop guidelines for better program selection criteria. One member of the Joint Board commented that it was frustrating to have had no review of the projects, to be unable to halt the bad programs and unable to assist good ones due to funding restraints of pilot programs.

During the final discussion period, conference participants returned to the theme of the inherent problems of prevention efforts run by the juvenile justice system. Although it was felt that the delinquency prevention staff within the Youth Authority should push for more attempts in this area, the group was skeptical of any real commitment to prevention by the agency. Several persons noted that on a broader scale, society supposedly favors delinquency^{per} but little money is supplied, only lip-service.

It was felt that the future of delinquency prevention is not promising unless there is a reassessment of state level priorities. It was noted that the Youth Authority has a state mandate to provide leadership in delinquency prevention. Unless delinquency prevention becomes less of a frill within the agency, this leadership will not be forthcoming. Discussion ended on the consensus that there is no other state agency with the authority and capabilities to be the forerunner in delinquency prevention and the responsibility must continue for the Youth Authority.

The YDDPP Participant Questionnaire

The final aspect of the two-day conference was a questionnaire comprised of 17 questions relating to issues covered during the conference. The participants were asked to individually and anonymously complete the questionnaire based on their experience in the YDDPP. A summary of their responses provides additional insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the YDDPP.

Key participants in the YDDPP effort offered a number of specific suggestions for improved planning and program implementation. They suggested that more training be required at all levels of the project including Youth Authority personnel, community boards and community residents. It was recommended that Youth Authority staff not serve as site project directors, but that local leadership be exercised by community residents or persons more familiar with the local area. There was consensus that all staff must be more familiar with the goals, objectives and project methods prior to implementation. Respondents were equally split on the value of ascertaining delinquency causative theory before planning a project. Supporters of theory emphasized that more unity is achieved in program direction and evaluation when theory is firmly grounded and articulated. Persons who rejected the priority for theory argued that often the result is too much rhetoric, an unnecessarily limited project scope and increased administrative costs.

Most YDDPP participants saw value in the role of citizen and community resident boards. They recommended that more specifics should be provided about the functions of these boards. It was felt that local boards should consist of both community representatives and local professionals. Some sort of monetary compensation should be provided for members. Most persons favored local control of project funds, but stressed the need for a system of money flow

to be developed and agreed upon by involved parties prior to the onset of project activities.

Opinions were unanimous that the community emphasis of the YDDPP is necessary for efforts of this kind. Specific strengths of the community model include tapping local knowledge of youth needs and problems, and stimulating community interest in youth development. Weaknesses of communities include residents' lack of political knowledge and limited fiscal and management experience. Community members must receive training in specific organizational skills and be linked up with local sources of political power (e.g., boards of supervisors, city councils, etc.) at the beginning of a project. It was stated that the Youth Authority could provide specific assistance to local groups in the areas of funding, proposal development and staff training.

The most frequently cited advantage of the Joint Board was its ability to quickly disperse funds for a wide range of programs. Often Joint Board funds were used to establish small-scale activities for which other funding was non-existent. The Joint Board was also valued as an information source and communication tool among counties and the state. Some questionnaire respondents discussed the possibility of expanding the Joint Board into a statewide delinquency prevention commission with local representatives.

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Many YDDPP participants stressed the local level as the key base for delinquency prevention programs. The most common recommendation was to restructure delinquency prevention commissions and expand their mandate. Some felt that commissions should be elected from "natural community districts" within the counties. Many believed that the delinquency prevention commissions held great potential but that there was a need to train members in a wide variety of knowledge and skill areas.

Opinions were split on whether there were any lasting impacts of the YDDPP. Several persons referred to the individual and personal growth of participants as being the real lasting impact. Some respondents emphasized the empowerment process learned by community people. For some community people, YDDPP provided an educational experience in which they could begin to understand the origins of local problems, serve on boards and witness other lifestyles. The primary factors inhibiting YDDPP's success were the impoverished economic conditions of these communities, subtle and overt racism and the political realities of shifting support from governmental agencies. Overall, most of the respondents agreed that programs like the YDDPP should be attempted again.

Chapter 7

Postscript on YDDPP

"When you're up to your ass in alligators, it is difficult to remember that your objective was to clear the swamp."

(sign in project director's office
in La Colonia)

At several points in American history there were calls for community-based prevention programs to combat delinquency. Pointing to the obvious failures of the traditional justice system, community advocates have argued for an approach to delinquency which would place power and resources at the disposal of those people closest to the needs and problems of youth. Since such programs recognize the contributions of poverty, racism and sex discrimination to delinquency, they often challenge the existing structure of privilege to obtain social justice for young people. From the Cincinnati Social Unit Experiment of 1917, to the Chicago Area Project of the 1930's and the Mobilization for Youth in the 1960's, the idea has been advanced that community residents could best design their own programs to prevent delinquency. Although these programs differed in their analysis of the nature of the political economy, their common view about localized control of community life posed serious threats to existing concentrations of political and economic power.

Planners of the YDDPP were familiar with both the promise and limitations of the community model of prevention. From within the walls of state government, they formulated plans designed to rectify some of the problems of earlier efforts. In particular, they sought to use the prestige and resources of the Youth Authority and to forge linkages between powerless communities and gatekeepers of needed resources. In retrospect, the project was overwhelmingly successful both in gaining the trust of several oppressed communities and in winning the confidence of influential state and local officials. Shortcomings of the plans and execution of the YDDPP must be measured against the boldness of its goals. Moreover, one must be impressed with the admirable dedication of the entire YDDPP staff to the ideals of grass roots democracy and social justice.

What clearly emerges from the YDDPP experience is the lesson that prevention efforts attempting to respond to the structural causes of delinquency are complex and difficult ventures. To quote a questionnaire respondent:

"Community programs seem to be nothing more than tinkering ... YDDPP became so conceptually global and grandiose that it got lost in vagueness. Every time some activity was undertaken, someone would ask, 'Yes, but does that really impact delinquency?' The answer would usually require a complex chain of logical connections that became so abstract hardly anyone could relate to them."

This lament describes a common type of frustration in community-involved delinquency prevention. The opening headnote about the alligators reflects another human dilemma of youth service programs in poverty communities. But neither the conceptual confusion nor the alligators are likely to disappear in the near future.

What is at stake is a massive national, state and local effort in the delinquency prevention and youth development area. Needed are new program ideas as well as improved theory and administration of youth service efforts. The future of a large scale investment in redressing the structural injustices facing youth depends upon the development of power bases at all levels of government on behalf of the value of prevention efforts. The first step would appear to be an education campaign to inform citizens about the potential of community-involved programs as well as the futility of contemporary juvenile corrections.

Agencies such as the California Youth Authority command the resources and the prestige to execute their legal mandate for leadership in delinquency prevention. The YDDPP demonstrated the possibilities of constructive state-local collaborations in the prevention area. Officials of the California Youth Authority have developed a rich experience in the YDDPP to share with others. Further research and analysis of the YDDPP seems a necessary step for the Youth Authority. This effort could be readily translated into guidelines and manuals directed at state officials, delinquency

prevention commissions and communities interested in inaugurating delinquency prevention programs.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Format for Interviews with Project Personnel:

- I. Describe your project:
 - (a) What were you trying to accomplish?
(probe for implicit juvenile delinquency prevention theory, for social change theory, for perceptions of community's problems)
 - (b) What did you actually do in the project?
(what types of services, serving what types of clientele, what project successes and failures)
 - (c) Has there been any final or lasting impact as a result of the program?
(on community in general? on clients? on other agencies? etc.)

- II. Describe the administrative structures you were working within:
 - (a) How did you see decision-making working?
 - (b) Where were the loci of power in administrative structures?
 - (c) Did the manner in which project was spread between several bureaucracies have any effects?
 - (d) What role/effect did funding processes (how and why money was allocated) have on administrative structures and on project in general?

- III. Describe the project's experiences with other boards, agencies, etc:
 - (a) With local youth-serving agencies/institutions (schools, welfare, police, etc.)
 - (b) With any others locally - such as County Board of Supervisors, Model Cities, etc.
 - (c) With local Delinquency Prevention Commission.
 - (d) With California Youth Authority. (YDDPP in particular)
 - (e) With the Joint Powers Board.
 - (f) With outside fundors - OYD and OCJP.

Format for Interviews with Project Personnel (continued):

- IV. Describe the project's experiences with its local community - with local leaders, community groups, churches, its own policy-making board.
- V. How did the project fit into the broader social and political context of this time period?

Appendix B

Invited Conference Participants

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Representing</u>
1.	Pearl West	Director, California Youth Authority
2.	Jim Barnett	California Youth Authority
3.	Doug Knight	YDDPP Central Unit
4.	Dick Tillson	YDDPP Central Unit
5.	Bill Price	YDDPP Central Unit
6.	Jack Robbeson	YDDPP Central Unit
7.	Jack Gifford	YDDPP Central Unit
8.	Jim Embree	Toliver
9.	Web Williams	Toliver
10.	Beverly Morgan Franklin	Toliver
11.	Clyde Thomas	Toliver
12.	Pat Hagen	Toliver
13.	Henry Aquilar	La Colonia
14.	Gene Reyes	La Colonia
15.	Janet Bandy Carroway	La Colonia
16.	Jess Gutierrez	La Colonia
17.	Nellie Almanza	La Colonia
18.	Lyndsay Brown	Del Paso Heights
19.	Ruby Dorsey	Del Paso Heights
20.	O. W. Clanton	Del Paso Heights
21.	Betty Ann Bruno	Joint Board/Alameda County
22.	Judge Rodney Duncan	Joint Board/Alameda County
23.	Bill Patterson	Joint Board/Alameda County

Invited Conference Participants (continued)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Representing</u>
24. Frank Woodson	Joint Board/Ventura County
25. Jerol Brown	Joint Board/Sacramento County
26. Chaplain Phillip Hagberg	Joint Board/Sacramento County
27. Bob Steward	Joint Board Accountant

Appendix C

Personal Interviews Conducted:

Aquilar, Henry. First director at La Colonia. 9/16/77.

Aquilar, Henry and Guiterrez, Jess. First and second project directors respectively at La Colonia. 10/13/77.

Bing, Susan. Administrative analyst for Ventura County. 10/14/77.

Blumgren, Roy. Toliver Community Organizer. 12/13/77.

Brown, Jerol and Hagberg, Chaplain Phillip. Members of Joint Powers Board representing Del Paso Heights. 9/30/77.

Brown, Lyndsay. First project director at Del Paso Heights. 10/28/77.

Brown, Lyndsay. Director at Del Paso Heights; Dorsey, Ruby, Del Paso Heights staff; Clanton, O. W., Del Paso Heights Advisory Board. 6/29/78.

Brown, Naamon. Interim director at Del Paso Heights. 9/28/77.

California Youth Authority staff: Dick Tillson, first project director; Bill Price, second project director; Doug Knight, principal researcher. 8/24/77.

Callahan, Frank. Chief Probation Officer, Alameda County. 12/12/77.

Carroway, Janet. Ventura County Department of Social Services, assigned half-time to La Colonia Youth Services Project. 11/23/77.

Dalberg, Gordon. Ventura County Probation Office. 10/12/77.

Dilsaver, Howard. Oakland Police Department. 12/13/77.

Dyer, Connie. Third project director at Toliver. 9/16/77.

Embree, Jim. First project director at Toliver. 9/30/77.

Erickson, Garry. County of Ventura. 10/14/77.

Garcia, Ray. Deputy sheriff Ventura County. 11/22/77.

Gifford, Jack. Administrative Assistant for California Youth Authority.*

*Undated

Personal Interviews Conducted (continued):

Goldstein, Renee. Researcher at Toliver. 11/17/78.

Kane, Jean. Member Joint Delinquency Prevention Board representing Ventura County. 10/13/77.

Knight, Doug. Former California Youth Authority principal researcher. First meeting. 7/18/77.

Knight, Doug. California Youth Authority. 10/28/77.

Lockard, Howard. First researcher at Toliver. 10/28/77.

Marilyn. Volunteer and secretary at Toliver. 9/16/77.

Owens, Police Chief. Ventura County. 11/22/77.

Pappageorge, Deputy Police Chief. Ventura County. 11/22/77.

Price, Bill. California Youth Authority second project director from 1974 to 1977. 12/20/77.

Reyes, Gene. First co-director at La Colonia. 1/18/78.

Reyes, Gene. La Colonia. 9/30/77.

Robbeson, Jack. California Youth Authority administrative assistant. 9/30/77.

Steward, Bob. Joint Powers Board accountant; Welty, Darlene, California Youth Authority accountant. 12/20/77.

Tillson, Dick. California Youth Authority first project director from 1972 to 1974. 12/20/77.

Williams, Web. Second project director at Toliver. 9/16/77.

Woodson, Frank. Joint Powers Board representing Ventura County.*

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Toliver

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Application proposal submitted by Toliver Community Center to Alameda County: Toliver Community Center, A Project of Alameda County Youth Development Inc. Funding period 7/1/76-9/30/76.

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for La Voz De La Colonia Newspaper. Funding period 12/3/75
to 12/2/76.
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by the Inter-Agency Council.*
- Application proposal for La Colonia Substance Abuse Program
submitted by La Colonia Substance Abuse Coalition.*
- Application proposal for Girls' Center by La Colonia Youth
Service Project.*
- Application proposal to Create A Black Cultural Program for
La Colonia youth, submitted by La Colonia Youth Service
Project.*
- Application proposal for La Colonia Girls Drill Team Program
submitted by the Office of the Director of La Colonia Youth
Service Project.*
- Application proposal submitted by La Colonia Service Project
to CCCJ. 1973.
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Program. Sponsoring group: Arts and Crafts for Little
People Parents Organization. Program dates: 8/1/74 to
7/31/75.
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Athletic Association. Sponsoring group: La Colonia Youth
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La Colonia (continued)

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5/21/75.
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Sponsoring group: La Colonia Substance Abuse Coalition.
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to 4/30/74.
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Appendix F
Sources of Project Funding*

<u>To</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Funding Period</u>	<u>Amount</u>	
			<u>Federal Only</u>	<u>W/State Buy-in</u>
Comprehensive YDDPP	HEW	9/1/73-8/31/74	\$ 191,250. ¹	
Comprehensive YDDPP	HEW	9/1/74-6/30/76	179,000. ²	(\$ 240,272.)
Comprehensive YDDPP	OCCJ	7/1/74-6/30/76	<u>118,360.²</u>	
			<u>\$ 488,610.</u>	(\$ 549,882.)
Toliver	CCCJ	7/1/72-6/30/73	\$ 174,510. ¹	(\$ 243,190.)
Toliver	HEW	7/1/72-6/30/73	225,000. ¹	(- 300,000.)
Toliver	OCCJ	7/1/73-6/30/74	335,000. ¹	(447,787.)
Toliver	OCCJ	7/1/74-6/30/76	<u>157,693.²</u>	<u>(205,738.)</u>
			<u>\$ 892,203.</u>	(\$1,196,715.)
Del Paso Heights	CCCJ	1st yr., 1975	\$ 132,431. ¹	(\$ 147,146.)
Del Paso Heights		FY76-77	196,816. ²	
Del Paso Heights		FY77-78	<u>196,816.²</u>	
			<u>\$ 526,063.</u>	(\$ 540,778.)

*These figures represent correct amounts as best determined from information available. We were unable to obtain a complete composite of figures and, therefore, relied upon the sources as footnoted.

Sources of Project Funding (continued)

<u>To</u>	<u>From</u>	<u>Funding Period</u>	<u>Amount</u>	
			<u>Federal Only</u>	<u>W/State Buy-in</u>
La Colonia	HEW	5/1/73-4/30/74	\$ 100,000.	(\$ 180,000.)
		9/1/74-8/31/75	82,250. ²	(150,000.)
La Colonia	OCJP (Regional)	9/1/74-8/30/75 (diversion)	90,000. ¹	(100,000.)
		9/75-9/76 (diversion)	50,000. ³	
La Colonia	OCJP (State)	7/1/74-6/30/75	81,758. ^{1,2}	
		7/1/75-6/30/76	156,262. ²	
			<u>\$ 560,270.</u>	<u>(\$ 718,660.)</u>
Total			<u>\$2,467,146.</u>	<u>(\$3,006,035.)</u>

¹Based on in-hand application proposals.

²Based on information received from Darlene Welty, California Youth Authority accountant.

³Bohnstedt, Marvin. Year End Report - September 1976. La Colonia Youth Service Project (Oxnard). (P. 53.)

Appendix G

The review of available records of fiscal expenditures by the Joint Powers Delinquency Prevention Board over its four-year life-span reveals an incomplete accounting of exactly how much was expended to whom. The obvious primary source of information, the California Youth Authority, provides no conclusive overview. Records are available on actual expenditures to subfunded projects for two years, FY74-75 and FY75-76. Figures are nonexistent for the initial fiscal year of 1973-74. The unavailability of these figures is due to an audit done in 1975 of California Youth Authority accounts resulting in all records prior to that time being destroyed. This is unfortunate indeed as \$139,510 was allocated to eight different projects with no record of actual expenditures. Perusal of the Joint Board minutes supplied research staff with the only remaining official record available of amounts expended. The Joint Board minutes contain itemizations of amounts allocated, not expended; whereas, the California Youth Authority Accounting Department has figures of expenditures only. These two amounts differ vastly. Thus, an itemization of the three fiscal years' expenditures based on information available is not uniformly parallel, cannot be accurately compared, and no conclusions can be drawn as to final figures spent.

What follows are two fiscal breakdowns of information available to research staff: one, based on figures found in the Joint Board minutes; the other, based on information supplied by the California Youth Authority Accounting Department.

Joint Board Fiscal Report of Allotted Amounts, FY73-74

Joint Board Subfunded Projects FY73-74:

<u>Alameda County</u>		
North Oakland Parish	\$ 26,690.00	
" " " (Supp.)	2,000.00	
Rudy Lambert Training Program	7,000.00	
" " " (Supp. #1)	4,520.00	
" " " (Supp. #2)	3,220.00	
" " " (Supp. #3)	3,220.00	
Sea Scouts	15,000.00	
Toliver Tams	5,150.00	
	<u>\$ 66,800.00</u>	
<u>Ventura County</u>		
La Colonia Girls Drill	\$ 9,520.00	
La Colonia Substance Abuse	18,390.00	
La Colonia Food Pantry	2,850.00	
	<u>\$ 30,760.00</u>	
<u>Sacramento County</u>		
Del Paso Heights Project	\$ 41,950.00	
	<u>\$139,510.00</u>	

Joint Board Fiscal Report of Actual Expenditures,

FY74-75 and FY75-76

Joint Board Administrative Expenses:

FY74-75	\$ 25,156.83		\$ 25,156.83
FY75-76		\$ 46,549.39	46,549.39
	\$ 25,156.83	\$ 46,549.39	<u>\$ 71,706.22</u>

Joint Board Sub-Funded Projects:

<u>Project</u>	<u>FY74-75</u>	<u>FY75-76</u>	<u>Amount</u>
<u>Alameda County</u>			
Lincoln Child Center	\$ 2,744.00	-0-	\$ 2,744.00
Toliver Community Center	7,710.76	-0-	7,710.76
Toliver Recreation Center	31,564.91	\$ 10,435.09	42,000.00
Toliver School	4,573.86	-0-	4,573.86
	\$ 46,593.53	\$ 10,435.09	<u>\$ 57,028.62</u>
<u>Ventura County</u>			
LC Group Assertion Training Program	\$ 8,002.91	-0-	\$ 8,002.91
LC Substance Abuse Program	40,039.59	-0-	40,039.59
LC Community Union	28,000.00	\$ 1,003.71	29,003.71
The Terrena Corporation	-0-	13,699.95	13,699.95
	\$76,042.50	\$ 14,703.66	<u>\$ 90,746.16</u>
<u>Sacramento County</u>			
Robla Fun for Responsible Youth	\$ 5,105.66	\$ 1,879.50	\$ 6,985.16
Del Paso Heights Fashion	3,391.50	1,976.43	5,367.93
DPH Summer Youth Program	24,889.39	-0-	24,889.39
Robla Neurological	1,409.00	601.78	2,010.78
Grant Summer Program	13,550.00	-0-	13,550.00

(cont)

Sacramento County (cont)

<u>Project</u>	<u>FY74-75</u>	<u>FY75-76</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Neurological Dysfunction	\$ -0-	\$ 7,400.00	\$ 7,400.00
Law & Free Society	-0-	5,133.94	5,133.94
	<u>\$48,345.55</u>	<u>\$16,991.65</u>	<u>\$65,337.20</u>
Total	<u>\$196,138.41</u>	<u>\$88,679.79</u>	<u>\$284,818.20</u>

END