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**Murray, James McAlister**

UTILIZATION-FOCUSED EVALUATION AS A STRATEGY FOR PROGRAM  
DEVELOPMENT

*City University of New York*

D.S.W. 1984

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UTILIZATION-FOCUSED EVALUATION AS A  
STRATEGY FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

By

JAMES M. MURRAY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare, The City  
University of New York.

1984

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Abstract

UTILIZATION-FOCUSED EVALUATION AS A  
STRATEGY FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

By

James M. Murray

Advisor: Professor Irwin Epstein

This dissertation describes the application of Michael Q. Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy to a program with serious staff morale problems. The program was a county youth shelter which accommodated 'status offenders' and minor juvenile delinquents referred from the Family Court. At the time the project was being carried out, the Youth Center's morale problems were being exacerbated by anxiety amongst the administration and staff members about the modifications the Center might have to make to adapt to the requirements of a new State juvenile code.

The writer worked as a consultant to the County Department of Youth Services and formed a Task Group of key decision makers in the County youth services network to work with him to investigate the morale problems and the problems of adapting the Youth Center to the demands of the new juvenile Code. Working together, the Consultant and the Task Group decided what evaluation questions should be asked, and what methods should be used to investigate them. The Consultant then used these methods to obtain data which he and the Task Group analyzed, interpreted, and utilized to make decisions to adapt and develop the program.

As is intended in Patton's strategy, this process produced a great deal of information which was utilized to make and implement program development decisions, which are described. The dissertation concludes with reflections that suggest, however, that there were several favorable factors operating which contributed to the success of this particular project, and that many of the basic assumptions on which Patton's strategy rests may, in many situations, prove to be ill-founded. In such circumstances, the strategy might not only be ineffective, but could create damaging conflict in an organization. Nevertheless, it

was concluded that the strategy is a valuable step towards closer collaboration between evaluators and administrators to produce information which will be used rather than ignored.

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Note

The Youth Center in which this project was carried out is real, and all that is described in this dissertation is factual. But the names Bradley Youth Center and Devon County are pseudonyms used to preserve confidentiality. The Bradley Youth Center is referred to variously as Bradley, the Youth Center and the Center, mainly to reduce monotonous repetition of just one title. The titles and organizations of the members of the task group have also been disguised.

## INTRODUCTION

In December, 1982, a new juvenile justice code for the State of New Jersey was passed by the legislature; in January, 1984, the new code came into effect. (1) The provisions of the new Code necessitated extensive adaptations of the network of services to children and youth in each county. The writer was engaged as a consultant to facilitate this process of change, and in particular to address an associated problem of staff morale at the "Youth Center", a facility of central importance in the network of services run by one of the larger predominantly suburban counties. It is this process of change, and particularly the effects of the consultant's interventions on staff morale, which are the main focus of this dissertation.

The Youth Center had been established as a JINS Shelter in 1976. The legal entity JINS (Juvenile In Need of Supervision) had been created in the previous (1975) New Jersey Juvenile Code in order to distinguish juveniles who had committed non-criminal "status offenses" from those who had committed "delinquent" offenses. "Status offenses" are those offenses that apply to juveniles only, because of their status as non-adults. Typically, status offenses include persistent truancy, running away from home, sexual procreancy, uncontrollability and so on.

'Delinquent' offenses include crimes such as stealing, assault, willful damage, and other conduct for which an adult would also be charged. The JINS Shelters were established so that status offenders, (JINS), who prior to the legislation were placed in detention centers with delinquents, could be accommodated separately. However in the new Code, neither the legal entity JINS nor the JINS shelter is included. Those young people who had been termed JINS are now termed as being in a "juvenile - family crisis". The emphasis of the new Code is that the "blame" for the problem behaviour of the juvenile is not laid only on the juvenile, but that the whole family is regarded as jointly responsible and accountable. The Family Court (2) now has the power to give directions to all members of the family. The new Code also relies heavily on the establishment of Crisis Intervention Units (C.I.U.s) to provide help, guidance, support and control to the juvenile and his family. The legislation also emphasizes that this supportive intervention by the C.I.U.s should be provided to the juvenile and his family while the juvenile remains at home. This represented a considerable change from the situation under the previous legislation when intervention with juveniles in conflict with their family was provided by the police and frequently resulted in the admission of the juvenile to the JINS Shelter.

With the disappearance of the legal category, JINS, and the provision of CIUs in the new Code, the role of the erstwhile JINS shelters became quite uncertain. Were they no longer necessary? Or, were they necessary, but in a markedly different form? Or, were they likely to operate in much the same way as prior to January, 1984, and continue to deal with much the same kind of juveniles who would now have different legal designations? The answers to these questions were not contained in the new Code, and neither was there any clear direction coming from either the New Jersey Administrative Office of the Courts (A.O.C.), or the New Jersey State Department of Youth and Family Services (DYFS). The lack of clear directions produced considerable anxiety in both administrators and direct service providers. The consultant was engaged to facilitate the transition to the demands of the new code, and to allay some of the anxiety being experienced by staff at the Youth Center. It was also hoped that the consultation would simultaneously have positive effects on staff morale and to locate and, if possible, remedy the causes of the morale problem. The introduction of the new code thus provided an outstanding opportunity not only to carry out an implementation evaluation, but also to implement a process that would involve staff, and would channel their anxiety into active constructive thinking about how best to respond to the provisions of the new Code. It was envisaged that such a process could also

heighten their sense of purpose and gain their commitment to and enthusiasm for, the changes and adaptations the Youth Center would undergo.

On a much broader plane, this consultation provided an opportunity for the consultant to gain an appreciation of the effects of the new Code. This code represents the "state of the art" in juvenile justice, and the effects it has on the operations of any part of the child welfare and juvenile justice systems therefore becomes a matter of great interest to the entire field. This fact, juxtaposed with the fact that this Youth Center was a center which has had responsibility for controlling and caring for adolescent 'status offenders' who continue to be one of the more persistent problem groups facing social workers and other policymakers, administrators, and direct service providers working in the child welfare and juvenile justice fields, suggests that adaptations made at this Youth Center and the effectiveness of those adaptations, may have significance well beyond the county. It must, however, be emphasized that although the Youth Center was the prime focus of this project, it was considered that opportunities to gain insights of value to the rest of the child welfare and juvenile justice field should not be lost.

The consultation also provided an opportunity to apply and test Michael Q. Patton's (1978) utilization-focused evaluation strategy. Evaluation in juvenile justice is marked by controversy and there is widespread disagreement about which

evaluation strategies are useful for what purpose. Patton's strategy, which has been mainly applied to school settings, seemed for reasons which will be discussed in subsequent chapters, most appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Youth Center and the county service network at this time.

The first chapter of this dissertation traces the development of juvenile justice policy in America. It is included because an understanding of the development of policy in this field is essential if one is to fully appreciate the current context of the agency in which this project was carried out.

This agency, like other agencies in the field of juvenile justice, is enmeshed in a policy context in which policy has been built up in layers. Laws which have their origins in English common law and the eighteenth century classical criminology of Beccaria, form the basis of most state juvenile codes in the U.S. These basic frameworks have been retained, while new policies have been added to them in the ensuing two centuries.

Many of the layers of new policy developed and incorporated over these years were influenced by various theories of the aetiology of crime, delinquency, and family dysfunction. But whether one regards contemporary juvenile justice policy as a mish-mash of well-intentioned confusion, or as the end product of many ears of painful experience and careful refinement, it inevitably guides and circumscribes the day to day operations of agencies for young people in trouble. Therefore a project providing an evaluative consultancy to such an agency must take into account both the scope such policies provide for the agency, and the limitations which they impose.

Chapter two briefly reviews the progress of evaluation research from the utopian theories of pioneer sociologists to more recent times. It then considers the problem of the underutilization of evaluation findings, and Patton's utilization-focused evaluation as a strategy to increase the utilization potential of evaluation. Patton's strategy provided the main theoretical framework for this project. The reasons for its selection are briefly considered and the strategy is explicated. Finally the chapter reviews some theoretical perspectives from the literature of organizational analysis, administrative design and management, which illuminated several aspects of this project.

In Chapter Three, some of the practical advantages of applying particular aspects of the utilization-focused strategy are considered. The strategy is then set out in detail, indicating how it was applied to the particular circumstances of the Youth Center. This included the formation of a task-group of decision-makers who were identified as persons who needed the information which the project could provide. The chapter goes on to describe the process in which the task-group and the consultant worked together, focusing the evaluation questions and choosing data collection methods from the range of possible options.

Chapter Four continues the description of the evaluation process, but focuses more on the practical problems associated with applying the evaluation methods chosen in this particular setting. It also describes the reiterative process of obtaining and analysing data, reporting back to decision makers, the joint efforts of the decision makers and the consultant in interpreting the data, thus discovering gaps in the data which seem important, and returning to data sources to gain more information.

The final chapter discusses findings and how they were in fact utilized by decision makers to make important formative decisions and changes in the operation of the Youth Center. This chapter also reviews the implications of the findings and the project process for the future development of the agency and the county network in which it operates. Broader implications for the development of juvenile justice policy and practice in New Jersey and in other states considering similar legislation to that of New Jersey are also considered. Finally, Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy is evaluated and implications for its future use in projects of this nature are assessed.

CHAPTER ONE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
CONTEMPORARY JUVENILE JUSTICE POLICIES

The field of juvenile justice is marked by continual controversy and changes in policy direction. This has been particularly so over the past 25 years. This chapter is a review of some ongoing and contemporary issues in juvenile corrections, including some of the historical and theoretical background to the policies and practices considered. The chapter will focus mainly on the "four D's" that have been the main features of contemporary innovation in juvenile justice policy, due process, decriminalization, diversion and deinstitutionalization, and on the more recent conservative backlash. It is these innovations and the particular combination and adaptation of them in the 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code which form the policy background to this project.

Attention will be given to the U.S. Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 which represents one of the major Federal government intrusions into the juvenile justice and corrections field, and which reflected much of the dominant theory and philosophy of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Finally key aspects of the 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code which was implemented as of January 1984, will be considered. The 1982 New Jersey Code is probably the most recent comprehensive legislative statement of juvenile justice and correctional policy, and may therefore be regarded as reflecting the state of the art.

In his general model for social policy analysis Gil (1976) advocates that the nature, scope and distribution of the central issue or problem be stated at the outset of the analysis. Therefore before considering the development of contemporary policy and practice, the nature, scope and distribution of the problem which gives rise to the necessity to have juvenile justice programs will be briefly outlined.

#### Scope and Distribution of Delinquency

Valid information on the extent of juvenile offending is notoriously difficult to obtain because much of the offending goes undetected. Official data is usually a better record of the actions of police and officials than of the offending activities of offending juveniles. However, by comparing official (police and court) accounts of juvenile behaviour, confidential self report accounts of delinquency, and the accounts of the victims of criminal acts, it is possible to obtain some understanding of the nature and extent of juvenile crime.

#### Official Statistics

The official picture of juvenile crime is complex but to set it out in detail would be to go beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it may be summarized by the following three statements:

1. Official crime is largely a youthful phenomenon. Apart from white collar crime, it reaches its apex at around age 16 and declines thereafter.
2. There has probably been a marked increase in juvenile crime over the past decade and a half. The most striking was the increase in violent crime. Murder, assault, and armed robbery, which used to be most common among those in their late teens and early 20s may now be coming more common among those in their early teens or even younger.
3. Delinquency arrests are still predominantly male. Arrests among girls, however, are accelerating at a far more rapid rate than among boys. Furthermore,

youths constitute a higher proportion of all female arrests than among all males. The changing status of girls, as well as the changing status of children in general, is having its negative side effects. (Empey 1978)

While the above statements still generally hold true, current trends suggest that after many years of increase there is a significant downturn in the level of delinquency. However current rates are far from being "low" in any absolute sense. During the 1960's and early 1970's delinquency rates rose rapidly; but since the mid 1970's they have declined (Galvin & Polk 1983). Despite these promising indications delinquency may still be regarded as a far greater problem than that which the community might be expected to tolerate.

#### Self Report Studies

The results of self report studies, in which juveniles have volunteered confidential information to investigators, suggest the following:

1. The extent of juvenile lawbreaking is far greater than the extent of officially recorded delinquency. Because official records better reflect what officials do than what children do, they are an inadequate measure of the extent of law-violating behavior.
2. The chances that a law-violator will, or will not be apprehended are all in his favor. Far more often than not, his law violations go undetected and unacted upon.
3. The traditional assumption that law-violating behavior is generated almost totally by conditions of poverty and race is incorrect. The relationship, if not non-existent, is exaggerated. Black children appear somewhat more inclined to commit serious crimes, but young people from all races and classes violate the law.

4. Boys violate the law more often than girls, but the notion that girls commit only "girl's offenses" is misleading. Not only have they committed a variety of "boy's offenses", but their offense rate is increasing at a more rapid pace.
5. While most children have been law-violators, on occasion, only a small minority violate the law with great frequency and seriousness - a conclusion which is supported by official findings.
6. While the juvenile justice system is far from totally effective, it does seem to operate like a coarse net, catching and prosecuting some of the most serious and frequent law-violators while letting some of the less serious escape. This conclusion, however, is tempered by the fact that the odds still seem to be all in favor of the violator.
7. Self report studies tend to question whether law-violating behavior is increasing at the rapid rate suggested by official measures. Both agree that it is increasing precipitously for girls, but self report studies question whether this is true for boys. It could be that the increase observed by officials is due to better recordkeeping on their part. Perhaps they are tapping more successfully the high rates of law-violating behavior which self report studies have always found to exist. (Bachman, O'Malley and Johnson 1978; Elliot and Ageton 1980; Hindelang 1978(a) and 1978(b); Nettler 1974; Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin 1972.)

### Victim Surveys

Like self report studies, victim surveys indicate that there is far more crime than is ever reported officially. The surveys suggest that:

1. The number of victim reported crimes is far in excess of the number reported by the police.
2. The chances that one will be victimized personally are higher than is suggested by official records, and the chances that one's household or commercial establishment will be the target of crime are higher still. (Block and Zimring 1973, Ennis 1967, FBI 1974, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, Mulvihill et al 1969.)

Victim studies are valuable indicators of the social location of juvenile crime. They do not conform to the popular belief that it is older people, members of the white middle and upper classes, who are the most vulnerable to crime. The studies instead show that:

1. Young people are more often victims than old people.
2. Males are more often victims than females.
3. Blacks are more frequently victims than whites.
4. Poor people are more vulnerable than the affluent to violent crimes.
5. City dwellers are more vulnerable than country dwellers.
6. The prototype of the most likely victim, particularly of violent crime, is the young, black male who lives in an urban ghetto. The young poor white male is not far behind, followed closely by the young, poor black female.

Many studies have indicated that the young and economically disadvantaged are the most frequent perpetrators of crime; but the victim reports show us that the young who are economically and racially disadvantaged are also those who suffer most from violent crime. (Block and Zimring 1973, Ennis 1967, FBI 1974, National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals 1973, National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b, 1976.)

There appears to be considerable congruence between official, self report and victim accounts of delinquent behavior. While the victim and self report studies suggest that official records grossly understate the extent of juvenile crime, all

three sources suggest that at least up until 1978 there has been a continued upward trend in the incidence of juvenile crime, and they are consistent in their indication of the social location of juvenile crime, that violence is increasing among offenders in the 15-17 age group. They are also consistent in indicating the extent to which juveniles prey on other juveniles, poor on poor, males on males and black on black.

The preceding generalized picture of the extent and nature of the delinquency problem suggests that it is clearly a sizeable social problem and provides no comfort as to the adequacy of current policy provisions.

Contemporary controversies in juvenile corrections stem not only from concern about the scope and size of juvenile offending but they are also influenced by various beliefs on theories about the causes of juvenile misconduct and by beliefs about the effectiveness of the many remedies to the problems which have been propounded. Those theories which have been most influential on recent juvenile justice policy will be briefly considered in this chapter.

### Classical Criminology

The North American colonies originally based their criminal law on the English common law but the American declaration of independence and the United States constitution were profoundly influenced by the theories of Cesare Beccaria (Von Bar 1916).

In 1764 Beccaria advocated precepts of criminal justice which became the foundation of what is now known as the classical school of criminology. Classical criminology drew upon the tradition of eighteenth century liberalism which espoused a belief in the free will of man and his responsibility to his fellow citizens under the social contract. (Cobban 1960). The following ideas express the basic principles of Beccaria's system of justice. (Beccaria, 1809; Monachesi, 1955)

1. Beccaria argued against the capricious manner in which judges at that time disposed of those found guilty of crime, and against the use of the excessive and barbaric punishments which were prescribed. He argued that the source of law should be the legislature, not the judges, and that it was the function of the judge to determine guilt.
2. He departed from the older and abstract concept that crime is punished to protect "the state", and instead postulated that a crime should be punished because it infringes upon specific rights and liberties of the citizens of the society. The criminal is punished because he is a man whose free will makes him responsible for his acts; if his acts infringe upon the rights of others, he should pay.
3. Beccaria described when the criminal law should be invoked: crime could best be prevented by punishing certain overt acts rather than by attempting to administer vague standards of moral virtue. Crimes and their punishments should be prescribed in advance of the time that they become effective. Since it is repressive, the criminal law should be used sparingly and directed only toward activities that would infringe upon the rights and liberties of other members of the citizenry. Prohibiting activities unnecessarily would simply increase rather than decrease crime.
4. Punishment should be proportionate to the crime committed and must not become excessive. In assessing punishment, neither an individual's idiosyncracies nor his wealth or birth should be in issue, but only his acts. The criminal penalty should be measured by whether it suffices as a punishment, not by whether it succeeds at

reformation. Yet punishment should be sufficient to serve as a specific future deterrent to the particular offender as well as a general deterrent to other potential criminals.

5. Beccaria announced guidelines for the administration of the criminal law. An individual's rights and liberties should at all times be protected by strict rules of procedure. A presumption of innocence should prevail, for it would be better that some guilty persons be freed than that one innocent man be punished.
6. Punishment should swiftly follow the commission of the acts, both to impress the causal connection between crime and punishment and to protect the accused from unreasonable pretrial incarceration. The nature as well as the extent of punishment should correspond to the offence: theft should be punished with fines, acts of violence with corporal punishment. Still, imprisonment should generally be substituted for corporal punishment since it would allow delicate adjustments in the severity of punishment and would equalize the effect of punishment on men of different stations.

In classical doctrine if man has an unfettered free will to elect between several possible courses of action, the fact that he chooses a prohibited action then becomes sufficient justification to punish him. This concept of the central role of the free will, and the function of punishment as a manipulator of this will, was the core concept of classical criminology and was the concept that came under pressure from the determinist view of behavior that eventually dominated nineteenth century philosophy. (1819, 188).

Although they have been modified many times in many different ways, the principles of classical criminology underlie most contemporary justice systems. It is usually the modifications which are argued about; the broad underlying principles are generally considered to be axiomatic. In the case of juvenile

justice, however, modification of the classical justice system has been in most, if not all, states of the U.S., far greater than any modification of the adult system. Some of these modifications will be considered subsequently in relation to the establishment of the juvenile court towards the end of the nineteenth century, but some of the modifications occurred earlier in the development of what is now known as the neo-classical school of criminology.

### Neo-Classical Criminology

One of the earliest and most complete applications of the principles of classical criminology was the French Code of 1791 which applied the principle of equal punishment for the same crime. The code treated first offenders and recidivists exactly alike on the basis of their criminal acts. Similarly, juveniles, the feebleminded and insane were treated as fully competent. It quickly became evident that this was an ideal which was out of harmony with reality, and soon revisions were made to the Code. The Codes of 1810 and 1819 each allowed judges a little more discretion. But these were insufficient for a school of reformers who called for greater individualization and discriminating judgement to fit individual and extenuating circumstances. These reformers constituted what is now referred to as the neo-classical school. (Vold, 1981: 27)

The neo-classical school did not dispute the classical doctrine that man is a creature guided by reason who has free will, who is therefore responsible for his acts, and who can be controlled by his fear of punishment. The reforms they

sought were of a practical nature, not to reject classical criminology, but to make it workable in the real world. It was not until the emergence of what came to be known as the "positive school of criminology" which developed in the nineteenth century, mainly due to the growing influence of empirical and experimental science, which began to threaten the hegemony of classical thought.

### Positive Criminology

Increasingly men looked for "scientific" explanations for man's behavior, and used scientific methods of experimentation and classification in that pursuit. There developed the view that man's behavior was not necessarily a product of his rationality and his free will, but may be determined by factors beyond his control. This general orientation diverged into two mainstreams - biological determinism on one hand, and social determinism on the other. Biological determinists believed that behavior, including criminal behavior, was predominantly genetically determined, while social determinists regarded criminal behavior as being a product of the individual's social circumstances.

### Biological Determinism

Biological or constitutional deterministic theories cover a broad spectrum ranging from Lombroso's (1876) theory of the criminal type and Lange's (1930) assertion of his theory of inherited criminality, to psychiatric and psychoanalytical determinism and the Glueck's (1950) multi-factor formula for

predicting juvenile delinquency. While it is often asserted that biological determinists and social determinists were in mutually exclusive and hostile camps, many of the theorists who gave primacy to constitutional factors also recognized the influence of the offender's social circumstances.

Much more optimism was felt about the potential for modification of the child than of the adult "born criminal". Such children, reformers argued, should not be penalized because they were the offspring of degenerates or paupers. (Rothman, 1971: 207) Houses of refuge and orphans' asylums had been established in the early part of the nineteenth century to provide

employment for the idle;-instruction of the ignorant, reformation of the depraved; relief of the wretched;-a general diffusion of good morals;-enlargement of virtuous society;-and the universal protection of property and life. (Committee of the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia House of Refuge 1835: 8-12, Cf Sanders 1970: 366)

Note the similarity with the aims of the 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code (discussed below), despite the differences in the language used.

Houses of refuge, however, began to be criticized on the one hand for becoming prison-like warehouses and on the other for the increasing numbers of children they contained as cities and towns grew and immigrants poured into the country.

Paralleling these developments was an increasing concern about the legal processing of children charged with committing crimes. Boston began holding separate court hearings for juveniles

under sixteen in 1870 and New York followed in 1877. (Bremner 1970, II: 485-501) But it was not until 1883 when the Chicago Women's Club discovered that adult prisons held large numbers of children that pressure developed for the establishment of a separate juvenile court. The Chicago Women were eventually joined by clergymen, lawyers, judges, prison wardens, the Illinois Conference of Charities, and finally the Chicago Bar Association, and in 1899 the Illinois Legislature passed a bill establishing America's first juvenile court.

In some respects the juvenile court was influenced by the theories of biological determinism in that it incorporated the concepts of it being a super substitute parent, empowered to take a child from an unfit home and to make other provision for it in order to overcome its hereditary predispositions. But at the same time, it was equally (or perhaps more so), designed to rescue the child from unfit social circumstances. The establishment, and subsequent development and reform of the juvenile court, will be considered further in this paper. But before doing so, another important stage in the development of constitutional determinism will be considered.

### Psychiatric Theories

Doctors, and particularly psychiatrists, had traditionally been involved in court proceedings as expert witnesses as to an accused's state of mind and mental competence. They had also monitored and supervised the condition of the insane and feebleminded in correctional facilities. But it was not until

the work of Freud had become influential and his psychoanalytic theory, or frame of reference, had gained a wide following, that psychiatrists began to assume an important role in juvenile justice and correctional policy.

Freud also combined both a constitutional and a social deterministic point of view. He held that human nature is inherently anti-social, and therefore good behavior requires effective socialization, because the lifelong features of the personality are registered in infancy (1963). While the foregoing summary somewhat oversimplifies two of the most basic concepts incorporated in Freud's prolific theorizing, it was these basic ideas that influenced, and continue to influence policy up until the present day.

The idea that delinquent behavior is not a deliberate defiance of social norms but is an unconscious response to a combination of anti-social instincts and to poor parental practices, helped greatly to legitimize the ideology of the juvenile court. Delinquents could then be regarded as more sick than wicked. Their criminal acts became relatively unimportant per se, and were considered mainly as symptoms of a condition to be cured.

The policy and practice incorporating these ideas was that judges should not sentence delinquents according to the crimes they had committed, but should prescribe sentences based on a diagnosis of their ills by psychiatrists, psychologists or social workers. Treatment could then be carried out in correctional facilities. The perceived need for treatment has in turn

contributed to growing numbers of treatment personnel in correctional facilities, and a growing professionalization among these occupational groups. Well-intentioned lay persons have given way to psychiatrists, social workers, and clinical psychologists in training centres, and in many of the recent alternatives to the traditional institution which are run by these professionals. The emphasis on psychological cures has also led to the creation of a vast child guidance movement attached to many of the school systems, designed among other things to neutralize "latent delinquency." This intention is based on the assumption that predelinquent traits can be identified and thus professional treatment should begin early for the purpose of delinquency prevention.

The notions of treatment, or rehabilitation and prevention, have come under considerable criticism for the lack of empirical support for both the theories and the effectiveness of the treatment programs based upon the theories. (Hathaway, 1960; Kasserbaum, Ward and Wilner, 1971; Lipton, Martinson and Wilkes, 1975; McCord, 1978; Schuessler and Cressey, 1950; Waldo and Dinitz, 1967; Wooton, 1959) Other critics have had more specific concerns relating to the power of "therapeutically" oriented personnel by virtue of powers vested in them by the law. (Kittrie, 1971; Szasz, 1963) However, as will be shown in relation to the 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code, the notions of treatment, rehabilitation, guidance and prevention still remain well-entrenched in the mainstream of juvenile justice and correctional policy.

### Early Theories of Social Determinism

The idea that the social environment is influential in shaping the behavior of juveniles is not new. It was present in the thinking of the early white settlers of America. John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, justified the Puritan migration as a method of carrying the gospel to the new world and of permitting the young to escape the corruption of the old world. (Bremner 1970) This theme has been frequently reechoed. Marx (1847) argued that crime and delinquency were a product of the structure of society and would be eliminated when society was restructured according to his dicta.

Bonger (1916) argued a similar line of dialectical materialism, asserting that the capitalist economic system forces the poorer classes disproportionately into crime through poverty.

This concentration on social factors was extended by the concept of social disorganization which originated in the Chicago School of Sociology. This concept encapsulated the breakdown of customs, traditions, and institutions; among the effects of such breakdowns were "personal disorganization", crime and delinquency. The ordinary institutions of a stable society - the family and the community - were no longer able to satisfy the needs of children, and as a result these institutions were unable to control the behavior of children.

Thrasher (1927) argued that delinquency and the delinquent gang were results of social disorganization. Shaw and McKay

(1931) saw delinquency and the gang as part of the inherited tradition of the slum community.

In 1939 Sutherland put forward his theory of "differential association" in which he argued that

Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication, and that a person becomes delinquent because in the above communication processes he is exposed to an excess of definitions favorable to the violation of the law. (Sutherland and Cressey 1970)

These theories coming from the "Chicago School" seriously eroded the credibility of theories based on the notions of individual pathology as the basis for delinquent behavior. It also followed from Sutherland's arguments that nowhere could be less suitable for the rehabilitation of delinquents than a custodial institution, because nowhere else would one be more likely to be exposed to "an excess of definitions favorable to violation of the law." (Sutherland and Cressey 1970)

#### Strain Theory or Opportunity Theory

Strain theory built on the Chicago school's concepts of social disorganization and cultural deviance and upon Sutherland's differential association. Merton (1938, 1957, 1968) argued that American society is particularly desire-inducing, placing great emphasis on material success. Those segments of society virtually barred from opportunities for success give up aspirations to succeed or turn to illegal means to reach success goals. Merton argued that the lower classes had least opportunity and were therefore most likely to turn to crime to succeed materially.

Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) attempted to combine the cultural tradition of Sutherland with the structural tradition of Merton. They saw the strains in society as described by Merton, as causal factors in the formation of the delinquent subcultures or gangs described by Thrasher, Shaw and McKay and Sutherland. Cohen saw middle class culture as destructive to the self-esteem of lower class boys who were driven to compensate for this by developing their own delinquent subculture. It served the dual purpose of hitting back at middle class controls, while at the same time keeping at bay feelings of inadequacy and guilt. Cohen suggested that delinquency was an irrational reaction to a situation rather than a rational choice of an attractive life style, as Thrasher had argued.

Cloward and Ohlin's arguments were similar to those of Cohen. However, the delinquents in their theory blame not themselves but "the system" for their failure to achieve legitimate success. Cohen saw the delinquents as relatively less equipped to take advantage of opportunity. Cloward and Ohlin saw them as being actively barred from the legitimate opportunity structures prevailing in their lower class neighborhoods. They resolve their feelings of "strain" by predominantly choosing illegitimate opportunities.

Those theories which argued that delinquency was socially determined, particularly that of Cloward and Ohlin, were very influential in the policies developed in the 1960's. Mobilization for Youth and the War on Poverty were profoundly influenced by Cloward and Ohlin's theory, and this will be explored subsequently.

### The Labelling or Interactionist Perspective

The theories considered so far have been concerned primarily with identifying factors in their social circumstances which distinguish delinquents from non-delinquents. The interactionist or labelling perspective examines the agents involved in the definition of deviance. Becker presented the interactionist point of view when he wrote,

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infractions constitute deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label. (1963)

Rules, Becker argued, are selectively applied, and not everyone who is caught is actually labelled. Labelling tends to be dependent on extraneous factors such as appearance, demeanor, class, race, sex. Because it is impossible to process all lawbreakers, law enforcers have a large degree of discretion in deciding whom to label. This is a central issue in relation to delinquency.

Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963) and Kitsuse (1964), were concerned that 'the socially significant differentiation of delinquents from the non-deviant population is increasingly contingent upon circumstances of situation, place, social and personal biography, and the bureaucratically organized activities of agencies of control' (Kitsuse 1964: 101), and that these factors had more to do with the 'rate producing processes' than the actual incidence of juvenile crime (Kitsuse and Cicourel 1963).

The interactionist perspective suggested that the interaction between such behavior and society's response to it could be equally, if not more, rewarding as an object of study, than a direct focus on the misconduct of children, in that social groups might arguably be creating delinquency by creating rules and selectively applying them. Schur (1973: 119) summed it up as being 'more concerned with what is made of an act socially than with the factors that may have led particular individuals to behave in the first place'.

Despite very little empirical support, these theories of delinquency profoundly affected the development of policy during the nineteen sixties and seventies, and continue, albeit to a lesser extent, to be influential today.

#### Juvenile Correctional Policy

This analysis of policy following historical lines of development will include a brief consideration of the growing reliance on custodial institutions and the central role of the juvenile court which characterized the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. This will be followed by a review of the growing dissatisfaction with institutions and the search for alternatives, and the dissatisfaction with the children's court which resulted in policies of reform. The influence of the theories of delinquency already considered in the development of these policies of reform, will also be considered.

Empey (1978) argued that there have been three major epochs in our correctional history, and that we are in the middle of the fourth epoch - 'reintegration'.

He summarized the three previous epochs as a succession of 'three R's'.

Retribution. Prior to the 19th century, society's efforts to control crime were dominated by a philosophy of retribution. Punishments were cruel but were justified on the grounds that suffering is fair recompense for criminal acts. Little thought was given to the idea of redeeming offenders, young or old.

Restraint. In the first part of the 19th century, the retributive philosophy was gradually replaced by a philosophy of restraint. Offenders were confined in prisons and reformatories; length of stay was graded according to the seriousness of criminal acts; and reformers anticipated that inmates would experience remorse and would reform.

Rehabilitation. Throughout the 19th century, people became increasingly sensitive to childhood, softening their attitudes toward children. Toward the end of that century, therefore, these attitudes were crystallized into a complex philosophy of rehabilitation. By attending to the needs of the individual and by implementing complex programs of diagnosis and treatment, known offenders could not only be rehabilitated, but crime among dependent and unruly children could be prevented.

The history of each of these revolutionary epochs has been characterized by their beginning with great optimism and ending in dismay (Empey 1978). However, despite radical changes in ideology, there has been a tendency to retain elements of correctional practice that were products of earlier ideologies. Thus, elements of punishment were retained in prisons and reformatories, and when rehabilitation became the dominant philosophy, it was almost entirely carried out in custodial

institutions (Sanders 1970, Sellin 1964, Barnes 1972). Correctional institutions, while influenced and modified by ideological change, have developed by the accretion of practices, which are often so contradictory in intent that their cumulative effect is a tendency to cancel each other out and provide a milieu of confusion (McKelvey 1968, Cressey 1960, Sykes 1958, 1965, Weber 1957, Barker and Adams 1959). Great reliance was placed on incarceration of youths in jails and detention in institutions, under conditions that actually violated nearly all the requirements for treatment and rehabilitation (Schultz 1974).

Despite the difficulty of reconciling the goals and the practice of retribution, restraint, and rehabilitation, most jurisdictions responsible for juvenile corrections have (from the mid-nineteenth century to the late 1960's) relied very heavily upon custodial institutions as their response to juvenile offenders (Bremner 1970, Cohen 1979, Empey 1967, Rothman 1971).

Throughout this period of reliance on institutions, institutions themselves have been strongly criticized by several generations of reformers. As early as 1910, Hart made the familiar-sounding complaint that children become institutionalized and incapable of independent judgement and unable to survive in the outside world. He went on to say:

However good an institution may be, however kindly its spirit, however genial its atmosphere, however homelike its cottages, however fatherly and motherly its officers, however admirable its training, it is not generally agreed... that institutional life is at the best artificial and unnatural, and that the child ought to be returned at their earliest practicable moment to the more natural environment of the family. (1910; 12)

Most criticism of institutions has been much stronger than that of Hart. Incarceration in traditional institutions was criticized as being very expensive (Adams 1967, Koshel 1973, Rutherford and Bengur 1976), as being grossly stigmatizing (Goffman 1961, Erickson 1964), as leading to an increase rather than a decrease in antagonism towards authority (Allen 1964, Bartollas et al 1976, Clemmer 1940, Cressey 1960, Schrag 1954, Sykes 1965, Sykes and Messinger 1960), as being unnecessarily cruel (Barker and Adams 1959, Bartollas et al 1976, Clemmer 1940, Glaser 1964, Polsky 1962), and as being counterproductive in that institutions were criminogenic rather than rehabilitative (Bailey 1966, Kirby 1954, Lipton et al 1975 and Martinson 1974).

Despite all of the criticism that has been levelled at correctional institutions they have shown great resilience. Not only do many still exist but they are being renovated, rebuilt and enlarged.

The custodial institution was one of the two main policy developments that comprised the heritage from the nineteenth century. The other was the juvenile court.

### The Juvenile Court

Rubin (1976) described the juvenile court as,

...a far more complex instrument than outsiders imagine. It is law, and it is social work; it is control, and it is help; it is the good parent and, also, the stern parent; it is both formal and informal. It is concerned not only with the delinquent, but also with the battered child, the runaway, and many others...The juvenile court has been all things to all people. (1976: 66)

This description embodies the historical and ideological trends which have already been mentioned and which led to the establishment of the first juvenile court in the U.S. Included among these were the modern concepts of childhood which were outgrowths of centuries of change in Western Civilization. By the nineteenth century the "progressive" notion was that children were fragile and guileless, requiring special attention and care, including schooling that inculcated moral principles as well as basic literacy. They should also be protected from the evil blandishments of city streets, immoral associates, and places of vice and corruption (Fox 1970, Platt 1977, Rothman 1978).

The juvenile court was established to decriminalize the misconduct of children, whether that misconduct was criminal or merely disobedient and unruly. Such children had previously been frequently locked up with adult criminals and brought before the adult courts. The juvenile court was built on the assumption that delinquent behavior is due to defective socialization of children and that in order to rehabilitate them, they must be treated and cared for in a personal manner.

As a policy initiative, the juvenile court arose not only from a spirit of altruistic reform, but also from social protection and social control motives. American cities had grown with unprecedented rapidity between the Civil War and 1900. Poverty and neglect were present in these cities on a massive scale, and there was a widespread dissatisfaction with the failure of the houses of refuge and asylums to deal with the flood. As well as the American-born, floods of immigrants poured into the great cities. Their children used the streets

of the slums as playgrounds and frequently became involved in crime, as well as frequently failing to comply with the compulsory schooling legislation that had been enacted in most states during that period (Harpur 1899).

The court was seen by many as necessary not only to discipline these children and to rescue them from the neglect of their dissolute parents, but also to protect society from the burgeoning 'dangerous classes' (Addams 1925, Hofstadter 1955, Platt 1977, Rothman 1978).

While the court had its critics over the first sixty years of its existence, for the most part it held an honored place among society's institutions. By the 1960's and 1970's criticism became more dominant than honor. While it is somewhat oversimplifying matters to do so, the critics can be seen to fall into four main categories. First were those who saw the court as being too permissive and who advocated a more stern and punitive form of justice (Morris 1974, Wilks and Martinson 1976, Van den Haag 1975, Von Hirsch 1977 and Wilson 1975), then there were those who saw the court as having too much discretion and who advocated a more classical due process form of justice (Algase 1963, In re Gault 1967, Kahn 1953, Kent V. U.S. 1966, Kittrie 1971 and Paulsen 1962). Third were the labelling theorists who saw society and the agents of social control as criminogenic who advocated a more liberal concept of justice or the entire avoidance of official processing (Becker 1963, Erickson 1964, Kitsuse 1964, Kitsuse and Cicourel 1963, Lemert 1967, Schur 1973). Fourth were the Marxist radicals who advocated revolution and the establishment of a socialist

order as the only solution. (Krisberg 1975, Liazos 1974, Nicholaus 1969, Quinney 1973, Reasons 1975, Taylor et al 1973)

The court also has its defenders as well as its critics. Polier (1964) maintains that a lack of resources is the juvenile court's greatest problem. She argues that if adequate resources were provided, many of the other charges levied against the court would seem much less important. This question of resources may, as Polier suggests, have been the principal determinant of change.

It is probably far more often assumed that policies are based on rational assessment of the evidence of social science and careful monitoring of social data, than is perhaps the case. Peters (1977) and Kaufman (1976) remind us of the inertial aspect of much public policy; once a path is chosen, it is rarely abandoned. Often only a crisis of considerable proportions will precipitate major reconsideration and change of policy. Both in the case of custodial institutions and the juvenile court, new policies seem to have arisen out of a crisis of lack of resources that had been preceded by an overall neglect of juvenile justice. The crisis came mainly as a result of the post war baby boom when the inherent faults of the under-resourced machinery of juvenile justice systems became much more visible as the courts and custodial institutions were inundated with unprecedented numbers of children and adolescents.

The publication of Cloward and Ohlin's book in 1960, setting forth their opportunity theory, coinciding as it did

with the crisis in the juvenile justice system, had far-reaching consequences. They concluded that,

the target for preventative action...(is) not the individual or group that exhibits the delinquent pattern, but...the social setting that gives rise to delinquency. It is our view...that the major effort of those who wish to eliminate delinquency should be directed to the reorganization of slum communities (Cloward and Ohlin 1960: 211).

As well as publishing the book setting out their theory, Cloward and Ohlin played a central role in drawing up a large action research program to be called 'Mobilization for Youth'. This program criticized existing responses to the problems of delinquency, and particularly condemned the 'futility' of the custodial institution. Their 'Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities' aimed to achieve the following:

To improve education: Improve teacher training and curriculum, provide pre-school programs for young children, and improve other educational service.

To create work opportunities: An Urban Youth Services Corps., a Youth Jobs Centre, and better vocational training.

To organize the lower-class community: Take steps to research and organize unaffiliated persons, organize neighborhood councils, and establish the Lower East Side Neighborhood Association.

To provide specialized services to adolescent groups: A detached worker program for gangs, and Adventure Corps., and a Coffee Shop Hangout.

To provide specialized services to individuals and their families: Organize Neighborhood Service Centres that would provide counselling, assistance to families, and other services of this type. (Moynihan 1969)

The program was conceived as a major social experiment.

It appealed to the spirit of 'The New Frontier' and was taken up

by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency shortly after it had been created in 1961; new legislation was written and passed authorizing the expenditure of \$10 million annually for three years. The key concepts were 'opportunity', 'coordination', and 'community action' to achieve social change in order to create opportunity, rather than personal change towards social conformity (Marris and Rein 1973, Moynihan 1969, Short 1975).

The literature on Mobilization for Youth and The War on Poverty generally concludes that at best it had mixed results at at worst it was a failure. Delinquency rates continued to rise. (Marris and Rein 1973, Moynihan 1969, Piven and Cloward 1973, Short 1975).

#### Policy Impact of Labelling Theory

During the 1960's and 1970's the interactionist or labelling perspective despite its many inadequacies as a theory and very little empirical evidence to support it, had a profound influence on juvenile justice policy. Like Cloward and Ohlin's theory, labelling theory emerged at a time when the scientific community, public policy-makers, and the interested public were most ready to receive it. In 1964, only two years after its launching, Mobilization for Youth (MFY) (based on strain theory) was being battered by a conservative backlash. The stage was set for the acceptance of labelling theory as a basis for the formulation of policies for dealing with delinquent juveniles as it provided an attractive rationalization for a partial retreat from opportunity theory based policies. Writing for the President's

Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967, Lemert stated the implications of labelling theory in clear terms.

The aims of preventing delinquency and the expectations of definitively treating a profusion of child and parental problems have laid an impossible burden upon the juvenile court, and they may be seriously considered to have no proper part in its philosophy. If there is a defensible philosophy for the juvenile court, it is one of judicious non-intervention. It is properly an agency of last resort for children, holding to a doctrine analogous to that of appeal courts which require that all other remedies be exhausted before a case will be considered. (1967)

The rise to pre-eminence of labelling theory coincided with, or was part of the overall social climate which included, the civil rights movement. This resulted in what is now often described as the 'hands off' ideology. (Sarri and Vinter 1976)

The 'hands off policy' has been translated into a variety of policies and programs, notably decriminalization, diversion, deinstitutionalization and due process. The most influential contribution to the drawing together of these theories and to their conversion to policy recommendations, was the 1967 President's Commission.

The (U.S.) President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice

It has already been noted in the history of the major revolutions of the juvenile justice system that the practices that prevailed before each of the revolutions were not completely abandoned, but were retained in modified form. In fact retribution was far from wholly abandoned when restraint became the

dominant ideology of corrections, and when rehabilitation replaced restraint as the ascendant theme, rehabilitation was attempted mainly in custodial institutions where restraint was routinized in practice, and punishment was inevitably viewed by the inmates as the purpose for which they were there.

Similarly, the 1967 President's Commission, while predominantly reintegrative, was characterized by heavy reliance on labelling theory, at the same time as it retained many of the heroic themes of strain theory.

#### The Heroic Themes

The 'heroic' themes built on strain theory were so called because they reflected the earlier emphasis upon the prevention of delinquency by large scale social change. By contrast, and to some extent in contradiction of the heroic themes, the 1967 President's Commission also reflected a distrust of large scale government intervention, and a 'hands off' policy was advocated, particularly where saving children from what was seen as the stigmatizing and destructive effects of legal processing was concerned. Both theories were reintegrative in character, but they were in conflict as to the extent intervention should on the one hand be maximized (the 'heroic' opportunity creation theme of strain theory) or on the other, be minimized (the 'hands off' stigma-avoiding theme of labelling theory).

Strain theory was clearly reflected in the following extracts from the President's Commission.

It is inescapable that juvenile delinquency is directly related to conditions bred by poverty (1967a: 57). The Commission doubts that even a vastly improved criminal justice system can substantially reduce crime if society fails to make it possible for each of its citizens to feel a personal stake in it - in the good life that it can provide and in the law and order that are prerequisite to such a life (1967a: 58).

The Commission went on to recommend provisions of income security for all Americans, and that steps be taken to reduce unemployment, to foster family support, to provide extra educational assistance to disadvantaged children, to provide opportunities for higher education for them, to develop job placements in schools, to eliminate discrimination in employment, and to involve disadvantaged young people in responsible community actions (President's Commission 1967a: 66, 69, 74, 77).

Clearly the Commission was concerned with what cultural deviance and strain theorists see as primary sources of delinquent behavior - poverty, inequality of education, and lack of opportunity; and therefore insofar as the above sections of the Commission's report were concerned, they were more concerned to reform the economic, political and social structure than to reform the juvenile justice system.

#### The Hands Off Themes

At the same time as clearly suggesting that poverty, discrimination, and lack of opportunity were primary causes of delinquency, the Commission also suggested that an even greater cause may be the juvenile justice system. It criticized such 'evidence' of 'failure' as assembly-line justice, excessive

probation and parole caseloads, and over-crowding of institutions, and noted the growing evidence that correctional programs did not seem to make any difference to recidivism rates.

These concerns coincided with the growing popularity of labelling theory which saw delinquent behavior as a product of the way society reacts to young offenders. The 'failure' of the Court and the institutions of the juvenile correctional system were seen as evidence in support of labelling theory's basic argument; the process of identifying, labelling and stigmatizing children had only made their problems worse.

That the Commission was persuaded by these labelling theory arguments is evidenced by the fact that, apart from the recommendations intended to improve the social circumstances and opportunity of youth, the remaining recommendations were predicated on the assumption that the juvenile court was a major, if not the primary source of increasing delinquency. These recommendations can be summarized and described by what are often referred to as the four D's - decriminalization, diversion, deinstitutionalization, due process. (Due process is not a concept based on labelling theory but became a major concern at the time of the Commission for reasons outlined below).

#### Decriminalization

This reform essentially argued that society should have no legal jurisdiction over the moral behavior of children, and therefore all status offenses should be decriminalized.

The President's Commission's stance in favor of decriminalization rested on two arguments. Firstly, it was a matter of simple justice that children should not be prosecuted for behavior which, if it were exhibited by adults, would not be grounds for prosecution. Secondly,

Individual morality has become functional rather than sacred or ethical in the older sense. (Hence), it has become equally or more important to protect children from the unanticipated and unwanted consequences of organized movements on their behalf than from the unorganized, adventitious 'evils' which gave birth to the juvenile court. (Lemert 1967: 97)

The Commission summed up its position by recommending that 'Serious consideration should be given to the complete elimination of the Court's power over children for non-criminal conduct'. (1967a: 85)

### Diversion

This reform is aimed at diverting more first-time and petty offenders, as well as status offenders, away from formal legal processing. The President's Commission (1967a: 82) recommended that there should be greater use made of police warnings rather than prosecution of minor offenders before the Court; more informal supervision by probation officers, and more referrals to non-legal agencies in the community.

### Due Process

The Commission's recommendations in the matter of due process were probably profoundly influenced by two decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Kent (1966) and Gault (1967) cases. The Supreme Court made it plain that it regarded the

juvenile court as neither adequately protecting the rights of children, nor adequately ensuring their welfare.

While there can be no doubt of the original laudable purpose of juvenile courts, studies and critiques in recent years raise serious questions as to whether actual performance measures well enough against theoretical purpose to make tolerable the immunity of the process from the reach of constitutional guarantees applicable to adults. There is much evidence that some juvenile courts...lack the personnel, facilities, and techniques to perform adequately as representatives of the State in a *parens patriae* capacity, at least with respect to children charged with law violations. (Kent v. United States, 383, U.S. 541 (1966))

The President's Commission reaffirmed the importance of ensuring due process. It recommended that notice be given to parents well in advance of any hearings by the Court, the mandatory appointment of a defense lawyer, observance of proper rules of evidence, presentation, and the ruling out of much of the previous informality of the Court, and a clear distinction between adjudicatory and dispositional hearings. In effect it recommended that the juvenile court should adhere more closely to due process in the manner of the adult criminal Courts. (1967a: 87)

### Deinstitutionalization

Deinstitutionalization suggests that correctional programs for delinquent juveniles should be removed from closed custodial institutions and located instead in open community settings. Their purpose should be to integrate the young person into legitimate activity in the community rather than to socialize him into conformity to institutional life.

In making a recommendation to this effect, the President's Commission deftly combined a muted version of the 'hands off' theme with an even more muted version of the 'heroic' theme.

The correctional strategy that presently seems to hold the greatest promise, based on social science theory and limited research, is that of reintegrating the offender into the community. A key element in this strategy is to deal with problems in their social context, which means in the interaction of the offender and the community. It also means avoiding as much as possible the isolating and labelling effects of commitment to an institution. There is little doubt that the goals of reintegration are furthered much more readily working with an offender in the community than by incarcerating him. (President's Commission 1967b: 28)

Essentially this statement reflects greater faith in the capacity of the normal community as a setting in which to find a solution to the problems of young offenders, than in the capacity of traditional custodial institutions to do so. The recommendations were incorporated in the legislation which now governs federal policy.

#### The Juvenile Justice Act of 1974

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 stresses 'prevention', but its major intent appears to be to promote changes in the administration of juvenile justice, and particularly to promote the four D's - Decriminalization, Due Process, Diversion and Deinstitutionalization. As a result, any state which wishes to receive federal funds has to meet several basic requirements.

Federal funds must be used to develop or to maintain programs designed "to prevent delinquency, to divert juveniles from the juvenile justice system, and to provide community based alternatives to juvenile detention and correctional facilities." (LEAA, 1974: 395)

After two years, each state must guarantee that juvenile status offenders will not be confined in juvenile detention or correctional facilities.

Deinstitutionalization for them must be complete. If such children have no place else to stay, communities should create new "shelter" for them. (LEAA, 1974: 396) (The youth center which is the setting for this project was created for this purpose in 1976)

No delinquent can be detained or confined in any institution where he or she will have contact with adult offenders. (LEAA, 1974: 395)

Finally, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is authorized to make grants designed to encourage the development of new techniques of rehabilitation, new community alternatives to incarceration, and new methods of diversion. New prevention efforts are also encouraged but not of the heroic society-changing variety. Rather the funds are to "improve the capability of public and private agencies...to provide services...youth in danger of becoming delinquent" - better counseling methods, crisis intervention, family therapy, and other remedial activities of this type. (LEAA, 1974: 398).

The main message of the 1974 federal legislation was that the juvenile court and its original child-saving principles were failures. When absolutely necessary, young criminals should be given a formal trial. Otherwise, every possible step should be taken to keep them free from the court's destructive and stigmatizing effects.

#### Intended and Unintended Effects

Much of what the Juvenile Justice Act of 1974 intended has been put into effect in many states and there have also been some consequences which were not intended. The following is an attempt to indicate some of the effects which seem to be of central importance to this project.

## 1. Decriminalization

The provisions seeking to decriminalize juvenile status offenses have had a mixed effect. This seems to be partly due to the way 'decriminalization' has been defined by the groups involved. To some, 'decriminalization' means that children who have not been charged with a crime should not come to court. Legally, at least, all status offenses would be defined out of existence. (National Task Force 1977)

Other groups have argued that status offenders should simply be given a different, but less stigmatizing, name and left under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. Theirs is a euphemistic solution. Status offenders could still be taken to court but no longer called delinquents.

This latter interpretation became dominant. It actually originated in California and was adopted in some states before the enactment of the Federal Legislation. As early as 1961 California designated status offenders as "601's" while criminal offenders were called "602's". In 1962, New York called the status offender 'a person in need of supervision' (PINS). There followed several variations on the same theme - New Jersey (JINS), Illinois (MINS), Colorado (CHINS), and Florida (CINS). (Rubin 1974, Levin and Sarri 1974)

To some extent the attempt to solve the problem of youthful misconduct by changing its name is a reversion to the thinking of the founders of the juvenile court, who intended to decriminalize all juvenile misconduct, criminal or otherwise, and clearly distinguish it from adult criminal behavior. To

them, all such juveniles should be treated as status offenders. The court was to provide rehabilitative assistance, not punishment, for their unwanted conduct. Now they are split (artificially some would argue (Thomas 1976)) into status offenders, now supposedly free from stigma as PINS, CHINS, and so on, and criminal offenders clearly stigmatized as delinquents.

But how far do these semantic maneuvers take us? Empey (1978) neatly summarized the dilemma.

...today's reformers are faced with a slippery problem which labelling theory and a policy of non-intervention poses, namely, the implication that if the legal rules against status offenses no longer existed the behaviors they represented would either disappear or would no longer be grounds for concern. Such a notion, of course, is fallacious. There would still be children who refuse to go to school, who become homeless street people, or who seriously jeopardize their futures in some other ways. Thus, if society chose to ignore these children, it would be engaging in a legislative sleight of hand in which only the rules were changed, not the problems. Remediation of some type is still needed.

That remediation, of course, need not be legal, providing that children and parents are willing participants in it. But sometimes they are not. Sometimes the juvenile court is a useful backup institution. Hence, this may be one reason that all states have continued to permit the juvenile court to exercise some jurisdiction over status offenders. Yet, though they have done that, the influence of the court is declining, less because the laws of the various states require it than because of the increasing use of diversion, due process, and deinstitutionalization. (1978: 538)

## 2. Diversion

The ostensible purpose of 'diversion' is to reduce the number of children being inserted into the criminal justice system. Momentum around this idea built up rapidly and produced a host of programs with a host of unclear goals, promoted by

different people for different reasons (Cressey & McDermott 1973, Klein et al 1976, Lerman 1978, Rutherford and McDermott 1976).

Interactionists of the labelling persuasion argue that diversion means "hands off", that is, leaving children alone wherever possible. (Schur 1973)

Others take a directly opposite point of view and argue for the mobilization of greater, not fewer, programs for delinquents and status offenders and for children seen to be 'at risk'. To them it is the legal processing that is to be avoided.

A third school of opinion favors diversion as a means of sorting the 'wheat from the chaff', that is, as a means of helping petty and first offenders out of the court and correctional system, so that the system may concentrate its efforts on those who pose a more significant threat to the community. Finally, there are those who favor a greater degree of social control, and see diversion as a means of supervising and controlling juveniles who are counselled and released by police.

These differing points of view are set out in detail and hotly debated in what is now a vast literature on diversion (Andriessen 1980, Baron, Feeney and Thornton 1973, Berg and Schichor 1979, Cohen 1979, Cressey and McDermott 1973, Empey 1973 and 1978, Gibbons and Blake 1976, Greenberg 1975, Horman 1975, Klein 1974, 1976a, 1976b, 1979, Klein et al 1976, McSparron 1980, Robertson 1980, Rutherford and McDermott 1976, Sarri and Vinter 1976, Scull 1977).

The results of this proliferation of programs are as mixed as the programs themselves. The proliferation of programs is

extensive. Klein and Teilman (1976) noted nearly 200 in California alone. There is also a whole new child-saving bureaucracy. Programs are controlled variously by private agencies, police, state authorities and county authorities, but usually they are run by or connected with justice personnel (Klein and Teilman 1976; Baron et al 1973). And so it is questionable to what extent (if at all) they are diverting children from the justice system. Many critics see the 'diversion' phenomenon as a 'widening' of the system of social control rather than providing alternatives outside that system. And they see the net incorporating first and minor offenders who, in the past might have been left alone. (Cohen 1979, Greenberg 1975, Klein et al 1976, Nejelski 1976)

Another concern or unintended consequence is that of the program content. As has already been noted, the 1967 President's Commission embraced to some extent both the labelling perspective and notions of improving the opportunity structures of the community as advocated by strain theorists. Most diversion programs, however, conform much more to a rehabilitative model than they do to a reintegrative model. They direct their efforts towards changing the offender rather than changing the opportunity structure in his environment. (Baron et al 1973, Elliott and Blanchard 1975, Klein et al 1976)

### 3. Due Process

Following the Kent (1966) and Gault (1967) judgements of the Supreme Court and the requirements of the 1974 U.S. Juvenile

Delinquency Prevention Act. The juvenile court is now in most states very different from what it was prior to 1966. The pendulum has swung heavily in the direction of due process, which was the intended policy direction, but there have also been some unintended and unwanted effects. Before the reforms, the court had already been accused of dispensing assembly line justice in that it spent insufficient time on each case. With a greater emphasis on due process, procedures take more time, more personnel and more resources.

Polier (1979) points out that the adult courts are typically plagued by massive backlogs of cases, and there seems to be no reason to suppose that this will not happen to the juvenile court. It would seem, therefore, that greater justice is by no means assured, particularly in view of the venerable legal maxim which states that 'justice delayed is justice denied'.

The adult court system now resolves the great majority of cases by "guilty" pleas resulting most frequently from plea-bargaining, not by adversary procedures and strict adherence to due process. If the case does come to court, the court may not consider the child's social circumstances that may prejudice the case. Any finding by the court must be based on the evidence and the evidence that may be admitted is very narrowly restricted by due process. This can result in a child who may be in considerable jeopardy in terms of his or her social circumstances but who is before the court on a relatively minor criminal charge having his or her case dismissed, and being returned to the potentially disastrous circumstances from which he or she came without any of the sort of help the juvenile courts were originally established to provide.

There are several other effects of due process policy that could be examined, but what is probably even more important is Judge Polier's (1979) contention that the concentration on the juvenile court by reformers has been done at the expense of giving adequate attention to the larger economic and social conditions that provide child fodder for the inadequate public schools, health services, mental hospitals and child-caring facilities which primarily serve poor children. She is also concerned that

Within the juvenile court system, a still narrower target, the status offender, has been selected as a prime beneficiary of many new efforts. In doing so, today's reformers consciously or unconsciously overlook the fact that the original juvenile court proponents had attempted to have all children brought before the courts treated as status offenders - non-criminals - whose problems rather than whose acts were to be the center of concern.

#### 4. Deinstitutionalization

The reform of deinstitutionalization promised by the 1974 legislation was justified on three grounds:

- (1) The destructive impact upon children of institutions of incarceration.
- (2) The new reintegrative ideology which stressed the need for greater community tolerance and change.
- (3) Increased civil rights for children.

It was also hoped that there might be some savings in costs, as community based programs were argued to be markedly less costly than custodial institutions. (3)

Many states had begun deinstitutionalization programs prior to the act of 1974. (4) But the 1974 act provided an incentive to all states to move in this direction. However, in a nationwide study Vinter et al (1976) maintained that the number of

juveniles in training schools had not been greatly reduced. However, in a more recent study Krisberg and Schwartz (1983) noted a substantial reduction in the involvement of status offenders within the juvenile justice system between 1974 and 1979.

### The Conservative Backlash

A general effect that relates to more recent policy development is the hardening of attitudes towards young offenders by the community. Up until very recently there was no evidence that delinquency rates had not continued to increase, but during the 1960's and early 1970's there was a persistent and disturbing increase in juvenile crime. Also disturbing were gross inconsistencies between one jurisdiction and another in handling delinquents (Wilson 1968), and the apparent failure of the wide variety of treatment or rehabilitation programs to have a significant impact on recidivism. (Lipton, Martinson and Wilkes 1975)

This disillusionment coincided with a rising concern with the cost of government and the gradual ascendancy of monetarist economic theory and political conservatism. And once again a receptive context gave force to the arguments of reformers. In these cases, the reformers were not putting forward new theories so much as calling for a return to the principles of Beccaria's classical criminology. Some argued that children should be treated more like adults, and called for a lowering of the age of accountability. (Cf. California Welfare and Institutions Code 1976, New York Juvenile Justice Reform Act 1976) Other jurisdictions broadened the conditions for the waiver of juveniles to the

adult courts. (Cf. New Jersey Juvenile Code 1974 & 1982) Others were more extreme, calling for the abolition of the juvenile court. (McCarthy 1977) Finally, there were those who suggested that justice and common sense demand the elimination of the individualized rehabilitative approach to offenders and a return to a greater emphasis on retribution and restraint. (Morris, 1974; Wilks and Martinson, 1976; Wilson, 1975; van den Haag, 1975)

"Getting tough with crime" postures were taken up by many politicians and have led to legislation which incorporates 'tough' measures. In the state of New York, a bill was passed in 1977 which labelled a sub-population of the more serious juvenile offenders as "designated felons", who were to be prosecuted by special assistant district attorneys assigned to the family court. A 1979 revision of the legislation expanded the categories designated as serious, removed such cases from the jurisdiction of the family court, and placed them in the criminal court. The types of penalties available to the criminal court are significantly more severe than those available to the family court. (Citizens Committee for Children of New York 1979, 1982; Fabricant 1982) Several other states, including New Jersey, have moved or begun to move in a similar direction, incorporating elements of the "get tough stance", indicating that there has been, and still is, considerable dissatisfaction within the country with juvenile justice policy.

Contemporary Juvenile Justice Policy:

The 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code

At the commencement of this chapter it was noted that the 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code (The 1982 code) came into operation in January, 1984, and so may be regarded as being somewhat representative of the current thinking of policy makers. The final few pages of this paper will be concerned with an examination of the 1982 code and the extent to which it has been influenced by the various theories which have been considered.

It was also previously noted that Empey (1978) argued that the various changes in policy over the years did not make a clean break with the past, but tended to result in the retention of many previous policies and practices at the same time as new policies were developed. The 1982 code appears to be quite typical in this respect in that it incorporates new provisions but discards very few provisions from previous legislation.

The opening clauses of the code set out its broad intent, and is typical of most juvenile justice legislation in making reference to goals of preserving "the unity of the family wherever possible and to provide for the care, protection, and wholesome mental and physical development of juveniles coming within the provisions of this act" (1982: 1), and "Consistent with the public interest, to remove from children committing delinquent acts certain statutory consequences of criminal behaviour and to substitute therefore an adequate program of supervision, care and rehabilitation." (1982:1-2) The act goes on to emphasize the "hands off" theme -.

"To separate juveniles from the family only when necessary for their health, safety or welfare or in the interests of public safety" and "To secure for each child coming under the jurisdiction of the court such care and guidance, preferably in his own home, as will conduce the child's welfare and the best interests of the state." (1982: 2)

Most of the foregoing would be similar in wording and intent to other juvenile justice legislation of the late 1960's and early to mid-1970's. Where the 1982 N.J.J.C. begins to differ from much of the legislation of that earlier period is that on one hand it takes further steps in the direction of separating status offenders from juveniles who have committed criminal offenses, thus furthering the process of decriminalization, and on the other hand it incorporates provisions that reflect the influence of the "get tough" or "back to justice" reaction.

New Jersey, as previously noted, had, in 1974, already taken one step towards decriminalization by designating status offenders JINS (Juveniles in Need of Supervision), and by, to a large extent (but not entirely), making separate provision for them. But even as status offenders they were still seen as offenders and as the person in need of supervision. The 1982 legislation shifts the focus of attention from the individual juvenile to the juvenile and his family who are seen to be undergoing a "Juvenile-family crisis." Under the 1982 code a

'Juvenile-family crisis' means behavior, conduct or a condition of a juvenile, parent or guardian or other family member which presents or results in (1) a serious threat to the well-being and physical safety of a juvenile, or (2) a serious conflict between a parent or guardian and a juvenile regarding rules of conduct which has been manifested by repeated disregard for lawful parental authority by a juvenile or misuse of lawful parental authority by a parent or guardian, or (3) unauthorized absence by a juvenile for more than 24 hours from his home, or (4) a

pattern of repeated unauthorized absences from school by a juvenile subject to the compulsory education provision of Title 18A of the New Jersey Statutes. (1982:2)

The legislation also provides for the jurisdiction of the Family Court (formerly the Juvenile & Domestic Relations Court) over a Juvenile-family crisis, and states that

Such jurisdiction shall extend in these matters over a juvenile and his parent, guardian or any other family member found by the court to be contributing to a juvenile-family crisis. The court shall, in accordance with the Rules of Court, clearly specify the responsibilities of those subject to its jurisdiction with respect to the plan of rehabilitation for the juvenile. (1982): 3)

Thus the focus is broadened to the family, and the problem is seen as more of a family problem than was the case in the past.

In addition the legislation requires that provision be made at the county level for "Crisis Intervention Services" and other longer term supportive services which may be offered to families who appear to be in a 'Juvenile-family crisis'. Families are to be encouraged to utilize these services on a voluntary basis without having to appear before the family court and be found by the court to be undergoing a juvenile-family crisis.

There appear to be strong arguments both for and against this endeavor to handle these potential status offenders on a voluntary basis. Commentators such as Austin and Krisberg (1982) and Cohen (1979) express concern that these strategies, while ostensibly not part of the official court controlled system, in fact widen the net of social control and incorporated youths whose minor misconduct may have previously been ignored. On the other hand, a recent study by Kelley (1983) suggests that the

stigmatizing consequences linked to a formal court appearance gave rise to accelerated subsequent delinquent conduct. Kelley argues that contact with the court should occur only after allegation of a criminal offense (1983:379). But as Empey has pointed out, there are many juveniles whose misconduct or circumstances cannot be ignored, and among them there are some children and parents who are unwilling to participate in any type of remediation (1978:538). The 1982 New Jersey Juvenile Code's provision for offering families the option of voluntary participation in remediation before resorting if absolutely necessary to the formal processing by the court, appears to be a responsible and practical middle course.

The influence of those of the "back of justice" and "get tough" persuasion is evident in the provisions for referral to the appropriate court in the adult jurisdiction, of juveniles of 14 years or older defined as delinquent. These provisions have been broadened to permit waiver not only for the crimes that are generally regarded as very serious, such as homicide, robbery, various assaults, and arson, but also

crimes which are part of a continuing criminal activity in concert with two or more persons and the circumstances of the crimes show the Juvenile has knowingly devoted himself to criminal activity as a source of livelihood, or an attempt or conspiracy to commit... (any of the serious crimes already noted)... or the prior record of the juvenile are sufficiently serious that the interest of the public require waiver. (1982: 4-5)

These broad and somewhat imprecise provisions greatly increase the possibility of waiver to the adult court system; the juvenile who has his case so waived may be sentenced to a

term in an adult prison. Furthermore, the burden of proof that he can be rehabilitated in the juvenile system (and therefore not be waived), under the 1982 code, is upon the juvenile. (It was previously upon the prosecution.) The breadth and imprecision of the newer waiver provisions, and the extraordinarily difficult burden that has been placed upon the defense in having to establish "the probability of his rehabilitation" (1982: 5) (especially in view of the conclusions of Lipton et al (1975) that rehabilitation so infrequently occurs), continue to leave a great deal of discretion in the hands of the Family Court Judges; nonetheless, there has clearly been a shift toward a tougher stance toward the more serious and more persistent offenders.

The separation of serious and persistent offenders from less serious and less frequent offenders may prove to be a very useful step. For many years in most jurisdictions serious offenders and persistent recidivist were lumped together in the same institutions and often in the same sections or dormitories as minor and infrequent offenders. In many of these jurisdictions status offenders were also placed in the same institutions as those who had committed many crimes. These arrangements failed to consider the wide differences between the offending histories and propensity for misconduct between the various categories of youths

In correctional institutions mechanisms of control tend to dominate all else, and are often geared to cope with the "lowest common demoninator"; that is the youth with the greatest potential

to misbehave. In these circumstances, minor offenders and status offenders were subjected to prison-like regimes along with youths who were hardened serious offenders. What was necessary to control the least controllable became the norm. Any attempt at rehabilitation was usually and necessarily subordinated to the control system, because rehabilitation programs could not be implemented in uncontrolled chaos, and the mechanisms of control frequently stifled the chances of rehabilitation occurring.

It was also common in these multipurpose institutions for youths who were non-offenders or minor offenders to emulate more hardened youths who enjoyed high status in the institutions. Thus many relatively minor delinquents quickly developed into more serious offenders, seemingly to gain the approval of more delinquent peers.

The separation and segregation of criminal offenders from status offenders and the separation of more serious and persistent offenders from minor and infrequent offenders, greatly increases the prospects for rehabilitation of all groups, and assists in overcoming the problem of contamination of non-offenders and minor offenders by hardened serious and persistent offenders.

The "get tough" approach to juveniles who commit crimes, and the further separation of the juvenile who is in trouble but not committing crimes, are the outstanding features of the 1982 Code. However, it is interesting to note that some of

the policy developments which were considered earlier in this chapter are still present in the code. The medical model of "treatment" is firmly entrenched in the new code which requires that various programs for "treatments" be provided and staffed by professionally qualified personnel. (1982: 15) "Treatment" of status offenders is equated with "care and guidance" in the new code and the juvenile concerned will receive his assistance "in his own home" or in the case of both status officers and delinquents in the least restrictive environment". This approach has the potential to minimize the likelihood of the occurrence of some of the excesses which are sometimes associated with the medical model. Opportunity theory appears to be alive and well in the code's requirements that juveniles "participate in work programs designed to provide skills and specific employment training to enhance employability of job applicants", although, depending upon how it is implemented, this provision appears to be a re-statement of the time-honored policy of training idle youths in marketable job skills. (1982: 17) With the current tight employment market, especially in relation to employment of minors, such skills could make a crucial difference to whether or not a youth emerging from a period of detention would be able to gain a job. It is a traditional response, but currently a very appropriate one.

The idea of rehabilitation is present throughout the code, and is used as if axiomatic and requiring no elaboration. However, as has already been noted, greater segregation of youths in accordance with the nature and seriousness of their misconduct gives rehabilitation a greater chance of success than it has enjoyed in the past.

Despite the many vague and broad provisions within the code which leave enormous scope for judicial discretion, there are also provisions which require due process, and the guarantee to all criminal defendants of all rights under the constitutions of both the United States and the State of New Jersey. (1982: 12-14)

Policies of diversion and deinstitutionalization are also present in the Code, with a strong emphasis on non-residential programs being operated by either or both public and private agencies at the county level. (1982: 17)

In total, the 1982 N.J.J.C. appears to confirm Empey's observation that although new policies are developed, previous policies are still retained. But in the case of the new New Jersey Juvenile Code, this is not a cause for pessimism. On the contrary, what has been retained appears to have been retained with some recognition of the many differences between the many individuals processed by the juvenile justice system. The new Code also imposes limits, safeguards, and conditions which increase the chances of effective rehabilitation for most youths. These safeguards also protect youths from several of the former excesses of juvenile corrections, and protect their basic legal rights.

Juvenile justice has had a turbulent history characterized by some erratic zig-zagging. The last twenty-five years have seen some outstanding policy developments but the difficulty of developing policies which can be shown to have produced socially

beneficial gains without at the same time being accompanied by equally undesired consequences still remains. There appears to be no clear-cut way ahead which seems absolutely assured of providing improvements to the juvenile justice system, or benefits to the whole of society. However, the new New Jersey Juvenile Code, which is now being implemented, appears to have reconciled many conflicting purposes and provides some unusually promising opportunities to address persistent problems.

Enactment of appropriate legislation is a major part of the process of developing effective juvenile justice programs. Equally important in this overall process, however, is the process of interpreting and implementing policy. This chapter has analysed the development of the policies which provided the broad policy context in which this project was carried out. Chapters Three and Four describe the consultation process as these policies - as represented by the new New Jersey Juvenile Code - were being implemented. Throughout the consultation process, the various policies and the changes they were intended to bring about, had to be kept constantly in mind in order to avoid the all too common problem of the intent of new policies being distorted in the process of their implementation. Part of the attractiveness of this project to the consultant was the opportunity to see whether an appropriate evaluation strategy could help a grass roots agency dealing directly with youths in the juvenile justice system to adapt to these new policies without distorting them, while at the same time helping the agency to develop organizationally and to

overcome a problem of low morale. The next chapter reviews some of the literature on evaluation and its development, indicating why utilization focussed evaluation was considered an appropriate strategy to achieve the goals of this project. It also reviews some perspectives from the organizational theory and management literature which are relevent to some of the organizational problems facing the agency. These perspectives helped the evaluation to be utilization focussed and therefore of greater value to the agency than it would otherwise have been.

CHAPTER TWO  
UTILIZATION-FOCUSED EVALUATION  
AND  
ORGANIZATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

The previous chapter briefly described the development of juvenile justice policy in America and its culmination in the passing of a new juvenile code for the State of New Jersey. The implementation of that new code as from January 1, 1984 had major implications for many youth agencies across the state, including the Youth Center which was the agency in which this consultancy project was carried out.

The major theoretical framework which guided this project was Patton's (1978) utilization-focused evaluation strategy. This chapter reviews the development of evaluation research, and Patton's strategy is explicated. Also in this chapter, a stream of theory from organizational design theory, and management, will be briefly reviewed, because it provided theoretical perspectives which to some extent guided the consultant in carrying out this project.

The Development of Utilization-focused Evaluation

Evaluation is a word whose meaning usually depends on the context in which it is used, as there are many kinds of evaluations. In this context it is being used in relation to evaluation research, wherein the methods of social science are applied to produce data intended to make evaluative judgements more accurate and objective.

The idea of applying science to aid the process of decision making is not new. The application of the physical sciences to the material world had been instrumental in the far-reaching impact of the industrial revolution upon the modern world. As the logic and basic methodology of objective, empirical, and experimental science became well-established, investigations and their interpretations began to provide a new intellectual approach, a new system of explanation of all phenomena including the behavior and development of the human species and his environment as developments in biology led to the identification of man with the rest of the animal world. (Darwin 1871)

Developments in the theory of natural science stimulated the development of social theories. Influenced by Darwin, Spencer (1908) argued that the social order must inevitably emulate the competitive process of nature. From this basis he advocated minimal government. He believed that society could best regulate its affairs by letting its members fight it out among themselves. He believed that society itself should do nothing to interfere, for nothing society could do would abolish human misery. It was Spencer's view that through self improvement, individuals would bring about a better social system.

Spencer's notion of rugged individualism was received very positively in America. His most prominent disciple in America, Sumner, believed that natural competition's vast impersonal

..

forces always accomplished everything that is expedient and successful. Sumner treated the evolutionary process of social development as a mechanical one, without the possibility of intelligent plan or control by the human mind (1907). The views of Spencer and Sumner gave 'scientific' legitimacy to the laissez faire/business supremacy ethos that dominated American society from the latter half of the nineteenth century until the new deal of the 1930's.

Among the most powerful of the few voices raised against this predominant point of view was that of Lester Ward. Ward accepted evolutionary theory as Darwin had propounded it, but did not accept the final conclusions of Spencer and Sumner in their analogous application of Darwinism to the social sphere. Ward pointed out that there was a large degree of blindness and accident in natural selection in plants and animals. In the case of human beings, there was far more cognitive content in selections, and to ignore this was absurd. He argued that although human society may have started as a growth process similar to that of the evolution of plants and animals, it had become a mechanism with the potential to be rationally controlled.

The human mind, he argued, was a major factor in evolution. The mind's emotional and willing aspects have produced ambitious aspirations for individual and social improvement and the intellect, when rightly informed with scientific truth, enables the individual or the social group to plan intelligently for future development. This ability to use the cognitive power of the

mind would increasingly result in systematic planning in which government would stress social welfare and democracy, and would eventually evolve into 'sociocracy.' The sociocracy Ward advocated was a society ruled by the findings of social science.

Ward's visions of society and social justice coincide with many which are widely accepted today and described what is in essence the welfare state. But in the late nineteenth century, the tide was heavily against the acceptance of his ideas. It was not until the advent of the 'new deal' in the depression years of the 1930's that these ideas began to make much headway, and it was not until the post war reconstruction period of the late 1940's and the 1950's that they became widely accepted. At this time Lewin was able to assert that leaders in government, agriculture, industry, education, and community life seemed to have an increasing awareness of the need for "scientific level of understanding" (1948), but "these eager people feel themselves to be in the fog. They feel the fog on three counts:

1. What is the present situation?
2. What are the dangers?
3. And most important of all, what shall we do?"

(1946:201)

These questions summarize the purpose of evaluation, and are the general questions which evaluation projects endeavor to answer. Lewin was confident that social science was equal to the task.

Echoing Lewin's optimism for the future of social science in social programming, Zetterberg suggested that "one of the most appealing ideas of our century is the notion that science can be put to work to provide solutions to social problems." (1962:15) And by the 1960's social workers, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, and other social scientists were participating in the formation of government policy to eliminate poverty and form the 'Great Society.' It was intended that such participation would bring rationality to social policy and would

provide hard data for planning, evidence of need and of resources. It would give cause and effect theories for policy making so that statesmen would know which variables to alter in order to effect the desired outcomes. It would bring to the assessment of alternative policies a knowledge of relative costs and benefits, so that decision-makers could select the options with the highest payoff. And once policies were in operation, it would provide objective evaluation of their effectiveness so that necessary modifications could be made to improve performance.

(Weiss 1977:4)

However, the Great Society was soon plagued by crises, and demands from social scientists that they be participants in planning were replaced by calls for greater accountability and the utilization of social science as a basis for program evaluation.

Program evaluation meant different things to different people. Carol Weiss distinguishes between evaluation in general and the specific method of evaluation research. She argues that the tools of research are pressed into service to make the judging process more accurate and objective. In its

research guise, evaluation establishes clear and specific criteria for success. It collects evidence systematically from a representative sample of the units of concern. It usually translates the evidence into quantitative terms... and compares it with the criteria that were set. It then draws conclusions about the phenomenon under study.  
(Weiss, 1972:1-2)

Weiss advocates "objective methods" in a research process which closely adheres to the dominant traditions of scientific method.

(1972:2) The classic design for evaluations adhering to this dominant tradition is the experimental model which used experimental and control groups. From a target population, units are randomly chosen to be in either an 'experimental group which is treated' or experiences the 'program' or the 'control' group that is untreated. Both the experimental group and the control group are measured in terms of the relevant criterion variable before and after the 'treatment' has been applied or the 'program' has been experienced. (In juvenile justice programs the relevant criterion variable is typically recidivism.) Differences between the experimental group and the control group are then computed. If the experimental group is found to be different from the control group in terms of the relevant criterion variable to any statistically significant extent, the change in the experimental group is attributed to the application of the treatment. If the change is large enough and in the intended direction, the program is evaluated as successful.

The typical purpose of experimental designs is the testing and validation of the predictive cause-effect hypotheses about the nature of social reality. This approach "is best suited to studying phenomena concerning which there has been a high level of theory development and testing." (Epstein) Where predictive cause-effect hypotheses do not already exist, other designs are needed.

While the use of experimental designs is typically regarded as "objective" and 'scientific' and is probably the most commonly used design in evaluation, many evaluators have moved towards making evaluation more flexible, more attentive to uniqueness, less limited to superficial notions of "hard data," and less oriented to traditional conceptions of outcomes. These evaluators see a smaller role for comparative experimental designs, standardized testing, and quantitative methods.

Partlett and Hamilton articulate the position of those they regard as more 'responsive evaluators' in describing what they see as lacking in traditional approaches. They advocate

"a total reappraisal of the rationale and techniques of program evaluation. Characteristically, conventional approaches have followed the experimental and psychometric traditions dominant in educational research. Their aim (unfulfilled) of utilizing fully 'objective methods' has led to studies that are artificial and restrictive in scope" (1976:140).

They argue that such evaluations are inadequate for elucidating the complex problem areas which they confront and as a result, provide little effective input to the decision-making process. (1976:140)

Among the first to advocate flexibility and a more responsive approach to evaluative research was Lewin (1946) who developed and clarified the concept of 'action research' as a method of planned social change. His concept of action research was that research or evaluation would involve self-study procedures in which the people who are to take action - the decision makers and implementers - participate in the research process. The action research group diagnoses its difficulties, collects information to help make necessary changes, and after the changes have been made, evaluates their effectiveness. As Weiss (1972) points out, the 'research' aspect of action research is clearly subordinated to bringing about needed modifications in the structure and functioning of the group.

Since Lewin's pioneering conceptualization and application of action research, several other related, or overlapping, approaches to applied research have been developed, including 'research development and diffusion' (Guba, 1968; Havelock, 1969); social experimentation (Campbell 1969, Fairweather, Sanders, Cressler, and Maynard, 1969; Rivlin, 1974) differential social program evaluation (Tripodi, Fellin and Epstein, 1971) utilization research and development (Rothman 1974) developmental research (Thomas 1964, 1975, 1981;) social technology (Varella 1978), goal-free evaluation (Scriven 1972, 1979) illuminative evaluation (Partlett and Hamilton, 1976) and utilization-focused evaluation

(Patton 1978, 1980, 1982). The various approaches which these authors set out vary according to the overall purpose or purposes for which the evaluation is being carried out, & are not bound by close adherence to traditional conceptions of comparative experimental design.

Weiss identifies the following main types of purposes for evaluation.

1. To continue or discontinue the program
2. To improve its practices and procedures
3. To add or drop specific program strategies and techniques
4. To institute similar programs elsewhere
5. To allocate resources among competing programs
6. To accept or reject a program approach or theory

(1972:16-17)

These purposes are usefully subdivided by Scriven who distinguished between formative and summative evaluation. Formative evaluation produces information that is fed back during the development of the program to help shape the program as it develops. Summative evaluation is done in order to provide information about program effectiveness and is intended to answer such questions as: Should the program be continued or discontinued? Should the program be more widely adopted? And if so, by whom, and at what level: (1967:39-83)

More recently there have been other attempts to distinguish between different types of evaluations which ask different kinds of questions, or focus on different aspects of the range of possibilities of the evaluative function. A committee of the National Academy of Science has delineated nine different kinds

of purposes to be served by evaluation:

1. needs assessment
2. basic research
3. small scale testing
4. field evaluation
5. policy analysis
6. fiscal accountability
7. coverage accountability
8. impact assessment  
and
9. economic analyses.

(Raizen and Rossi 1981)

The Evaluation Research Society Standards Committee identified the following six categories of evaluation "defined both by the purpose of the evaluation effort and by the kinds of activities that tend to be stressed:"

- (A) Front-end analysis (preinstallation, context, feasibility analysis). These types of evaluations take place prior to installation of a program to provide guidance in planning and implementing the program as well as deciding if the program should be implemented.
- (B) Evaluability assessment: This type of evaluation work includes activities aimed at assessing the feasibility of various evaluation approaches and methods. The scope of the evaluation, technical matters, design limitations, and cost parameters are established through evaluability assessment prior to undertaking a more formal evaluation, especially a causal evaluation of program outcomes.
- (C) Formative evaluation (developmental, process): These evaluations are aimed at providing information for program improvement, modification, and management.
- (D) Impact evaluation (summative, outcome, effectiveness): These evaluations are aimed at determining program results and effects, especially for the purposes of making major decisions about program continuation, expansion, reduction, and funding.
- (E) Program monitoring: The ERS (1980:7) statement says that "this is the least acknowledged but probably most practiced category of evaluation . . . The kinds of activities

involved in these evaluations vary widely from periodic checks of compliance with policy to relatively straightforward 'tracking' of services delivered and 'counting' of clients."

- (F) Evaluation of evaluation: (secondary evaluation, meta-evaluation, evaluation audit). This category includes professional critiques of evaluation reports, reanalysis of data, and external reviews of internal evaluations.

(Evaluation Research Society 1980:3-4)

These six types of evaluation are neither mutually exclusive nor are they an exhaustive list of the possible approaches to evaluation. Many evaluations combine more than one of these types, while others may utilize a more narrowly defined specific evaluation within one of these six main categories. This wide variety of optional approaches suggests that the purpose for which an evaluation is being undertaken is of central importance to the choice of an evaluation approach. The clearer the purpose of those wanting an evaluation, the more readily an appropriate approach to evaluation can be selected.

In this project, the Director of the County's Department of Youth Services was concerned about an apparently chronic problem of low morale at the Youth Center, the County's former JINS Shelter which had originally been established to provide temporary shelter for runaways, chronic truants, youths in conflict with their families (incorrigible/ungovernable), and a miscellany of other 'status' offenders. The Center also provided shelter for juvenile delinquents (i.e. those youths found guilty of criminal offenses) sent at the discretion of the family court as an alternative to them being held in the more secure Juvenile Detention Center.

An additional problem, which exacerbated the morale problem, was that the uncertainties surrounding the new juvenile code, which was to be implemented on January 1, 1984, were causing considerable anxiety among the administration and staff at the Youth Center. The consultant was asked by the Director to conduct an evaluation of the operation of the Center which might indicate how the Center would be affected by the new code and how the implementation process should occur, and at the same time to determine the nature of the morale problem and suggest remedial action. At the time of the original request the purpose was much less clearly articulated. It was felt that an evaluation of some kind would be helpful, but what kind of approach was wanted was far from certain. One of the important tasks of the project, therefore, became the clarification of that purpose.

Part of the process of clarifying the purpose to be served by carrying out an evaluation is to determine how the information will be used, or whether it is likely to be used at all and whether the implications of the findings will be acted upon. Suchman stresses this when he points out that

Much too often evaluation studies are undertaken when there is very little likelihood that anything will change regardless of how the evaluation comes out. The attitude seems to be "Let's do the evaluation and then decide what to do with the results." In such a case, the evaluation is probably unnecessary and certainly inadequately conceived.

(Suchman, 1972:55)

Similarly concerned about the non-utilization of evaluation studies, House (1972:412) complained "Producing data is one thing! Getting it used is quite another, "while Williams and Evans observed that "in the final analysis, the test of the effectiveness of outcome data is its impact on implemented policy. By this standard, there is a dearth of successful evaluation studies." (1969:453). And Weiss considered under-utilization the foremost problem in evaluation research.

Evaluation research is meant for immediate and direct use in improving the quality of social programming. Yet a review of evaluation experience suggests that evaluation results have not exerted significant influence on program decisions

(1972:10-11)

It was an endeavor to develop a means to enhance the usefulness and actual utilization of evaluation research that Patton (1978) developed the strategy of 'utilization-focused evaluation.' He attempted to construct a general framework of an approach to evaluation that would go beyond "technique mongering that leaves one with a limited bag of tricks but no real foundation on which to build new approaches to deal with new situations and unanticipated problems." The premises of Patton's framework are that:

concern for how specific decision makers will use evaluative information should be the driving force in an evaluation, i.e., evaluation processes should be user and utilization focused;

effective evaluators must also be effective trainers because every evaluation presents opportunities to train decision makers in evaluation processes and the uses of information;

situational responsiveness is imperative for effective and moral evaluation practice;

realizing the potential for creative evaluation requires, first, awareness of routine response patterns and blinders that limit situations insight, then a willingness to consciously move beyond limitations to risk new ways of doing things;

effective evaluators must be prepared to play multiple roles, to be, alternatively, scientists, program consultants, group facilitators, keen observers, statisticians, project administrators, diplomats, politicians, writers, entertainers, and teachers, to name only a few common roles; and

individual evaluator style is part of what makes each evaluation situation unique, so that effective evaluators are conscious of, deliberate about, and take responsibility for what they bring to, and how they affect, the evaluation decision-making process, evaluation findings, and utilization of those findings.

( 1982:18-19)

Patton enlarges on the above by defining evaluation research utilization "... utilization occurs when there is an immediate concrete, and observable effect on specific decisions and program activities resulting directly from evaluation research findings." This, he points out, stems directly from the stated purpose of evaluation research which is to gather data than can be used to make judgements about program effectiveness. He argues that if such data are gathered, then a judgement out to follow. Such a judgement ought to lead to "concrete action and specific decisions." (1978:24)

Because Patton's utilization-focused strategy was the principal theoretical framework upon which this project was based, the main features of the strategy will be explicated below. It was concern over the dearth of "immediate and direct use" of evaluation results that motivated Patton to develop his strategy. In order to understand why some evaluations are used and others not, Patton and colleagues at the University of Minnesota talked directly to users of evaluation research. They began without a definition of research utilization, and let a conceptualization of what utilization looks like emerge from the responses of federal decision makers whom they interviewed in a follow up of 20 federal health evaluations. (Patton et al., 1977) They were surprised to find that 78 percent of responding decision makers felt that 'the evaluation had impact on the program,' but none of the impacts described by decision makers led directly and immediately to the making of major concrete program decisions. The more typical impact was one where the evaluation provided additional pieces of information which helped decision makers' understanding of the program, and permitted some reduction in uncertainty in decision making.

Reduction of uncertainty emerged as a factor that was highly valued by decision makers, as it often resulted in speeding up a decision or the implementation of policy. These were not revolutionary or organization-shaking impacts but were 'real' and important to the decision makers interviewed.

These findings, Patton argues, suggested that the predominant image of non-utilization that characterizes much of the commentary on evaluation research can be substantially attributed to definitions of utilization that are too narrow in that they emphasize immediate, direct and concrete impact on program decisions. They fail to take into account the typical nature of actual program development processes. Utilization is there to see, but not if one is looking only for impacts of great moment.

This more realistic view of utilization establishes a context for 'utilization-focused evaluation' which aims at increasing the likelihood that evaluation input will be substantial, meaningful, and relevant. The degree of utilization found by Patton et al., (1977) suggests a more realistic level of expectation without necessarily accepting such levels of utilization as normative. The premise of Patton's strategy is that utilization of evaluation research can be increased and more carefully targeted, but evaluation findings will seldom have the enormous kind of influence envisaged by social scientists who wanted to rationalize decision-making processes. He argues that the potential for enhancing utilization lies less in its capacity for rationalizing decision making than in its capacity to empower the users of evaluation information. (1978:31-35)

REDUCING UNCERTAINTY AND ENHANCING POWER  
THROUGH EVALUATION INFORMATION

From the above, and from the organizational theories of Crozier (1964) and Thompson (1967), Patton determined that 'the power of evaluation varies directly with the degree to which the findings reduce the uncertainty of action for specific decision makers.' It is, therefore, in the "arena of causal ambiguity that the processes of evaluation operate to generate information for prediction, information for control— and power." (1978:52-53)

However, as Patton points out, not all information is useful. To be power laden, information must be relevant and in a form that is understandable to users. In support of this view, he cites Crozier in relation to power derived from differential control over uncertainties: "One should be precise and specify relevant uncertainty ... People and organizations will care only about what we can recognize as affecting them and, in turn, what is possibly within their control. " (Crozier, 1964:158)

Just as not all information is useful, some people have little capacity to use information, while others have a great deal; hence, information is power to those who know how to use it, and are open to using it. The problem for utilization, therefore, is partly one of matching: getting the right information to the right people. The right people, Patton argues are usually the effective managers, aggressive, open confident, interested in

finding out the informed views of others. These are the people who use evaluation research. (1978: 54-56)

But until it is actually used, information is only potential power--not actual power. Utilization-focused evaluation aims at closing the gap between potential utilization and actual utilization. The first step towards closing this gap is the identification and organization of relevant decision makers and information users who need the kind of information the evaluation can provide. Most evaluations are designed to assess the relative degree of program goal attainment, explicitly stating the purpose of the evaluation, establishing concrete evaluative criteria of program success, and choosing measurement procedures and instruments appropriate to the goals. The literature suggests that the evaluator may consult with key figures in the organization about these matters, but it is the evaluator who ultimately decides them. Although it is a truism that different people see things differently and have varying needs, Patton points out that this truism is regularly and consistently ignored in the design of evaluation studies. He argues that to target an evaluation at the information needs of a specific person or at a group of identifiable and interacting persons is quite different from what is usually referred to as 'identifying the audience' for an evaluation. "Audiences are amorphous anonymous entities . . . People, not organizations, use evaluation information . . . (but) . . . most evaluations manage

to avoid identification and organization of relevant decision makers and information users." (1978:62-63) Patton emphasized the 'personal factor.' "Where an individual takes direct personal responsibility for getting the information to the right people, evaluations have an impact. Where the personal factor is absent, there is a marked absence of impact. Utilization is not simply determined by some configuration of abstract factors; it is determined in large part by real, live, caring human beings." (1978:69)

However, there is a fundamental distinction between studies in which there is good communication and collaboration between decision makers, and the evaluator and studies which use a utilization-focused evaluation strategy. In the latter, the evaluator does not consult with the key decision makers and then make his choices of focus strategy, methods, and so on. Those decisions are shared by an identified and organized group of decision makers and information users established for what purpose. This group, which Patton designates the evaluation task group, makes the key decisions and choices throughout the evaluation process.

Once they have been organized into a task group, their first task is to identify and focus the relevant evaluation question. This involves dealing with several basic concerns. What is the

purpose of the evaluation? How will the information be used? What will we know after the evaluation which we do not know now? What can we do after the evaluation that we cannot do now for lack of information? The answers to these questions determine whatever else follows in the utilization-focused evaluation process.

In this initial interaction between the evaluator(s) and decision makers, it is important to clarify whether the primary purpose of the evaluation is to make an overall judgment about the effectiveness of the program, or to collect information that can be used primarily for program development and improvement. This is the summative-formative distinction introduced by Scriven (1969) which was noted earlier in this chapter. Summative evaluations are designed to determine the overall effectiveness of programs, and are often used to make decisions about continuing or terminating a program. They are useful to funders deciding whether or not to continue to fund a program. Formative evaluations, because they focus on ways to improve programs, are particularly useful to program administrators and staff.

Patton argues that this distinction can be a critical one. The same data rarely effectively serve both formative and summative purposes.

It is, therefore, of critical importance that the primary purpose of the evaluation be identified at the outset. Patton urges evaluators to enhance utilization by focusing on fulfilling one purpose extremely well, so that at least the decision makers' central questions are answered. (1978:83)

In an utilization-focused strategy the right evaluation question has the following characteristics:

1. It is possible to bring data to bear on the question.
2. There is more than one possible answer to the question, i.e., the answer is not predetermined by the phrasing of the question.
3. The identified decision makers want information to help answer the question.
4. The identified decision makers feel they need information to help them answer the question.
5. The identified and organized decision makers and information users want to answer the question for themselves, not just for someone else.
6. They care about the answer to the question.
7. The decision makers can indicate how they would use the answer to the question, i.e., they can specify the relevance of an answer to the question for future action.

More Specifically:

1. Utilization-focused evaluation questions are empirical questions. It is possible to bring data to bear on them. Empirical questions do not refer to improvement but to change. They should be value free. It is, therefore, important to separate the issue of improvement from the issue of impact or change. Questions which cannot be answered empirically do not provide a clear focus for utilization-focused evaluation.

2. Utilization-focused evaluation questions focus on issues about which decision makers want information. They want the answer to the question(s). If decision makers do not want a question answered, they will find ways to ignore or discredit the answers offered.
3. Utilization-focused evaluation questions need to be ones which decision makers feel need answering. Unless a lack of knowledge and information is part of the problem, evaluation research will not help an organization. Patton points out that all that evaluation research can do is tell you something you do not already know, or increase your certainty about something of which you were unsure. He emphasizes that evaluations are no panacea for program problems. (1978:87) Part of the evaluation process, therefore, should be aimed at determining what things are already known, what actions can already be taken without further study, and on what aspects of program functioning evaluative information is really needed.
4. Utilization-focused questions are of direct personal interest to identified and organized decision makers. It is important that the decision makers organized into the evaluation task group, each want to answer the evaluation question for themselves, not just for some one else; it is important that they should care personally about the answer to the evaluation question. That question should represent their information needs, not their speculations about someone else's needs.
5. Utilization-focused questions are related to future action .

Patton argues that the utilization potential of an evaluation is enhanced if the decision makers can indicate during conceptualization how they plan to use the information obtained during the evaluation process. He contends that if they cannot indicate future usefulness at the outset, there is no reason to believe they will be able to do so after the evaluation. But while this might be an ideal to be aimed for, in practice real programs operate more in accordance with a process of gradual evolutionary change and "muddling through" (cf Lindblom 1959 Suchman 1972:57-58). More generally, decision makers ought to be able to indicate "where their knowledge uncertainties lie, and what activities, actions, and options are clouded by those uncertainties" (Patton, 1978:89) and how evaluative information would increase their potential for making the program more effective.

As well as identifying the evaluation question(s), the members of the Task Force should agree at this time on which basic activities of the program, or which component(s) of the program will be the subject of the evaluation. Evaluation research is difficult and time consuming. The focus of the question(s) must not only be clear but also clearly delimited. One cannot explore every aspect of a program, and so it is important to take the time early in the process to focus the relevant question on the relevance.

Within the overall framework of Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy, several alternative approaches for focusing the evaluation question(s) may be considered. Some of these alternatives are listed below, but the list is by no means exhaustive. The approach to focusing the evaluation question is determined by the information needs of the Task Group, and by what seems to them to be the most satisfactory way of answering their questions.

The evaluation question can be framed in terms of:

1. The program's mission statement, goals, and objectives.
2. Program implementation.
3. The program's theory of action.
4. The point in the life of the program when the evaluation takes place. (Different questions are relevant at different stages of program development.)
5. The context of the organizational dynamics of a program.

The essential point is that these various frameworks, and their appropriateness as approaches to solving the questions(s) about which the Task Group is most concerned, are discussed with the Task Group. The evaluator does not decide which approach is the most suitable. This is done by the Task Group after the evaluator has made sure that he has provided them with an adequate and unbiased account of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. In short, in a utilization-focused evaluation, it is the Task Group which makes all the key choices.

#### SELECTION OF EVALUATION METHODS

In the selection of evaluation methods, the same general principle applies. Strengths and weaknesses of alternative methodological models are set out for the Task Group members by the evaluator, and the Task Group decides upon the methods they consider to be most likely to provide the data required to clarify their issues, or answer their questions.

Similarly, the design and measurement decisions are shared by the evaluator and the Task Group, with the Task Group finally deciding which of the alternatives will most increase their understanding of, belief in, and commitment to the evaluation data that will be obtained.

#### DATA ANALYSIS

Again, the analysis and interpretation of the data obtained is a joint enterprise, but with the Task Group having primacy in the process. Data analysis is separated from data interpretation so that Task Group members can work with data without biases being introduced by the consultant's conclusions.

Before data analysis is begun, standards of desirability are established to guide data interpretation. Data is presented to the Task Group as it become available so that there are no surprises at the end of the process, and it is provided in a form that makes sense to the decisions makers. Strengths and weaknesses of the data are made clear and explicit. Analysis and interpretation focus on specific results, relationships and implications, rather than on general characterizations of the program.

The evaluator then works with the Task Group to develop specific plans for action and utilization, based on the evaluation findings and the Task Group's interpretation of the findings.

#### DISSEMINATION OF FINDINGS

Although the primary target of a utilization-focused evaluation has the carefully selected Task Group as its primary utilization target, the Task Group, may wish to pass on its findings, interpretations, and conclusions to other audiences. Patton advocates that throughout all dissemination efforts, both evaluators and Task Group members take responsibility for the evaluation from initial conceptualization to final data analysis and interpretation. (1978:269-271)

At the conclusion of his explication of the utilization-focused strategy, Patton quotes Davis and Salasin who asserted that any change model should " . . . generally accommodate rather than manipulate the views of the persons involved." (1975:652) It is

Patton's contention that utilization-focused evaluation does just that. The evaluator does not attempt to mold and manipulate decision makers to accept the evaluator's preconceived notions about what constitutes useful or high quality research, but neither is the evaluator a mere technician who does whatever decision makers want. According to Patton, utilization-focused evaluation brings together evaluators, decision makers, and information users in an active - reactive- adaptive process where all participants share responsibility for creatively shaping and vigorously implementing an evaluation that is both useful and of high quality.

#### Theories From Administrative Design and Management

Although Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy provided the major theoretical framework for this project, it was modified in minor ways. The consultant was also guided by other streams of theory, both in the implementation of Patton's strategy and in the deviations made from it.

An important stream of theory which contributed to the way in which this consultancy project was carried out is that of organization and administrative design and management, particularly that stream which originated with Mayo (1933) and Barnard (1938). They emphasized the importance of management attending to employees, and of harnessing the social forces within the organization to shape and guide values. Such shaping, they argued, developed among employees a strong sense of commitment to the organization, as well as increasing motivation of employees to pursue the ends emphasized by the organization's value system.

This orientation is in harmony with the general orientation of social workers 'to start where the client is,' whether that client, be an individual, a group, or an agency. In these circumstances, the Administrators and staff of the agency may be regarded as the clients of the consultant; and it is their perceptions of how well or how badly they are doing, and where they consider that they should go next in developing the program of the agency, that is an appropriate starting point for a consultant in his assessment of the agency's situation. There is a great deal of similarity between this orientation and that advocated in Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy. This focus on the behavior of people, and the quality of their interactions and their work organizations is the focus of what is known in the literature of organization and management theory as the human relations school or perspective. The underlying assumption of the human relations school is that "man is basically good, infinitely malleable, capable of perfectability; and, therefore, organizational goals and individual interests should be compatible. Some of the theoretical perspectives from the human relations school with relevance to this project are briefly considered below.

The administration of human-service programs, including child care and juvenile corrections, is much like the administration of other government and non-government organizations in that it is influenced by cycles of fad, fashion, and ideology. In the economic world Kondratieff ( Zevin: 1983 ) argued a "long wave"

theory of economics which holds that economies rise and fall in cycles of about 40 years, no matter what anybody tries to do about it. Morris (1983) sees similar long waves in the world of ideas. He argues that the New Frontiersmen of the Kennedy era were pragmatic social engineers, heirs of James and Dewey. They believed that government was a straight-forward matter of solving practical problems. But applications of game theory, minimax concepts, formal matrix organizational structures, queuing theory, PERT, MBO, PPBS computerization, zero-based budgeting, and various other technologies failed to demonstrate convincingly the ability of these innovations to make organizations capable of effectively eliminating or even reducing poverty, drug abuse, marital conflict, child abuse, juvenile delinquency and a host of other social problems (Auletta 1982; Argyris 1967, Avigliano, 1977; Batterton, 1978; Cooke, 1977; Silberman, 1978; Stokes, 1971; Mayer, 1978; Weissman, 1982) Disillusionment with the capacity of rational management technology was part of an overall disillusionment with governmental intervention, which in the view of Morris (1983) left America ready to abandon rationality and turn to irrational moralism with the Reagan administration.

Disillusionment with rational management has been accompanied by ferment around ideas about the limited capacity of decision makers to handle information and reach what might be regarded as "rational" decisions, and the even smaller likelihood that large organizations will automatically execute the complex strategic designs of the rationalists. (Peters and Waterman 1982) The

origins of this general stance are not new, but stem from the work of Mayo (1933) and Barnard (1938), who challenged the rational bureaucratic model of Weber (1946, 1947, 1967), and the ideas of Taylor (1911), who perceived the organization as a rational and efficient tool for the production of goods and services, provided it is structured and controlled by scientifically-based principles.

Mayo, in his well-known Hawthorne experiments, unintentionally developed the theme that attention to employees, not work conditions per se, has the dominant positive impact on productivity (1933). Barnard regarded as good managers those who were concerned with the informal social properties of organizations, and used them to shape its values in support of the organization's overall mission. He contrasted them favorably with managers who limited their efforts to the manipulation of the formal rewards systems, and who dealt only with the narrower concept of short-term efficiency. (1938)

Barnard's basic concepts were further developed by Simon (1957), who pointed out the limited amount of rationality available in the decision-making process. Decisions are made, according to Simon, on the basis of "bounded rationality." The limits on rationality are linked to the inability of the system as a whole to provide maximum, or even adequate, information

for decision making, and the inability of the decision maker to intellectually handle even the inadequate information available.

This line of reasoning was extended by Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) and March and Olsen (1976) in their "garbage can" model of decision making, in which it is argued that organizations have a repertoire of responses to problems (located in the garbage can). If a proposed solution to a problem appears to be appropriate, it is applied to the problem. Using the garbage-can metaphor, these authors propose that four relatively independent streams are poured into the can: problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities (situations that call for a decision). Decisions result from the particular mixtures of these streams, rather than from any necessarily rational connections between them. The 'garbage can' is "a meeting place for issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they can be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they may be an answer, and participants looking for problems or pleasure." (March and Olsen, 1975:25)

What the garbage-can model suggests, particularly in relation to human service organizations, is that service delivery systems cannot be rationally explained, since they do not represent choices based on clear definitions of problems and careful searches for potential solutions. However, Hall warns that "the 'garbage can' imagery has elements of both truth and

cuteness." He argues that "too quick acceptance of the imagery can miss an important consideration in decision making," and that "garbage cans of organizations ... do not contain random responses, problems, or other debris, (but) can reveal a great deal about the life styles and interests of organizations and individuals."

(1982:181) He argues that organizations turn to previous decisions that have been discarded and put aside. This means that little in the way of new decisions will enter the decision-making process.

(1982:181) Similarly, Hasenfeld points out that it would be a mistake to generalize this model to all human-service organizations, because "even those with ambiguous goals and technologies for the most part operate under a set of constraints that substantially reduce choices and that introduce considerable predictability in their daily operations." (1983:33)

The essential point is that individuals and organizations are neither wholly rational nor wholly irrational, and that management strategies based on assumptions that an organization operates on a wholly, or even predominantly, rational basis may, in fact, be based on false assumptions. Similarly, organization and programs do not as a rule develop in a fully rational, orderly linear manner. Most development, as Lindblom argues, is achieved by "muddling through" via successive limited comparisons between what is, and a series of incremental alternatives of what might be. (1959:79-88)

In another examination of rationality in decision making, Alexander (1979) came to the conclusion that the choices which

determine outcomes in organizations are made informally and intuitively before the evaluation of the consequences of the decisions is made. This suggests that decision makers make their decisions, and then develop the rational-sounding reasons for their decisions after the fact. This further suggests that there are severe limitations on the extent to which rationality can be found in organizations.

It can, however, be argued that to make decisions on the basis of limited rationality is in itself a rational response, given the complexity of many organizations and the environments in which they operate, where it is impossible to know all that needs to be known in order to make a completely rational decision. Bennis (1968) and Toffler (1980) argue that "adhocracy" made more sense than bureaucracy in rapidly-changing times. The adhocracy they advocate refers to organizational fluidity that can quickly respond to new issues, or issues that span so many levels in the bureaucracy that it is not clear who should do what, so that in a rigid bureaucracy nobody does anything. An emphasis on flexibility and fluidity may be less tidy than a completely rational structure, but it is often more responsive to new demands. Drucker anticipated this when he argued that to be narrowly rational is to be negative. Administrators "would have to build and manage innovative organizations." (1969:54) "And in turbulent times the first task of management is to make sure of the institution's capacity for survival, to make sure of its structural strength and soundness, of its capacity to survive a blow, to adapt to sudden change, and to avail itself of new opportunities." (Drucker 1980:1)

Weick describes organizational designs capable of this kind of adaptability as "loosely coupled systems," (1976:1-19) and also advocates "self-designing" systems. (1977:31-46) He argues that management has generally taken for granted the appropriateness of tight coupling in which an order is given or a policy is declared, and it is automatically followed. He advocates instead small loosely-coupled units with greater autonomy than is usual in a bureaucratic structure. Instead of being closely tied to the organization by tightly defined regulations and procedures, they maintain their overall sense of direction by their adherence to the overall values and sense of mission of the organization. Smallness and fluidity allow a group to limit the complexity with which they have to deal, and complexity does not crowd out the basic sense of mission which is then able to continue to guide the group.

Peters and Waterman (1981) found that this kind of small loosely-coupled group with a minimum of regulation was common in what they described as the "excellent" companies who have become pacesetters in their respective fields of endeavor. These organizations were also characterized by a strong culture and a strong sense of mission or purpose at all levels, rather than being bound by tightly prescribed regulations and procedures. The culture in these organizations had usually been built under a strong leader who as an effective social architect, in the sense that Barnard had described, had built an organization that embodied new and enduring values and had built an institution infused with certain values that dominated all else. These organizations were also

characterized by highly motivated staff at all levels. (Peters and Waterman 1982:279-291. cf. Gardner, 1978; Milgram, 1974; Quinn, 1981:57-9)

A deeply etched sense of purpose can on the other hand be a problem if the purpose is no longer appropriate. Pettigrew studied decision-making processes in organizations, and revealed the magnitude of the inertial properties of some organizations. He found that organizations adhere to faulty assumptions about their environment and their role for as long as a decade, despite overwhelming evidence that both the environment and their role have changed, and that their assumptions no longer serve the organization in any positive way. (1973)

In summary, strong leadership which inculcates a strong sense of purpose, together with an organizational structure which permits small loosely coupled units with high levels of autonomy, may be more appropriate for survival and adaptability to times of rapid and unpredictable change, than highly rational, tightly structured bureaucratically controlled organizations. But it is also possible that the strong sense of purpose or mission may prevail long after it has become false or inappropriate and may cause members of an organization to become confused, or to feel reduced in relevance. These feelings could in turn contribute to a level of morale quite the reverse of that of the excellent organizations described by Peters and Waterman. (1982)

This project was not directly based on these theoretical perspectives, but they are regarded as important, and are considered here because of their value in aiding the consultant in analyzing the difficulties being experienced by the organization to which Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy was being applied. The theories not only helped the consultant to gain a greater understanding of the dynamics of the agency than might have been the case without the insights they provided, but they also helped him in working with the administrators and staff of the agency. Particularly so when he and they began to develop and to implement solutions to the problems, as will be evident in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

STRATEGY, METHODOLOGY, AND PROCESS

Part I

Forming the Task Group, Focusing the Questions,  
and  
Deciding Upon Data Collection Methods

The central concern in developing the methodology for this study was to choose that strategy and those methods which seemed to best fit the purposes and circumstances of those parties most affected by the findings of the study and particularly those who could also take action in response to the findings as the study took place. In other words, it was thought to be a fundamental importance to avoid carrying out a study which would be ignored by key decision makers, as is unfortunately the fate of many studies which, although considered to be scientifically admirable, are simultaneously thought to be irrelevant by those making the decisions which shape the future development of human services.

The key decision makers concerned with the future development of Bradley Youth Center and with the implementation of the new New Jersey Juvenile Code, were under considerable pressure. They were obliged to begin implementing the Code from January 1, 1984, even though there was great uncertainty about how this should be done. The New Jersey state authorities issued no directions or guidelines for implementation at the operational level, and insofar as the former J.I.N.S. shelters were concerned, there was not only no detailed guidance as to their future, but the 1984 Code did not even mention them.

In this state of uncertainty and resultant anxiety, it was anticipated that key decision makers would, even more than is normally the case, be highly responsive to information which reduced the uncertainties with which they were endeavoring to cope; and it would also be even more likely than usual for decision makers in these circumstances to tend to ignore information which seemed irrelevant to their immediate concerns. For these reasons, Patton's (1978) utilization-focused evaluation strategy was considered most appropriate, given the circumstances which prevailed in Bradley Youth Center and in the Devon County Youth Services network at the beginning of 1984. Although Patton's approach was modified somewhat to meet some of the needs perceived, the project may still be regarded as an application of his strategy.

Patton's approach is more a strategy than a model in that it is not fixed but can be readily adapted according to the needs of the setting. It is an explicit recognition of the expanded options available to an evaluator who is willing to take an active-reactive adaptive stance, and subordinate any preconceived ideas he may have about what are the key issues to be considered

and methods to be used, to those seen as most important by the key decision makers and information users in the setting. Thus, utilization-focused evaluation (U.F.E.) is a process for making decisions about the content of an evaluation. However, the content itself is neither specified nor implied in advance. As a result, any of several possible models or combination of models can emerge as the appropriate guide to the selection and implementation of evaluation methods. In sum, utilization-focused evaluation is not a recipe, algorithm or model, but rather a broad framework in which evaluation decisions are made.

The implementation of U.F.E. begins with the identification and organization of specific, relevant decision makers and information users (not vague, unspecified passive audiences) who will use the information that the evaluation project produces. The Consultant works with these people (preferably as an evaluation task force representing several constituencies; for example, program staff, clients, funders, administrators, board members, and community representatives) to focus relevant evaluation questions.

From these questions flow the appropriate research methods and data analysis techniques. Utilization-focused evaluation plans for utilization before data is collected. The fundamental questions in the ongoing interactions between the evaluator and the decision makers are, "What difference would it make to have that information?" "What would you do with the information if you had the answer to that question?" "Who would you be trying to influence or persuade with that information?" and "What action would you be trying to persuade them to take?" The answers to these questions would determine not only what evaluation questions should be asked, but also what methods would be needed to answer them so that the data will be produced in a form that will be persuasive, and will answer the questions in a way that will have meaning for those who are to be persuaded. (Patton 1978) This chapter sets out this strategy in more detail, and at the same time summarizes what occurred during the process of applying the strategy.

Identification and Organization of Relevant Decision Makers and  
Information Users

The purpose for which relevant decision makers and information users are identified is to form a small tight-knit task force of persons who need information the project may be able to provide and are able to use it and who, therefore, have a strong interest in shaping the questions the project is to pursue. Having the purpose of the project shaped and defined by such a group greatly increases the likelihood that the project will be of practical value and that its results will be used to guide crucial decisions in program development. The following were, therefore, the criteria used for identification and organization of individuals to form a task group.

A. Criteria for Identification

1. People who can use the information
2. People to whom the information makes a difference
3. People who have questions they want answered; and
4. People who care about and are willing to share responsibility for the project and its utilization

B. Criteria for Organization

1. Provision can be made for continuous direct contact between the consultant and decision makers or information users.
2. The organized group is small enough to be active, hard-working and decision-oriented. (Preferably 3-6 people)
3. The members of the group are willing to make a heavy time commitment to the evaluation.

Using these criteria, the consultant formed a task group. In this instance, the consultant was already under contract to Devon County as a planning consultant, hired to prepare a service plan for the Family Part of the Superior Court of New Jersey in Devon County. In preparing the plan, the consultant was

in contact with most of the key county administrators of children's and family services, mental health programs, juvenile justice programs and juvenile corrections services. These contacts were utilized to identify, recruit, and organize an evaluation task force which represented several constituencies and points of view. Each member, however, had a strong interest in the evaluation and in any indications which it might provide which could be utilized in making decisions on the future development of the Youth Center, and on the development of the network of youth and family services throughout the County.

The Evaluation Task Group was ultimately comprised of the following members who will subsequently be referred to respectively as the Director, Administrator, President, Chairperson, and Manager.

1. The Director of the County Department of Youth Services  
(The Director)

The Director had a strong interest in the evaluation process and outcome for several reasons:

- 1.1 It was she who had the ongoing responsibility for the operation of each of the youth and family facilities and services provided by the County Department of Youth Services, and for their effective coordination with the wider network operating within the County.

- 1.2 She was responsible for the implementation of applicable sections of the new Code in all facilities and services provided by the County.
- 1.3 It was her responsibility to advise the County Freeholders and Administration on what should be the future of the Bradley Youth Center, particularly in view of the non-inclusion of any mention of JINS shelters in the new Code.
- 1.4 She had ongoing responsibility for the morale, commitment and sense of purpose of administrators and staff at the County's youth facilities and services. (As has been previously noted, at the time this project commenced there was low morale, uncertainty of purpose, and a high level of anxiety and confusion about what was to be Bradley's place in the ongoing service system following the implementation of the new Code from January 1, 1984.)
- 1.5 In addition to local concerns, the Director was at the time this project was being carried out a member of the statewide Supreme Court Task Force on Crisis Intervention which had responsibility for drafting guidelines and procedures relating to the implementation of the new Code. As the only service administrator on a statewide committee comprised mainly of lawyers, the Director had a particular responsibility to convey to the committee members the realities of implementing the laws and regulations and continuing to carry them out in day-to-day practice. In addition, the Director headed the Department of Youth Services in Devon County, the most advanced county in the state, in that its network of services most closely resembled the kind of network which the new Code prescribed for and sought to achieve in all counties. Therefore, the practical problems associated with implementing the

1982 Code in Devon would probably be representative of the problems which would eventually be experienced in all counties as they developed their services in the direction of closer conformity with the Code.

1.6 Finally, it was the Director of Youth Services who sought to have some kind of evaluation of Bradley Youth Center take place and who was particularly concerned about the morale problem at Bradley.

2. The Administrator of the Bradley Youth Center  
(The Administrator)

2.1 The Administrator shared many of the Director's concerns and interests, but she placed a much greater emphasis on the immediate impact of the new Code on the Bradley Youth Center.

2.2 Foremost among her concerns was the continuance of Bradley. (Some counties had interpreted the non-mention of the JINS shelters in the new Code as a mandate to eliminate the shelters from the network of services and had, in fact, closed them down.)

2.3 The Administrator also sought clarification as to who should be admitted or not-admitted to Bradley after January 1, 1984, and under what conditions. She also wished to clarify the purpose for which youths were to be admitted, and thus determine what the ongoing role of Bradley (if any) was to be. (For some months after January, many problems of interpreting the new Code and developing procedures were still being argued about and resolved.)

- 2.4 The Administrator was also very concerned about the morale of the Bradley staff and their anxieties in the face of the uncertainties about Bradley's continued existence. Associated with this concern was a very strongly held belief that Bradley and its staff were looked down upon by staff in other facilities as a dumping ground and not a "treatment" facility. And because it was regarded as a "dumping ground," its staff were regarded as mere babysitters, lacking the skills and sophistication of other services in the network.
3. The President of the New Jersey Juvenile Officers Association and Officer in Charge of the Millbourne Police Department Juvenile Bureau  
(The President)
    - 3.1 While the President seemed generally very much in sympathy with and supportive of the overall goals of the new Code, he was also very much aware of the fact that many police officers were resentful of some of the provisions of the new Code. Police were particularly concerned that there may no longer be a shelter for status offenders, or that if the shelter were retained, it would be very difficult to have a juvenile readily admitted to it. The President was concerned to ensure that the implementation of the new Code paid sufficient heed to the practical problems of police; otherwise it would be likely that police could subvert the intent of the Code in order to achieve a more rapid entry to custody for youths concerned.
    - 3.2 The President was also very concerned about the new Code's provisions for handling runaways, particularly those from other counties and states.

4. The Co-Chairperson of the Devon County Advisory Board on Youth (C.A.B.Y.) and Member of the Children's League of New Jersey (C.L.N.J.)  
(The Chairperson)

- 4.1 The C.L.N.J. had been very active in pressing for many of the legislative changes incorporated in the new Code. C.A.B.Y. had been supportive of the development of the network of youth services in Devon County in the direction later to be prescribed by the new Code. The Chairperson, in representing the interests of these constituencies, was, therefore, concerned to ensure that the Code would be implemented in ways which protected children's interests and rights, and also reflected the intent of the C.L.N.J. when it had lobbied for a new juvenile code.
- 4.2 The Chairperson was also concerned to ensure that appropriate procedures are established that will link education programs in County facilities (including Bradley) to the school system in general and that disruption to the education of juveniles entering Bradley will be minimized.
- 4.3 More specifically in relation to Bradley, she wished to ensure that juveniles be not admitted to Bradley unless it is clearly necessary that they should be.
- 4.4 She also wished to ensure speed in processing, particularly in assessment and placement decisions (juveniles may be kept too long in a state of uncertainty as to their future when they are placed in Bradley) and that provision should be made to ensure that delay and uncertainty are minimal.
- 4.5 She was also concerned to ensure that there is no increase in the intake of juveniles initially into the Detention Center and then via that route into Bradley; i.e., a sub-version of the "diversion" intent of the new Code.

5. The Manager, District Office, Millbourne,  
Division of Youth and Family Services, New  
Jersey Department of Human Services (D.Y.F.S.)  
(The Manager)

- 5.1 The Manager was concerned to ensure that Bradley remain as a central component of the network of youth services in the County. D.Y.F.S. made frequent use of Bradley to provide temporary shelter and supervision for adolescents who could not remain at home because of family conflicts, abuse, or neglect, nor could be readily placed in some alternative form of long-term care. Bradley had been and remained important to D.Y.F.S. as a temporary solution for these adolescents, while D.Y.F.S. officers sought a longer term solution. The Manager was also very much aware of the difficulties facing D.Y.F.S. District Offices in counties where there was no temporary shelter facility.
- 5.2 Another concern felt by the Manager was that until February 1984 D.Y.F.S. had been able to fairly readily place children aged less than 12 years in foster care because of an adequate supply of foster parents in the County. However, D.Y.F.S. had adopted a computerized record system across the state. This system readily shows any vacant foster placements available anywhere in the state. The Manager considered that this might result in the utilization of foster placements in Devon County by children from other counties when the supply of children in need greatly exceeds the number of potentially available foster placements in those counties. This in turn might have the effect of D.Y.F.S. in Devon County no longer being able to immediately place children in foster care, and, as a consequence, there might be an increased call upon Bradley to provide temporary care to children under 12 than was previously the case.

- 5.3 He was also concerned to ensure that the New Start Program (a subprogram of Bradley) was not lost in the process of implementing the new Code. New Start provided a program of preparation for independent living for 17 and 18 year-old boys who could not return home, who would not be under the supervision of the County or the State once they were 18, but who were far from capable of managing independent living.

The preceding information indicates that the Task Group did not consist of completely objective disinterested individuals, but rather was comprised of persons actively engaged as professionals and/or prominent representatives of interest groups. Each member of the Task Group had some special interests in the future of Bradley. A utilization-focused evaluation had to be one which provided these key decision makers with information that was relevant to them as they pursued or protected their special interests. The variety of interests presented was

considered to be valuable in ensuring that these interests, and as a result, the evaluation, could not be perceived too narrowly. That some of the interests were in conflict also had some value in that the Task Group thus more closely represented the reality in which program development had to occur thereby reducing the likelihood of the Task Group engaging in the kind of group think (Janis 1971) in which a large part of reality is ignored or denied. The likelihood of group think occurring was also minimized by the fact that only two of the five members of the Task Group were members of the same organizational hierarchy; the other members of the Task Group were, therefore, not under any organizational or hierarchical pressure to suppress dissenting viewpoints.

In addition, the Task Group members have a reputation for competence, and held the respect of their peers. They were also judged by the consultant to possess the maturity, professionalism, and discretion to handle sensitive and confidential information which might be generated. Each member also had a reputation for a concern and commitment to the development of an appropriate and balanced network of youth services.

The consultant acted as a facilitator to the Task Group. This role was one of clarifying issues with the group without impressing any particular point of view upon them, and of acting as a mediator when it was difficult to reconcile divergent points of view to reach a degree of consensus. The consultant presented and explained evaluation concepts and processes, and their strengths and weaknesses.

Identifying and Focusing the Evaluation Questions and Deciding the Purpose and Emphasis of the Evaluation

In Patton's strategy, one of the major tasks of the Task Group is to identify and focus the relevant evaluation questions, and to agree on the purpose and emphasis of the evaluation. The purpose and emphasis of the evaluation would indicate the criteria for the identification of the evaluation questions. The following are the options from which a choice of purpose and emphasis was made:

- A. Program improvement (formative evaluation).
- B. Continuation of the program (summative evaluation).
- C. Continuation of the program in an improved form (Both formative and summative evaluation, with emphasis on one or the other.)

This choice of purpose and emphasis took place during the course of the first four meetings of the Task Group. Simultaneously the consultant sought agreement among the members of the Task Force on which components and basic activities of the program should be the subject of the evaluation.

Alternative Approaches for Focusing Evaluation Questions

The following alternatives were considered by the Task Group in terms of which approach would be the most likely to answer their questions.

- 1. The evaluation question could have been framed in terms of the program's mission statement, goals and objectives. If this option were pursued:

- a. The consultant would have been active-reactive-adaptive in goals clarification exercises, realizing the difficulty of generating clear, specific, measurable goals in juvenile justice where various parts of the system often have varying and sometimes contradictory goals.
  - b. Goal clarification could have provided direction in determining what information was needed and wanted. But it would also have to have been recognized that goals did not automatically determine the content and focus of the evaluation. This would still have depended on what Task Force members wanted to know, and regarded as important.
  - c. Goals could have been prioritized using the criterion of information need, not just that of their relative importance to the program. The priorities would have been set by the Task Group and consultant. If there were differences in priorities between the Task Group and the consultant, those of the Task Group would have prevailed.
2. The evaluation questions could have been framed in terms of program implementation. Options here included:
    - a. effort evaluation;
    - b. process evaluation; and the
    - c. treatment identification approach.
  3. The evaluation question could have been framed in terms of the program's theory of action:
    - a. A hierarchy of objectives could be constructed to delineate the program's theory of action, wherein attainment of each lower level objective would have been assumed necessary for attainment of each higher-level objective;
    - b. The evaluation might have focused on any two or more causal connections in a theory of action;

- c. The theories or causal linkages tested in the evaluation would have been those believed relevant by evaluation Task Force members; and
  - d. The evaluation questions might have been formulated to test the linkages between program implementation and program outcomes, i.e., to determine the extent to which observed outcomes are attributable to program activities.
4. The evaluation question could have been framed in terms of the point in the life of the program when the evaluation takes place. Different questions are relevant at different stages of program development.
5. The evaluation question could have been framed in the context of the organizational dynamics of a program. Different types of organizations use different types of evaluation. Program dynamics vary in organizational terms along the following dimensions:
  - a. The degree to which the environment is certain and stable versus uncertain and dynamic;
  - b. The degree to which the program can be characterized as an open or closed system; and
  - c. The degree to which a rational goal maximization model, an optimizing system's model, or an incremental, satisfying model best describes decision-making processes.
6. The active-reactive-adaptive evaluator could have worked with decision makers and information users to find the right evaluation question(s). The right question from a utilization point of view has several characteristics:

- a. It is possible to bring data to bear on the question;
  - b. There is more than one possible answer to the question, i.e., the answer is not predetermined or "loaded" by the phrasing of the question;
  - c. The identified decision makers want information to help answer the questions;
  - d. The identified decision makers feel they need information to help them answer the question;
  - e. The identified and organized decision makers and information users want to answer the question for themselves, not just for some one else;
  - f. The decision makers can indicate how they would use the answer to the question, i.e., they can specify the relevance of an answer for their program.
7. As the evaluation question is focused, the fundamental ever-present question that underlies all other issues is:  
What difference would it make to have this information?  
How would the information be used and how would it be useful?

The above set of alternatives for focusing evaluation questions is in many ways deceptively tidy and systematic. In practice the deliberations of the Task Force were iterative, circular, "wooly" and at times contradictory and inconsistent. As such they were probably fairly typical of the processes of a diverse group of individuals with diverse, sometimes conflicting interests, who

were trying to make sense of what was normally a complex set of dynamics during a period when it was undergoing a period of fluidity and change. What they chose as the questions to be pursued and the approaches used to make the choice combine elements of all of the above alternatives, but predominately alternatives one and four.

"The point in the life of the program," (number four above) which was the period immediately following the date (January 1, 1984) when the new Juvenile Code was to be implemented. The process of focusing the evaluation questions is described below.

In practice it was very difficult to keep the Task Group focused on that task. There were two main reasons for this. First, the Task Group members were all very concerned about all aspects of the implementation of the new Code, not only those which affected Bradley. Secondly, they did not meet as a group for any other purpose. This meant that when they did meet, ostensibly to focus on issues relating to Bradley, they used the opportunity to try to sort out with each other issues relating to new procedures and new expectations arising out of the new Code. In the process of recruiting the Task Group, the consultant had outlined the concept of a utilization-focused strategy and its relevance to the situation at Bradley. The response of each person contacted had been positive in relation to the concept as well as to the request that he/she serve on the Task Group. The consultant

had to decide whether to try to curtail these wide-ranging discussions or to permit them in the hope that they might lead to a more realistic appreciation of the relevant issues than if discussion were limited only to those aspects of the new Code which were directly relevant to Bradley. The latter course of action was chosen. Whether it led to a more effective clarification of issues and focusing of the evaluation questions, is, of course, impossible to tell. In the course of three meetings during January, 1984, the Task Group also decided upon its main concerns in relation to Bradley's future and the effects of the new Code. It also agreed that a formative evaluation was the most appropriate emphasis for this project.

This decision was not made easily by the Task Group. Although most Task Group members seemed to have very little detailed knowledge of evaluation, to the extent that they possessed a general concept of it, they equated evaluation with summative evaluation. Formative evaluation and its relevance to Bradley's situation was also outlined by the consultant. Although some Task Group members seemed at first to see summative evaluation as more "scientific," they concluded after further consideration that formative evaluation was equally scientific.

Formative evaluation was regarded as appropriate for two reasons. First, in coming to a consensus about the priorities among their various concerns about the future of Bradley, all members of the Task Group were adamant that Bradley should continue to exist and that it should continue to provide the

same, or very similar services, to those it currently provided. Moreover, it was becoming apparent that there was no pressure from anywhere in State, County, or municipal government, or from any other quarter, to discontinue Bradley's services. Thus, there seemed to be no clear reason for carrying out a summative evaluation to determine whether or not Bradley should continue. Secondly, because the implementation of the new Code had begun at Bradley from January 1, 1984, adaptation of the Bradley program was already in the early "formative" stages. A summative evaluation which took these changes into account would probably not be completed for at least twelve months. On the other hand, it was an ideal time to engage in a formative evaluation of the New Code.

Administrators generally favor formative evaluation for the information it provides during the implementation and development of an intervention strategy. (Cronbach, 1965, Herzog, 1959, Patton, 1978, Tripodi, et al. 1977, Tripodi, 1983, Scriven 1967). Administrator responsible for the implementation of the new Code had been poorly briefed and there was a lack of clear direction from the officers of the State Supreme Court from whom direction had been expected. Administrators were extremely anxious to obtain information which would guide them in their decision making.

It was stated above that the Task Group considered that the evaluation questions should be framed "in terms of the point in the life of the program at which the evaluation was taking place." The relevant questions related to two main concerns. The first of these was the concern about the level of morale at Bradley. The second concern, or group of concerns, related to the impact

of the positions of the new Code on Bradley; and the adaptations Bradley would have to make as a result of the new Code. And as indicated above the morale problem was very much entwined with the problems relating to the implementation of the new Code.

Before listing these concerns, an important qualification must be made in relation to the role of the Task Group. In Patton's strategy the primacy of the Task Group in relation to the evaluator is quite clear. The evaluator may place his views and preferences before the Task Group, but the Task Group accepts or rejects them as it sees fit. Although it is not stated, it is also implied that the Task Group members are equal in influence, and that the priorities for information set by the Task Group are reached by consensus. This study deviated from Patton's strategy slightly in that it acknowledged that Task Group members were not quite equal. The Director had initiated the study and was also the controller of the setting, the most influential of the decision makers in relation to the future of Bradley, and was also the hierarchical superordinate of one of the Task Group members, (The Administrator) who, as well as being a member fo the Task Group, was also in charge of the day-to-day operations of Bradley. So although the Task Group operated for the most part as if members were equal, it was tacitly acknowledged that the principle of primus inter pares applied to the Director.

For this reason, and because it had relevance for the overall effectiveness of Bradley, and because the overall effectiveness of Bradley could influence the areas of concern of each of the other Task Group members, the main concern of the

Director - the morale problem at Conklin - was given first priority by the Task Group.

Another issue which had to be considered at this point was whether questions relating to Bradley needed to be asked and answered in ways that might generate data that could be generalized to other former JINS shelters in New Jersey and to other shelters in other states.

Edwards et al (1975) observed in relation to program evaluation that it is a "common administrative fiction, especially in Washington, that national programs are comparable from place to place and from time to time." We have frequently encountered the idea that a program is a fixed unchanging object, observable at various times and places." (Edwards et al 1975:142) Most of the evidence suggests that local sites which are part of national programs show considerable variation in implementation and outcomes. This is hardly surprising when it is considered that two of the major themes of the 1970's in human services programs have been the individualizing of services to meet clients' needs, and the importance placed on adapting programs to local community needs and circumstances. Provus has argued that the evaluation of social program must begin at the local level because

it follows that if there are types of programs with different developmental characteristics, the developmental standards for these program types will vary also . . . This local work is usually of the process-assessment type in which evaluators systematically collect and weigh data descriptive of ongoing program activity. (Provus, 1971)

As with the projects referred to above, there has been a great deal of variability in the design and implementation of shelters for status offenders from county to county and from state to state.

It was, therefore, clear that any attempt to carry out a quantitative evaluation and developing a standardized set of scales or dimensions in the hope of making direct quantitative comparisons with other shelters would almost certainly be a misguided endeavor. Moreover, the interests of the Task Group were predominantly at the County level. They were concerned to implement the provisions of the new Code with minimal disruption to the County Youth Services network which they regarded as being, while not perfect, at least working reasonably well. And they wished to retain Bradley as a facility which would perform a function as close as possible to that which it had performed before January 1, 1984. It too was regarded by the Task Group as a facility which worked reasonably well, and in its current (January, 1984) form was regarded as a facility of central importance to the County network.

For these reasons, the focus of the Task Group was on Conklin as a local entity and a central facility in the County network, rather than as a representative shelter from which generalizations were to be made which could then be applied to the evaluation of, or policy decisions about other shelters. While they did not wish to exclude the latter possibility, their priority was clearly on the former as the perspective from which they would focus their concerns and questions.

The concerns of the Task Group in order of priority were:

1. That there is a morale problem at Bradley which needs to be identified and, if possible, remedied.
2. That Bradley continue to exist and that it continue to provide the same kind of services as it currently provides or services very similar to those that it currently provides.
3. That Bradley continue to provide services for a broad range of needs while also maintaining the highest quality programming possible.
4. That the "wide" range of needs being met at Bradley may be too wide and may be causing Bradley to be too difficult to manage.
5. That no juvenile should be admitted to Bradley unless it is clearly necessary that he or she do so.
6. That Bradley's capacity to ensure quick entry to the shelter for youths who are legitimately in need of such placement should be maintained.
7. That the time taken to assess juveniles at Bradley and make placement and case management decisions and other decisions regarding their future should be minimized, and both the degree of uncertainty and the time for which a juvenile remains uncertain of his future should be minimized.

These concerns were focused in the form of the following evaluation questions:

1. Is there evidence of poor morale at Bradley? What does the evidence suggest as the source(s) of the poor morale? What does the evidence suggest might be done to overcome the problem?
2. Has the population at Bradley changed since January 1st? If so, in what ways?
3. Has the quality of the program at Bradley changed?
4. Has there been change in demands upon management and staff at Bradley?

5. Are juveniles being admitted to Bradley without sufficient cause?
6. Has the time taken to have a youth admitted to Bradley changed significantly?
7. Has there been any increase in the time taken to assess juveniles at Bradley, and to make case planning and placement decisions?

During the next Task Group meetings the consultant endeavored to ascertain whether or not the Task Group might prefer that these concerns be framed in more specific evaluation questions. However, they preferred to retain the questions in the broad general form reproduced above.

Evaluation Methods Selected to Générer Information Which the Task Force Regarded as Useful

Once the evaluation questions had been agreed upon, consideration had to be given to what methods would elicit data which could answer those questions. It was assumed that the appropriate research methods and data analysis techniques would flow from the focused-evaluation questions.

The strengths and weaknesses of alternative methodological paradigms were considered in the search for methods appropriate to the nature of the evaluation questions. Options included consideration of:

1. Quantitative and/or qualitative methods;
2. Hypothetico-deductive objectivity or subjectivity versus holistic-inductive objectivity or subjectivity;

3. Distance from, versus closeness to, the data;
4. Fixed versus dynamic designs;
5. Relative emphasis on reliability or validity;
6. Holistic or component units of analysis; and
7. Inductive versus deductive procedures.

The choices here were to be dependent largely on the opinions of the key decision makers or task group as to what methodological paradigms would provide them with the most useful information. The Task of the consultant was to advise the task group on which approaches would provide the Task Group with the data most likely to answer their questions.

Design and measurement decisions were to be shared by the consultant and the Task Group to increase information users' understanding of, belief in, and commitment to evaluation data.

1. Variables were to be operationalized in ways that would make sense to those who would use the data; face validity, as judged by decision makers and information users, was considered to be an important instrumentation criterion in evaluation measurement.
2. Evaluation designs were to be selected that were credible to decision makers, information users, and the consultant.
3. Major concepts and units of analysis were to be defined so as to be relevant to the Task Group the long-term relevance of definitions and units of analysis were considered to increase the potential for continuous, longitudinal evaluation (where appropriate).
4. Multiple methods were to be used and multiple measure employed as much as possible to increase the believability of findings.

5. The Task Group was to be involved with the consultant in continuous methods, design, measurement, and basic data gathering decisions as changed circumstances, resources, and time lines forced changes in methods. It was recognized that initial proposals are poor predictors of final designs. The consultant, therefore, sought involvement of relevant decision makers in design and measurement questions as they arose.
6. Decision makers weighed with the consultant the methodological constraints introduced by limited resources, time deadlines, and data accessibility problems.
7. The utilization assumption selected to guide methods discussions was that it is better to have an approximate and highly probabilistic answer to the right question than a solid and relative certain answer to the wrong question.

Patton's strategy required that all Task Force members be highly knowledgeable about the strengths and weaknesses of data collection procedures. In this case, it could not be assumed that all decision makers or Task Force members were highly knowledgeable about these matters. Task Force members were generally predisposed to the view that quantitative, hypothetico-deductive methods are "scientific" and that qualitative, holistic-inductive methods are unscientific. A large part of the consultant's task was to assist the Task Force to understand and weigh the strengths and weaknesses of data collection procedures in relation to the issues which the Task Force members regarded as important and relevant to the decisions they had to make in implementing the provisions of the new Code.

#### Quantitative and/or Qualitative Methods

The consultant discussed with the Task Group the application of these various methods to Bradley's circumstances, and helped

them to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of various methods which might be adopted to answer the Task Group's evaluation questions. To help the Task Group weigh the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative measures, Task Group members were given a "Checklist of Evaluation Situations for which Qualitative Methods are Appropriate," adapted to Bradley's situation from Patton (1980). (Appendix A) This checklist of 15 questions required the Task Force members to check "yes" or "no" answers after each of 15 questions. An answer of "yes" to any of these questions would indicate that qualitative data collected in relation to that question would be likely to be relevant to the Task Group. The responses of the Task Group were overwhelmingly yes's. (58 yes's and 17 no's) Each of the Task Group members recorded more than 11 yes's out of a possible 15 yes or no answers. These responses indicated the appropriateness of qualitative methods for gathering data that would be valuable to the Task Group, but equally importantly the checklist helped the Task Group to focus on what sort of information they wanted. It also helped them think about what kind of information those they wished to influence would find persuasive.

In addition, given the broad nature of their evaluation questions, the subjective nature of issues such as morale, the need to explore some of the issues before tightly defining them, and the wide range of circumstances from which youths were placed at Bradley, the Task Group also favored a holistic-inductive approach.

### Distance from Versus Closeness to the Data

Regarding the distance from, versus closeness to, the data question, Patton (1980) argued that "Distance does not guarantee objectivity, it merely guarantees distance. On the other hand, getting close enough to the situation observed to experience it first hand means that evaluators can learn from their experiences, thereby generating personal insights." (1980-337) and "For social scientists to refuse to treat their own behavior as data from which one can learn is really tragic." (Scriven 1972:9 ) In discussion with the Task Group, the consultant suggested to them that his own experience as a social worker and as an administrator of youth facilities for status offenders and delinquents might help him to readily appreciate the meaning of the kinds of problems which staff encounter in these settings and that he might, therefore, be of more value working and observing at close quarters with administrators, staff, and clients, than he would be if he were to operate at a distance in what could be an artificial and misguided quest for objectivity.

### Fixed Versus Dynamic Designs

Similarly, a dynamic design which would allow the consultant to add, adapt or abandon lines of enquiry in response to the outcomes of preceding steps seemed more appropriate than a fixed design.

### Relative Emphasis on Reliability and Validity

Methodology that was dynamic and adaptive, and which permitted the consultant to be close to key actors in the organization

under study might have meant that the various situations in which data was collected would not be likely to be exactly replicable; and, therefore, the reliability of the methodology could not be assured. But the intent of the Task Force was that the consultation project should produce impressions, and generate ideas for adaptation and improvement of what seemed to need improvement, and the conservation where possible of valued aspects of Bradley's program.

#### Holistic or Component Units of Analysis

Preliminary discussions with the Director and the Administrator suggested that the morale problem at Bradley had to do with the way in which Bradley was viewed by staff of other facilities in the Youth Services network, and with the way in which staff at Bradley felt they were regarded by others. This in turn suggested that the whole Bradley and its personnel and the other parts of the Youth Services network which most frequently interact with Bradley should be the focus of analysis.

Similarly, the concerns around the implementation of the new Code had to do primarily with the various interfaces Bradley had with other parts of the system which referred youths to Bradley or who received youths from Bradley. For these reasons the Task Force required a holistic approach to analysis.

#### Inductive Versus Deductive Procedures

Although problems had been identified in a very general way by the Task Group, they were not sufficiently specified to lend themselves to the hypothetico-deductive approach of experimental designs. What the Task Group wanted was a better understanding of what was happening overall rather than a precise analysis of cause and effect in one

of two tightly specified areas.

#### Evaluation Design Chosen

The consultant explored the above options with the Task Group, who then recognized that there was a variety of approaches, each with its own strengths and weaknesses which could have been utilized to investigate the concerns of its members. The Task Group chose methods considered both most likely to capture the unique characteristics of Bradley, and most likely to generate ideas which could help to rectify problems while Bradley was in an open malleable condition as it adjusted to the new Code. The Task Group endorsed an approach which utilized "methodological triangulation" in that it combined three different approaches to data collection.

First, this approach was to utilize quantitative methods to describe the basic dimensions of the program and to analyze any trends over recent years which might be indicated in official records relating to Bradley's residents.

Secondly, the Task Group agreed that case studies of youths who were currently in the program or who had been in the program during any part of the previous two years (1982 and 1983) would be valuable as a means of gaining an appreciation of the wide range of types of youths who are admitted to Bradley, as well as of the complexity of the problems which led to their admissions. It was also intended that the case studies would show some of the variations in the program and the variations in the way both residents and staff experienced the program. It was thought that the case studies might also show the range of needs in the youth services system, and the degree to which various components of the network relied on Bradley

and its staff, and the degree of versatility needed by Bradley staff to be able to respond to these demands. Finally, the cases might also be able to show what things Bradley did or did not do well, how well or how poorly Bradley did them, and what skills and other attributes were necessary to carry out these tasks. The cases would also be searched for any other patterns and themes.

It was envisaged that the cases selected would be critical cases in that they would be extreme cases which might make possible logical generalizations (Patton, 1980) about the extent, variety, and complexity of the types of cases Bradley is capable of handling.

The third component of the investigation which was endorsed by the Task Group was that of interviewing program staff, program clients (youths in residence) and key figures in the task environment ( ) who either referred youths to Conklin or in some other way made use of the program.

The approach to interviewing which was to be adopted derived from the philosophical and methodological traditions which utilize qualitative methods and the concepts of Verstehen which were considered in Chapter Two. The approach was to use "informal conversational interviews" in the phenomenological tradition in an endeavor to maintain flexibility to pursue information which emerged in whatever direction appeared likely to be fruitful. It would not be quite phenomenological in the purest sense, in that the consultant would have the broad concerns of the Task Group very much in mind, and to some extent these would shape the direction of his questioning as well as the phenomena which emerged in discussion with individuals in the setting or from

observations within the setting. In short, the consultant would enter the situation with some broad presuppositions about morale and about certain effects the new Code might be having on the setting, but they would not be the more specific presuppositions which usually underly the design of questions in a standardized open-ended interview or in a general interview guide approach. The Taks Group agreed that this type of interview would allow the consultant to be highly responsive to individual differences and situational changes, and would permit the accumulation of a holistic picture of the program and its potential for improvement.

It was acknowledged that the informal conversational interview is very much open to interviewer effects, in that data collected depends a great deal on the conversational skills of the interviewer and on his ability to comprehend the meaning of what is being said as it is being said -- to a far greater extent than is the case when more formal and more standardized formats are used. The phenomenological interviewer must also be able to interact easily with people in a variety of settings, generate rapid insights, formulate questions quickly, and guard against asking questions which impose interpretations of the question by the structure of the questions. However, it was considered in this case that the consultant's extensive experience in both administration and direct service provision in juvenile corrections and child care would be an advantage in rapidly comprehending the meaning of what was being said, and

being able to generate rapid insights. Simultaneously, of course, this background might be a disadvantage in that the consultant might be too quick to place an interpretation on data in order to make sense of them in terms of his own experience. But in the final analysis, every evaluator or investigator interprets his perceptions in terms of his own knowledge and experience. There seems to be no advantage in doing this from a basis of ignorance of the field being observed and possibly a considerable disadvantage.

In summary, the approach planned was similar to the phenomenological approach, but different from it in that the consultant in this case did have some presuppositions about what might prove to be the important issues to emerge during the course of the various interviews. These presuppositions were based on what the Task Force had already identified as the important areas of concern. Therefore, the interviews would also resemble to some extent the "general interview guide" approach (Patton 1980), except that the consultant would not necessarily be bound by pre-determined topics and issues.

Specifically, the consultant planned to interview the following administrators, staff, residents, and external users of Bradley's services. The table below sets out those who were to be interviewed, approximately how frequently they were to be interviewed and his estimate of the total number of interviews to be conducted. More or fewer interviews would be conducted with individuals in accordance with how useful or otherwise their responses seemed to be

Intended Respondents	Approximate Number of Interviews to be conducted	Estimated Total Number of Interviews
<u>Bradley Youth Center</u>		
Administrator	Ongoing as necessary	20-25
Residential Supervisor	Ongoing as necessary	6-10
Social Workers (2)	Ongoing as necessary	6-10
*Floor Supervisors (4)	3-4	6-8
Experienced Floor Staff (3)	2-3	8-12
New Floor Staff (3)	1-3	3-9
Residents Male and Female (6) (Approximately 50% of the above should be resident for the first time.)	1-3	6-18
<u>External Users of Bradley</u>		
Family Court Judges (2)	2-3	4-6
Police (2)	2-3	4-6
N. J. Div. of Youth & Family Services (3)	2-3	3-9
County Probation (2)	2-3	4-6
Crisis Intervention Unit (3)	2-3	3-9
**O.I.C. Harris House (1)	2-3	2-3
***O.I.C. New Start (1)	2-3	2-3
Director of Youth Services, Devon County	Ongoing as necessary	10-12
<u>Estimated Grand Total</u>		<u>90-155</u>

\*The Second Floor at Bradley is the girls' floor, the Third Floor is the boys' floor. The First Floor is occupied by the Administration, kitchen, offices, etc. A senior child care worker is floor supervisor for each shift.

\*\*Harris House is a hostel/group home for disturbed boys who usually cannot be placed elsewhere. Most come to Harris House from the Youth Center.

\*\*\*New Start is a small residential program which prepares 17 to 18-year-old boys for independent living.

This chapter has set out the utilization-focused evaluation strategy and how it was applied to recruit and organize the Task Group. It describes how the consultant and Task Group members decided upon what should be the content and emphasis of the evaluation, what methods should be used to gather data, and from where, and from whom data should be obtained. The next chapter will describe the way in which these decisions were put into effect. The various adaptations the consultant made in response to both kinds of data which emerged, and the reactions of the individuals from whom information was being obtained will also be described. The chapter will also include details of how the data was analyzed, interpreted, and disseminated, but perhaps even more importantly, it will describe how the administrators and staff began to respond to the formative part of the concept of formative evaluation, and quickly began to adapt, to reframe the problems, search for solutions and generally overhaul the agency well before the consultant was more than halfway through the evaluation process.

CHAPTER FOUR  
STRATEGY METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS

Part 2

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION

In Chapter Three, the process of organizing an evaluation task group was described, and the way in which the Consultant and the Task Group decided upon the content, emphasis, and data collection methods was discussed. The main approaches to data collection agreed upon were, firstly, the study of critical cases of youths in the program which would allow 'logical generalizations' to be drawn about the variety and complexity of the types of cases the Youth Center is currently required to handle; secondly, in-depth conversational interviews with youths in residence, staff, and individuals representative of the various groups in the juvenile justice and child care network who are involved in placing youths at the Center or who receive youths being placed from the Center; and thirdly, the utilization of quantitative data from the Youth Center's official records to describe basic dimensions, patterns, and trends in the program. Although participant observation was not selected as a formal component of the methodology, the Consultant did become in effect a participant observer of the agency as he went freely about the agency collecting data for the three formal components of the project.

Although this chapter focuses mainly on process, some of the results of the Consultant's interventions affected the subsequent course of the process, and so the chapter also includes consideration of results of this kind. These were appropriately active, reactive, and adaptive

responses in accordance with the utilization-focused strategy and the formative intent of the evaluation. And so, for example, in describing the interview process, the process of feeding back the interview data to decision makers and the way in which the decision makers responded to the data will both be described.

### INTERVIEWING

The interviewing process was commenced first because staff had been told by the Administrator at a staff meeting that the consultant was carrying out an evaluation and would be asking questions. It was, therefore, decided to begin immediately to interview some staff members so that there would not be sufficient time to build up any unnecessary anxiety about the process. It was also considered desirable to make a start in order to get a 'feel' of how staff might respond and what kinds of issues might be raised.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the basic approach to interviewing that had been agreed upon between the Task Group and the consultant was that of the informal conversational interview. However, it was decided that this approach would not be phenomenological in the purest sense because the consultant would be guided by the broad concerns of the Task Group and would be steering the conversation so that these concerns would be addressed, if this could be done without overly distorting the spontaneity and free flow of the respondents.

Staff members were interviewed on the basis of their availability as well as on the basis of their relative experience

or lack of experience. Availability, therefore, also governed the order in which people were interviewed. Staff were selected for a second or in some cases a third interview on the basis of both their availability and the consultant's view of the value of what they had said in the first interview. Those who were forthcoming and talked freely and insightfully were re-interviewed if it was practical to do so. Interviews were taped. This had the advantage of producing an accurate verbatim record, but may also have caused some respondents to be more cautious and selective. It was noticeable that some respondents began to speak with much less inhibition once the tape recorder had clicked to indicate the end of the tape.

Because it was anticipated that some respondents might be uneasy about speaking into a tape recorder, a pre-typed statement explaining that the purpose of the taping was to ensure that the respondent's statements were recorded accurately and to allow the consultant to be more attentive to the respondent was read. The statement also assured respondents of confidentiality in explaining that when information from the interviews was fed back to management, it would be done so either as generalizations formed from the comments of several respondents, or as statements which would remain anonymous unless the respondent had expressed a wish to be named. A copy of the statement used is appended (Appendix A). Rough written notes were also taken and used as a visual guide to the approximate location of information on the tape recordings.

One of the first things the Consultant needed was a general overview of the program as it was perceived by the staff. In keeping with the intention to gain access to the perspective of the person being interviewed rather than to impose a set of the interviewer's preconceived perspectives, questions were open ended and invited the respondent to frame his responses in his own way. A typical beginning question was stated this way:

I am trying to get an overview of what this Youth Center is, and does. Can you tell me in much the same way as you would to a visitor to the program, or to a kid just admitted to the program, or in any way which you consider best makes it clear, what the Youth Center is for, why kids are placed here, and what it is you are trying to do for them?

This question or cluster of questions usually got the staff members started with what sounded like a familiar litany or statement of "the official line." The following statements were usually included in the responses: "We provide temporary shelter care for kids who are having trouble with their families ...." "We only provide temporary shelter care...." "We are not a treatment center." Despite this standard first response, the staff member, either with or without prompting, would typically go on to describe aspects of the day-to-day operation of the program, difficulties staff were having, sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, the nature of the youths in residence, and the kinds of problems which had resulted in their being admitted to the Youth Center.

In the first round of interviews, members of the Administration -- the Administrator, Residential Supervisor, and Clinical Supervisor -- were each interviewed several times; in effect, discussion with them was ongoing. Nine other staff members were also interviewed, including six members of staff with from four to thirteen years' experience on the job, and three with less than one year's experience. Several of the experienced group had been Child Care Workers at other centers or had been at Bradley when it had been a reception center for babies and younger children before it became a J.I.N.S. Shelter. These experienced staff were able to describe current conditions at Bradley by making comparisons with earlier conditions at Bradley and elsewhere.

During this period, six external users of Bradley's services; and six residents were also interviewed. Appropriate variations were made to the formal typed opening statement and also to the beginning questions, but the overall intent and content of the interviews were similar.

#### INTERVIEWING CONDITIONS

Wherever possible, interviews were carried out in quiet rooms, free from interruptions. In these circumstances an effective rapport was established, and respondents were generally very forthcoming. In some instances respondents were interviewed in circumstances where they were not separated from their day-to-day work, but were subjected to frequent interruptions. This greatly limited the free flow of questions and answers, and seemed to markedly inhibit some respondents. It was, however, instructive

in other ways. On one morning the consultant arrived to interview the Administrator of the Youth Center and found her in her office with the Residential Supervisor, surrounded by improvised tools and other paraphernalia confiscated by staff following an intercepted attempt by several boys to break into and enter the girls' sleeping quarters a few hours before dawn that morning. During the course of the morning, the Administrator was interrupted to discuss or sign reports which had to go to the Court that morning, interrupted again to rule on punishments for the boys who had attempted the break-in, and again to be informed of allegations of homosexual advances by one staff member against another, and finally by a report that both youths and staff were refusing to eat the luncheon meatballs which they claimed were undercooked, and which the cook claimed were not. This appeared to be by no means an atypical pattern, but seemed, in fact, to be fairly representative of the day-to-day demands of her position. Similarly it was possible when interviewing Child Care workers on the job to get some impression of the very demanding nature of some residents by observing the intensity with which they adopted various means to gain the attention of the staff. Likewise, the provocative nature of some, the aggressiveness of others, and the depressed, withdrawn demeanor of several gave a vivid impression of the variety and intensity of day-to-day demands on the Child Care workers, and provided some useful firsthand corroboration of some of the comments they were making about the program and its residents.

Following the interviews, the consultant replayed the tapes and reviewed notes and summarized them, noting particularly the issues which the Task Group had regarded as important. One of the realities of informal conversational interviewing is that a great deal of data is accumulated in each interview. This project was no exception, and it would have been unrealistic to expect that all of this information could have been fed back to decision makers who, despite their interest in the project, were subject to many other pressures. Inevitably considerable selectivity was involved in summarizing the data and selecting from it what appeared to the consultant to be the more illustrative quotations. In these circumstances absolute objectivity is more an ideal than a realistic possibility. The interviewer is guided mainly by the issues to which the decision makers have given priority, but is inevitably also influenced by his own understanding of theories of organizations and human behavior. The interviewer is also highly likely to be speculating on causality. Patton contends that, "The cardinal principle of qualitative analysis is that causal relationships and theoretical statements be clearly emergent from and grounded in the phenomenon studied. The theory emerges from the data; it is not imposed upon it." (1980:278)

While Patton's cardinal principle seems to be a worthy ideal, it also seems highly likely that an interviewer would be influenced by theoretical perspectives with which he is familiar, and would, therefore, be likely to recognize possible causal

relationships in the data which accord with those perspectives. He surely is likely to have a set to see things which, were he not familiar with the theories, he might well overlook.

In this case, despite Patton's dictum, the consultant was influenced by the perspectives from management theory reviewed in the latter part of Chapter Two. It seems unlikely that the consultant was unusual in this respect; it is probably realistic to assume that such conjectures or speculations on causality are a product of both theoretical perspectives which emerge from the data, and perspectives which the interviewer inevitably brings to the situation as part of his mind set. A valuable role which the Task Group (and in this particular case, the Working Group) plays is to provide alternative perspectives or critical comments on the consultant's speculations and inferences, as to cause and effect.

In analyzing the data, the consultant sought to identify main themes implicit in the data, and grouped the data according to those themes.

#### FEEDBACK TO DECISION MAKERS

In accordance with the concept of formative evaluation, both data collected in the interviews and data collected incidentally as a participant observer were, after being grouped and summarized in accordance with the consultant's perception of the major themes inherent in it, fed back either to the Task Group, or more frequently to a smaller work group which had been formed during the early stages of data collection at Bradley.

This group was comprised of the Administrator, Residential Supervisor, and Clinical Supervisor of Bradley, the Consultant, and the Clinical Coordinator. (The latter was not on the staff of Bradley, but was responsible for the coordination and quality of the various clinical programs throughout the County's service network.)

There were several reasons which led to the formation of the Bradley Working Group. The motivation and momentum of the original Task Force had lessened because shortly after it was formed, the New Jersey State Administrative Officer of the Courts formed a committee to develop administrative policy relating to the implementation of the new Juvenile Code. The Director agreed to join this committee. Because of the establishment of this committee and the Director's membership of it, the Task Group considered that it had become somewhat redundant as far as the implementation of the new Code was concerned.

Although a Task Group had originally regarded the effective implementation of the new Code as one of the major tasks of the evaluation, they found that the implementation was occurring far more smoothly than had been anticipated. This smooth transition resulted from the fact that most of the more important provisions of the new Juvenile Code had been accurately anticipated in Devon County. The Crisis Intervention Service had already been established, and after the passing in 1982 of the original bills (which became the new Code in January 1984), the C.I.S. was modified to bring it in line with the provisions in the bills. And so by the time the new Code became law, the C.I.S. was functioning according to

the new Code's provisions. The only effect of the new Code on C.I.S. was that its workload (based on cases handled) rose by approximately thirty percent. But prior to January 1984 it was operating with about two-thirds of a full workload and so it was able to adjust to the new workload without great difficulty.

The other part of the youth service network affected was the Youth Center, where the rate at which youths were admitted to the Center fell sharply. (See Table 2, Chapter 5) Because this placed fewer rather than a greater number of demands on the Center, and because it was not certain whether this would be a temporary state of affairs, the Task Group decided that the implementation of the Code was not going to be the crisis which they at first thought it might be. They decided that they could safely give priority to the morale issue at the Youth Center and return later, if necessary, to the implementation issues. They also began to doubt whether it would be necessary to return to the implementation issues because the details of procedure were being taken up by the committee formed by the Administrative Officer of the Courts of which, as mentioned above, the Director had become a member. Thus, they argued that their own oversight of the implementation was somewhat redundant. They also reasoned they should continue to provide some oversight of the implementation concurrently with their exploration of the morale issue because whichever way implementation

went, the Youth Center would carry out its part far more effectively if the morale problems could be identified and overcome. On the other hand, they recognized the possibility that the morale problems could be related to the provisions of the new Code and might be being exacerbated by its implementation. Thus, they recognized that the two main issues could well be intertwined and not readily separated. So they decided that while giving priority to the morale issue, they would also follow on with the implementation but regard their role as subsidiary to that of the statewide committee.

Another factor which entered into consideration at the time the decision was taken to form the Working Group was the difficulty that members of the original Task Force had attending meetings. One member had been transferred to another location 80 miles away,\* and the Director was frequently unable to attend because of clashes with meetings of the State Implementation Committee. The small working group was formed at the Youth Center so as to be able to meet more frequently with the Consultant and to work with him on the data being fed back.

\* This member rejoined the Task Group two months later after a promotion within D.Y.F.S. brought him back to Devon County (see Chapter Five).

This working group was empowered by the Director to make most of the decisions on matters relating to the development of Bradley, and was required only to keep her informed. The original Task Group continued to meet at less frequent intervals and to give approval, suggestions, and criticisms to the work of the small work group. While this two-tiered system may seem awkward in fact, it worked quite well and seemed to fit the changed circumstances which had eventuated.

The small group was comprised of persons strongly motivated to adapt and develop the quality of the service at the Youth Center to meet the demands of the new code, while at the same time preserving the best qualities of the program and staff of the Center. This activity of the small working group was also very much in line with the concept of formative evaluation. Data were utilized to adapt and develop the program as it was collected in the evaluation process. The following sections provides examples of the kind of data fed back to the Working Group by the consultant, the kinds of analysis and speculation to which it was subjected, and the inferences drawn from it by the Working Group.

#### ANALYZING, INTERPRETING, AND RESPONDING TO THE DATA

After preliminary analysis, theme identification, and summary, the data were presented to the Working Group (and subsequently and less frequently to the original Task Group). One of the major themes to emerge will now be used to illustrate the process by which the consultant and the Working Group dealt

with the data. The data concerning other major themes are considered in the next chapter.

One of the most striking themes to emerge from the data collected in the first round of interviews was that there was a degree of confusion about the changed and changing role of the Bradley Youth Center in the County-wide Youth Services/Juvenile Justice System. In Chapter Two, in reviewing perspectives from the theories of organizations and management, it was noted that highly rational but rigid organizational designs have difficulty in responding to changing circumstances. It was also noted that although effective organizations are characterized by a strong culture and a strong sense of mission rather than by being bound by tightly prescribed regulations and procedures, a deeply etched sense of purpose can also create major problems if the purpose is no longer appropriate.

It was notable during the interviews with the staff of the Youth Center that they stated the official mission of the Center in terms of the rhetoric of its former role as a JINS Shelter with what seemed like a strong sense of loyalty and conviction. As had been already mentioned, they began by sounding as if they were reciting an often repeated litany.

"We provide temporary shelter care for kids who are having trouble with their families; they are only here until the crisis at home can be resolved; then they can go home again. They are not here as a long-term placement; we only provide temporary shelter care."  
(Amy: Child Care Worker)

"We are only a short-term shelter facility; we are not a treatment center." (Roy: Child Care Worker)

Each of the child care workers began to explain what the Youth Center was about in these terms. They were consistent and

almost uniform in their opening statements, and the terms used were very similar to those of the rhetoric of official statements about the role and function of the JINS Shelters. This strongly suggested that when Bradley was established as a JINS Shelter, and in the time since then, the 'mission' or role of the JINS Shelter was very effectively inculcated and perpetuated as part of the ethos of the agency.

It was when the various respondents went on to explain in more detail how the agency operated, in what circumstances it was most effective, and where they had the greatest difficulties, that they began to talk of

kids who are here for up to 100 days and even more in some cases. We're just not geared up for it. They come in, and even if they're difficult at first they usually conform more or less after a few days or a few weeks, they cooperate with the points system, (3) but when they are here a couple of months and they see other kids coming in and going out . . . going home; they get frustrated and start acting out. Their performance goes way down, or they'll split (abscond) or they'll do something. You know they'll do something. And you can't blame them, you can understand how frustrated they are and how they feel everyone has let them down. They feel that their parents have rejected them, and that they've been taken over by the system but the system can't find a place for them to stay. These long-term kids often come in depressed or angry and they really do well here for a while; but when they feel they're going no where, they just get depressed and angry again.  
(Frank: Child Care Worker)

Most other child care workers and social workers referred to juvenilies who stayed for long periods at the Center as being a major problem in one way or another. They frequently referred to the youth's confusion or frustration; they then also frequently referred to their own feelings of frustration and inadequacy in that they could neither speed his progress towards returning

home nor towards a long-term, out-of-home placement, nor do anything very useful to make his residency at Bradley more valuable or bearable for him.

Residents at the Center articulated very similar points of view. An angry 16-year-old boy who had been in temporary shelter for 104 days said:

Kids get so frustrated here. They've been going well, then their performance goes right down. And as for DYFS, they are so slow. It can't possibly take as long to do their evaluations and the rest of their red tape as they do. Evaluations are the same old . . . (Pause) I've done it all before, evaluations, child study teams, and stuff. They find out what you're all about. But you never get any feedback. You're in the dark for weeks -- sometimes right up until you're told you're going. Some kids get sent to places they don't really believe are good for them, but they just want to go somewhere. They've had enough of the restrictions and the routine; it's so boring. It's not that I think that they shouldn't have restrictions here, they're necessary or it would be chaos, and I think it is good for most kids at first -- it's firm and clear and you know where you stand, but it's really bad for the kids who have to wait and wait. The restrictions aren't necessary any more: they're inappropriate, and they just become maddening, and add to your frustration. They remind you all the time that you are stuck here. So you get depressed and angry and split, or stay here and fuck up just to let everyone know you are fed up with the endless delays.

This place isn't geared up for kids being here for a long time. There is nothing to do, or hardly anything, and what there is, is no good. You can't use the weights (weight training equipment) because the bench is broken. You can't play pool because the tips are off the cues, and they won't replace them. There's supposed to be Coed nights when the girls can mix freely with us and talk, but that hasn't happened for nearly 2 months.

It's not so bad for kids who are in here for just a few days or even a few weeks because the staff are good and they really care about the kids and are willing to talk to you, and they try to cheer you up when you're really feeling down, but this place is no good for kids here for a long time.

(Graham, 16, Resident awaiting out-of-home placement)

These comments clearly stated what each of the longer-term residents interviewed had said in various ways. In essence they were saying that despite some dissatisfactions that they had, Conklin was effective as a short-term shelter but became less beneficial and in some cases damaging for youths who could not be moved on relatively quickly.

Data of this kind, which the consultant had grouped under the theme heading "Bradley's Changed and Changing Role: Staff Confusions and Youths' Dissatisfactions" were fed back to the Working Group as were data representative of the other main themes. So as not to impose a bias on the way the data would be perceived, the consultant did not provide the Working Group with his interpretations of the data until after they had first interpreted them in terms of their own perceptions. However, the consultant considered it to be important to present his interpretations and impressions to the Working Group as a check to ensure that he was not constructing theories and interpretations on the basis of data which could be quite readily explained in some other way by those who had greater knowledge of the day-to-day operation of the Youth Center and its context.

In most instances, the Working Group and the consultant usually reached a high degree of consensus about the meaning of the data -- sometimes quickly and sometimes after lengthy consideration. In the case of the theme relating to the changed and changing role of the agency, there were many

similarities between the Working Group's interpretations and those of the consultant.

It was agreed that there was a considerable degree of misalignment between the Center's official 'mission' statements which were contained in policy documents, descriptive leaflets about the Center, the official description of the program and the word-of-mouth messages repeated to new staff, youths, parents, social workers, parole officers, police, and judges and the reality of what the program had in practice become. Official documents and statements emphasized the temporary, short-term shelter-providing holding-center nature of the program. This had been an accurate description of the program for most of the 8 years since its establishment. Residents remained only for periods of a few days, or at the most a few weeks and afterwards a large proportion of them returned home. Comparatively few stayed more than 30 days, but the data suggested that this had clearly changed, and that there were comparatively short-stay residents who returned home again, while youths who remained longer and were eventually placed in group homes and other forms of out-of-home placement had become relatively more numerous. Thus there was now a situation where the original JINS Center concepts, rhetoric, values, and program of short-term shelter care were still being applied to a population which differed in many respects from that to which they were originally applied. This was not to say that the

original concepts and programs were incorrect or inappropriate for the short-term residents: they still were, but it was concluded that modifications and additions to the official mission and to the operating program must be made to better meet the needs of longer-term youths. Simultaneously it was agreed that efforts should be made to ensure that those who were remaining for long periods of time really did need to do so. Checks and safeguards needed review to ensure that all appropriate steps were being taken to move the youth out of the Center as soon as this could be done without at the same time jeopardizing their interests or well being.

The data grouped under this heading did not inform the Working Group of matters of which they were totally unaware. They had had many previous intimations that there seemed to be more youths remaining in the Center for protracted periods because of the complexity of their circumstances and the difficulty of finding suitable placement options for their long-term care. However, consideration of the data by the Working Group obliged them to consider the problems fully and to confront their implications. It seemed that previously there had been some reluctance to face the facts which suggested that circumstances had changed. The data so strongly suggested that changes had occurred and were causing confusion and frustration at several levels, that an active response to the problem could no longer be avoided. However, to insure that the perceptions of the problem were correct and its extent

known as accurately as possible, some quantitative data were sought. This part of the process will be described below in the section describing the process of quantitative data collection.

By calling for quantitative data, the Working Group was not 'stalling' for time. On the contrary, it began immediately to work on a restatement of Bradley's mission. In discussions with the consultant, the group began to develop concepts in which the Center consciously addressed the reality of the increase in the proportion of long-term residents and began to work out a three-phase 'Placement Preparation Program' with specific emphasis on the needs of the youths from extremely problematic circumstances who were going to be obliged to stay in residence for long periods before a suitable 'out-of-home placement' could be found for them.

Data collected in subsequent interviews were also fed back to the Working Group for consideration as they developed the details of this program. This later data influenced many of the details of the new program, but did not change the general direction of its development. The additional data tended to give further support to inferences drawn by the Working Group and the consultant from the earliest data. A possibility here which the consultant consciously tried to avoid, was that both he and the Working Group, once having focused on certain themes and drawn certain inferences, would have a 'set' to focus on new data that supported these inferences, and would tend less to draw other possible inferences. The Working Group, in fact, proved very valuable in this regard, as members were often able

to perceive alternative inferences and in debating the merits of these probably came closer to the 'truth' than a single investigator would have done on his own.

This process of interviewing to collect data, analyzing and summarizing the data under theme headings, presenting the data to the Working Group, re-analyzing and interpreting the data with the Working Group, and developing 'formative' plans for the further development of the agency, was repeated with further interviews followed by further meetings with the Working Group. The consultant also met with the original Task Group from time to time, but this group's role had become one of general oversight and endorsement of the evaluation and organizational development processes. The results of the processes will be considered in the next chapter.

#### QUANTITATIVE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROGRAM

Sir Josiah Stamp, a prominent British economist, had a rather jaundiced view of official statistics. He said

The government are very keen on amassing statistics. They collect them, raise them to the nth power, take the cube root and prepare wonderful diagrams. But you must never forget that every one of these figures comes in the first instance from the village watchman, who puts down what he damn pleases. (Nettler, 1974:45)

In less colorful language Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook provide a similar warning.

A major issue for users of archival records has to do with the adequacy of methods employed for the initial data collection. Careful sampling and measurement are required of all good social science; but because many public records are often collected not in the interests of good social science, attention needs to be drawn to possible sources of error such as over reporting in expense accounts, for example, and under reporting in income for tax declarations.

Other errors include procedural inconsistencies, sampling biases, recording and clerical errors, and changing definitions of categories (1981:289).

Stamp and Selltiz, et al would not, therefore, have been surprised that there were problems when the consultant used the agency's routinely collected data to inform the evaluation process.

On several occasions, members of the Working Group expressed doubt about the accuracy of the tabulated data and charts which the consultant had presented to them. The data seemed to them to be at variance with the impressions they had formed in their day to day work, and simply did not 'look right' to them. When this occurred, the Working Group and the Consultant examined the original records, and on each occasion found discrepancies, incorrect entries, incorrect additions, and other faults. There were enough of these faults to cast doubt on the accuracy of all of the data compiled from the Center's records. The Working Group therefore decided to have the clerical staff re-record and summarize the data, under the close scrutiny of the Working Group until they (the Working Group) were satisfied with it's accuracy.

The agency's data were used by the consultant to gain a basic profile of the residents, and an indication of the work load of the program and whether the resident profile and the agency's work load, had changed over recent years. The quantitative data collection process had not been intended to be a major part of the study, but was included to contribute

to methodological rigor by providing a check or basis for comparison between interview data, and the data obtained from case studies.

The initial quantitative data gathering process engaged in was simply the summarizing of data from census records obtained from data files kept at the agency. These census records were kept because the data was required by New Jersey Statutes to be recorded and submitted to the office of the New Jersey Department of Human Services. The Census sheet recorded the resident's name, age, gender, race, hometown, date of admission, and date of discharge. These data were used to compare residents on the basis of gender, age and race for each of the years 1982, 1983 and the first five months of 1984.

A comparison was also made between the length of stay of residents in each of the years 1982, 1983, and January to May 1984 in each of nine categories of 'Number of days in Residence' ranging from 'One day or less'\* to 'More than 120 days'. The numbers of residents in each of these categories was shown as a percentage of the total number of residents for that year. (See Chapter Five for tables.)

These tables and Figure 1. were presented to the Working Group. The initial response of the Working Group was suspicion about the accuracy of the data, and, as noted earlier their suspicions were warranted. Considerable effort was then invested by the Working Group and the Consultant in an endeavor to detect further errors and where possible, rectify them.

\*From time to time 'residents' have been admitted for periods of less than 24 hours.

When the Working Group was satisfied that the data were as accurate as possible, the data were again tabulated to produce Tables 1 - 4, in Chapter Five. The data in Table 4 was graphed to form Figure 1. in Chapter Five.

The Working Group found Figure 1 to be useful because it illustrated the effects during 1983 of the County's Department of Youth Services' anticipation of the implementation of the new Juvenile Code by bringing the operation of the County's underdeveloped and minimally effective Crisis Intervention Service more into line with the with the requiremnts of the new code. They also interpreted certain patterns to be results of idiosyncratic policies adopted by the respective presiding judges of the Family Court rather than results of the new Juvenile Code or of actions taken by the Youth Center.

The Working Group and the Consultant also concluded that the summary, analysis, and interpretation of the data, was useful in gaining an appreciation of changes in patterns of turnover of residents, but that it gave an impression that there were fewer long term residents in the program, and that they were less of a probem than they (the Working Group) and the staff of the Youth Center regarded them as being. It was agreed that a more appropriate way of investigating the significance of the long term residents would be to examine the proportion of long term residents in the Center each day rather than as a percentage of total resident turnover.

The Working Group's consensus on the definition of these categories (0-6 days etc.) was based on typical patterns of legal processing by the Family Court, which in turn are

governed by the Juvenile Code which stipulates maximum periods for which youths can be held in the Youth Center before a mandatory court review must occur. There were differences in the attitudes and behaviours of youths in each of the three time periods requiring different responses from the staff. Youths in the first category display typical characteristics of 'new' residents on first being admitted to a residential institutional setting, such as tentativeness, testing out of limits, anger or grief or both. During the 7-27 days period, the residents have typically made some adjustment to their separation from home, and to the routine of the Youth Center. Typically they are by this time also involved in a process likely to lead to their return home, or to their placement out of home. Youths in the 28 days or more category are typically simultaneously becoming fed up with the routine of the Youth Center, aware that there is little likelihood that they will return home, and there will be complications and delays in the process of placing them out of home. The first two categories involve the staff in carrying out processes which were conceptualized as being the core functions of a JINS Shelter, and these are functions which the Center is well equipped to handle. The last category embraces a period of time in residence which was not envisaged in the original JINS Shelter concept, but which now appears to form a large part of the reality with which the center must cope. The data was collected from daily census sheets and was summarized and shown graphically as Figure 2 in Chapter Five.

No further action was taken in regard to the collection of quantitative data, and the Working Group concentrated its subsequent efforts in this area on designing a workable data collection and monitoring system that would serve the agency better in the future. At the time of writing, this process was incomplete and it seemed likely that the administrator may try more than one approach, testing each for practicability and relevance before making a final decision about which will be implemented.

### Case Studies

There were two main purposes in carrying out qualitative case studies in this project. The first of these was to determine the range and complexity of the problems of the residents of the Youth Center, thereby indicating the versatility needed by the staff of the Center if they were to be able to cope with these troubled youths. The second purpose was to provide an additional perspective from which to evaluate the agency. The case studies, together with the in depth interviews and the basic quantitative description of the program, provided the means for methodological triangulation. The logic of triangulation is based on the premise that

...no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors...Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed. This is termed triangulation. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation (Denzin, 1978:28).

While Denzin's principle is an admirable ideal, in practice the employment of multiple methods is an extremely time-consuming process not to be undertaken lightly. In this project it was seen as worth attempting because each of the methods used had limitations for which the other methods employed might compensate.

As intimated in Chapter Three, case studies of six residents, four current and two past, were compiled. The residents were selected on the basis of being extreme rather than typical cases. This was to allow 'logical generalizations' as to the capacity of the Youth Center to handle an extensive range of behavior and emotional problems; that is, if they could handle these youths, then it could be reasonably expected that they could also handle youths with lesser problems. The selections made were based on the opinions of administrators and staff as to who were the most difficult to handle youth.

Ronald, whose case will be used to illustrate process in this chapter, was selected as an extreme example of immaturity exacerbated by family collusion and confusion. Another case was selected because it was an extreme example of deep-seated family pathology including incest, patterns of heavy drinking and isolation from interaction with more conventional families. A third case was selected because it illustrated an adolescent girl's ability to manipulate her divorced parents, and the readiness of her parents to continue to engage in conflict long after their divorce.

A fourth case was that of a youth who had spent most of the previous five years going through various residential, correctional, and rehabilitative programs. The fifth case was that of a youth in extreme conflict with ambivalent parents who could not decide whether to abandon him despite his abuse and intimidation of them. The final case was of a girl of dull intelligence who was emotionally very immature, but physically and sexually precocious. The selections were made by the Consultant but the information on which the selections were based was provided by administrators and staff.

Besides fulfilling the requirements of a triangulation strategy, the case studies were compiled to advance one of the key principles of the utilization-focused evaluation strategy - the active participation of the organization's key decision makers. It was reasoned that case studies which recorded the background of the youths, including the reasons they were admitted to the Youth Center, their interactions with staff and other residents, their progress through the agency, the various decisions that were made about them and how, when, and by whom these decisions were made would reveal a great deal about the operation of the program, and the theory of help implicit in the various decisions. It was also reasoned that the key decision makers and staff of the Youth Center were very much oriented to a 'kids and cases' way of perceiving problems and issues. Their familiarity with the cases of the residents was seen

as a potentially effective vehicle by which they could come to grips with more abstract concepts of organizational analysis. Consideration of the case studies also had the potential to be a reciprocal process, in that administrators and staff of the Youth Center could utilize the familiar dynamics of the case studies to explain to the consultant their perceptions of problems and issues.

The raw data of the case studies were assembled from the agency's case records, from discussion of each case with one or more members of the administration of the Youth Center and other staff members, and from in depth interviews with some of the youths concerned. Also by just being frequently present in the Center, particularly in the Administrator's Office, the Consultant was often present when problems relating to the youths were discussed.

From this information, a case record was constructed. This was done by extracting the major themes from the material and compiling a narrative. The case studies were then discussed with the Working Group.

Discussion of the case studies by the Working Group members effectively illuminated many of the main themes with which the Working Group and the consultant had to struggle. Discussion of the case of 'Ronald', for example, was an effective means by which the Task Group examined controversial issues relating to 'treatment.' 'Treatment' and 'therapy' are emotive words at the Bradley Youth Center, just as they are throughout most jurisdictions of the juvenile justice system. As was noted in Chapter One, for more than half of the twentieth century, the belief that rehabilitation efforts

would work was not seriously challenged. But during the last two decades, the notion of rehabilitating juveniles who came before the courts has been greeted with cynicism. One obvious reason for this widespread disillusionment has been the persistence of the high rates at which juveniles have continued to come before the courts, and the persistence of unimpressive recidivism rates among youths who have had the benefit of rehabilitation programs. Influential critics like Lemert (1967:96) argued for a change in philosophy and suggested that the helping professions should lower their expectations:

Neither the modern state nor an harassed juvenile court judge is a father; a halfway house is not a home; a reformatory cell is not a teenager's bedroom; a juvenile hall counselor is not a dutch uncle; and a cottage matron is not a mother (Lemert, 1967:92).

Lemert advocated that the 'medical model' of rehabilitation be replaced by a 'midwifery' model. Judges, psychiatrists, social workers, counselors, and probation officers should recognize that, like midwives, they do not have the precise knowledge by which to diagnose ills and prescribe cures. At best they can only assist in the process of maturation, and cannot, therefore, have much impact on its outcome (Lemert, 1967:96).

Lemert was only one of a host of critics who voiced similar disapprobation at this time. Equally strong were the voices of those who pointed out that status offenders had committed no crimes, and that it was therefore a gross

infringement of their civil liberties to attempt to rehabilitate them. The establishment of separate shelters for status offenders stemmed in part from this view.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the administrator and the staff of the Youth Center was cautious about making claims regarding treatment or rehabilitative capability. Many staff members stated very definitely "We are not a treatment center," and as they made this statement gave the impression that this belief had been carefully inculcated during the agency's years of operation as a JINS Shelter.

It was through consideration of case studies that the Working Group came to admit what they already knew, but were reluctant to acknowledge as treatment, namely that they were making significant impacts on the young people who were in their care. The case of Ronald is described below because it suggests that whether it is called treatment, rehabilitation, midwifery or accelerated maturation, Ronald received a great deal of help and underwent considerable changes during his time with the Center.

Ronald was selected for closer study because Ronald had frequently been referred to as one of the most difficult and trying recent residents at the Center, and some regarded him as one of the most difficult of the several thousand cases the Center had handled since it had been established as a JINS Shelter eight years earlier. It was possible to gain from Ronald's case an impression of the range of problems

with which the Center must cope and the versatility and patience needed from the staff. It was also possible to generalize from the case of Ronald that if the Bradley program were able to respond effectively to Ronald's needs, then it was highly likely to be able to respond effectively to almost all youths admitted to the Center.

In addition, it is useful as an illustration of a point not often realized by well intentioned liberal reformers, but which is widely accepted by experienced practitioners in juvenile justice and child care, namely, that status offenders by and large are more difficult to handle than youths who have committed criminal offences. Although Ronald had committed criminal offences, these were relatively minor. The reason for his admission to the Youth Center was the constant conflict in which he and his parents were engaged.

Ronald was admitted to the Youth Center at the age of 16½ years following a four day stay in remand in the Juvenile Detention Center after having stolen a moped and taken the family car without permission. Following the commission of these acts, Ronald had been afraid to return home and had stayed at a friend's house for three days. The Township Police Department had lodged a juvenile delinquency complaint against Ronald for stealing the moped. Ronald had previously been admitted to the Center on complaints signed by his parents for disobeying household rules, showing no respect for parental authority, and breaking curfew.

Ronald and his family had had long-standing conflicts about authority and rules. A central feature of the conflict was Ronald's encopresis, which had been present from the age of 2 years, and which persisted during his placement at the Youth Center. He seemed to use his encopresis as a weapon with which to annoy his parents, particularly his mother, simultaneously denying, minimizing or distancing himself from the problem by leaving his foul smelling, fecally-full underpants and trousers all over the house, even hiding them in obscure places. According to his parents, "it stank everywhere."

For years his parents had sought assistance for Ronald at various agencies, and from physicians, psychiatrists and psychologists, including an abortive attempt at inpatient psychiatric hospital care about a year before his admission to the Youth Center. Ronald was discharged from that program because of his refusal to co-operate. His parents felt that none of these attempts had helped Ronald. Therapists who had attempted to help Ronald were similarly pessimistic, believing that although the family ostensibly sought help, they simultaneously sabotaged it thus proving that Ronald was beyond help. One psychiatrist reported that

It seems pointless to recommend additional "therapy" directed at this soiling problem until such time as he shows stronger motivation for dealing with it. He has had a good deal of such treatment in the past to little effect.

Ronald had a difficult time adjusting to living in the Youth Center. At the beginning of his stay he demanded constant attention from the staff with child-like tantrums and refusal to attend classes, and made no apparent efforts to control his bowel problem. He blamed others when he was uncooperative and failed to cope with the routine of the Center. He had a short attention span, seemed rarely able to concentrate and was as impulsive as a four year old. With this inauspicious beginning, and his history of family conflict and failure in other treatment settings, Ronald did not present a promising prospect for a successful outcome.

The Administrators of the Youth Center recognised these difficulties and therefore encouraged staff at all levels to regard Ronald as a particular challenge to their skills and ingenuity. They also emphasised the necessity for team work and clear communication at all levels with Ronald and his family.

Immediately after Ronald's admission to the Center, his parents called the Center frequently, expecting the Center to meet their requests for leave passes and visits, regardless of the Center's rules which had been explained to them. When Center staff members adhered to the rules, Ronald's parents were alternately importunate, hostile, threatening and manipulative. At the same time they were inconsistent in their attitude to Ronald, giving him very mixed messages about how much he was wanted and not wanted at home.

The Center responded with tight adherence to rules for both Ronald and his parents. Ronald was also given generous praise and encouragement by staff to reinforce any positive conduct, while at the same time staff were very firm and consistent in insisting that Ronald take responsibility for his own behaviour. They strenuously resisted being provoked into displaying anger at Ronald's behaviour, and dealt with him in a calm matter-of-fact manner at all times. Family counselling was arranged for his parents at the County's family counselling program.

Within eight weeks of entering the Center, Ronald was conforming to a large extent with the rules and routine, and had developed close to normal control of his bowels. He was rewarded for his efforts by receiving the standard rewards, including weekends at home, and although some of these were stormy, they were reasonably successful and the family made great strides in communicating with each other and treating Ronald with consistency.

A plan was devised in which Ronald gradually spent longer periods at home, conditional upon his complying with certain requirements both at the Center and at home. Eventually after he was discharged to his home (after eighteen weeks in the program). The staff at the Center considered that Ronald had matured enormously in his time at the Center. He had gained an almost normal level of bowel control. "accidents" had become relatively rare. He had abandoned his childish manipulative behaviour and had learned to communicate with his parents and the staff of the Center in an almost

age-appropriate manner. He was also proud of his achievements, and had developed a degree of normal reality based self-confidence which had replaced the unrealistic bravado which had been more appropriate for a child half his age. Although there was no certainty that he could avoid some degree of regression when back with his family, it was clear that he had benefited a great deal from his stay at the Youth Center.

The case study of Ronald provided valuable concrete material from which a perspective on the Youth Center's capacity to help very disturbed adolescents could be gained. This perspective was of central importance during the Working Group's deliberations about whether the agency's philosophy should be re-worded, and if so how; and at the core of these deliberations, what should be said about the sensitive issue of 'treatment'?

In addition, Ronald's case and the other cases considered by the Working Group and the Consultant illuminated other issues and gave support to the likely existence of a number of trends which had been inferred from interview data. Although few inferences could be drawn from the quantitative data obtained from the agency's records, such inferences as were drawn were supported by the case study data. In summary, consideration by the Working Group of the case study data clarified many issues and increased confidence in the accuracy of data collected by other methods, as will be shown in the next chapter.

This chapter has described the process of data gathering in a way that suggests that it was a more orderly process than in fact it was. The interviewing, quantitative data gathering, assembling of case studies, summarizing of data, its interpretation by the Working Group, and the making of formative decisions to develop the program, had to be done when it could be done. This meant that the Consultant had to fit the process to time periods available to respondents, setting up appointments with respondents who were ultimately unable to keep them, beginning to collect data by one method, encountering an obstacle and having to back-track and revert to one of the other methods, holding meetings with a Working Group often preoccupied with urgent day-to-day concerns, and so on. The fundamental principal of Patton's strategy which required the Consultant to give primacy to the concerns of the agency's decision-makers allows the Consultant to have no control, and only limited influence over the direction the processes take. He is obliged to go with the flow of decision makers' concerns, which in this project changed in both priority and character over the period in which the study was carried out. Although the Consultant was originally armed with a set of concerns agreed upon by the task group, the strategy allowed both decision makers and other respondents considerable leeway in which to express other concerns and opinions. The result was

a wealth of data, but data on which it was difficult to re-impose structure.

The main focus of this chapter has been on process. Such descriptions and interpretations of data as have been included are there to illustrate the interactions between the Consultant and the Working Group and to show how they used the data together in the evaluation process. The next chapter considers how the data were interpreted by the Working Group, particularly in relation to the future development of the program.

CHAPTER FIVE  
UTILIZATION OF FINDINGS  
AND  
EVALUATING THE EVALUATION

In this chapter, the findings of the project and the way in which they were utilized is summarized, and the implications of the findings, and the project itself, for the county youth services network and for the development of juvenile justice generally, are considered. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the utilization-focused evaluation strategy in terms of its value for both this project and for other projects of a similar nature.

Findings, Implications and Utilization

The process followed in the two previous chapters yielded a vast quantity of data, and in order to keep the volume of material fed back to the Working Group within manageable limits, it was necessary to be very selective about what was included. The criterion used to make selections was usefulness. If information seemed as if it might be useful to decision makers in developing the Youth Center, it was included; if it did not, it was excluded.

Selected data were fed back to the Working Group at a series of weekly meetings, and to individual members of the Working Group on an ad hoc basis. The exchanges with individual members usually occurred when the Consultant sought clarification or interpretation of data he was eliciting, but did not fully understand. These were very informal exchanges which helped keep the Consultant and the Working Group members informed and also kept a degree of momentum going in the evaluation process between the scheduled meetings. These two forms of data feedback and interpretation processed a vast quantity of data: for the sake of brevity, only those findings which had greatest impact or which best illustrate the overall character of the findings, and the ways in which they are interpreted and used, will be included here.

In the previous chapter it was explained that data were summarized under theme headings prior to being fed back to the Working Group. The findings, their interpretation, and their utilization, will be summarized below under these theme headings.

Bradley - General Impressions of External Users

One of the major concerns of the Director had been the morale of staff at the Bradley Youth Center, and a central component of that concern was that the staff were feeling that they were little valued in the county youth services system. Interviews with external users of the Center, all individuals located in the service system which interacted most frequently with the Youth Center, yielded responses which strongly contradicted the Youth Center Staff members' view that they and the Center were not valued.

External users (Social Workers, Police, Judges) were unanimously positive in their general view of the Center. They regarded the program as a vital one on which much of the rest of the youth services and juvenile justice system in Devon depended. No external user voiced any criticism of the program, and all strongly disagreed when the Consultant raised with them the possibility that the County Youth Services network could do without it.

One respondent did state that the program was possibly overused and that not all placements at Bradley were strictly necessary. She recalled that

when she was working in another county which had a far smaller shelter, field workers were obliged to be more enterprising and to make greater efforts to find alternative out-of-home placements for youths in a juvenile-family crisis. In her view, field workers in Devon County are somewhat 'spoiled' by the capacity of Bradley and by the readiness of the administration to try to accommodate field workers' requests for placements.

#### Quality of Service

The quality of services provided were also unanimously regarded positively by the external users of the service. Terms such as "caring," "accepting," "supportive," "down to earth," "sensible" were frequently used by respondents when they reported their perceptions of social workers and child care staff at the Center. The Youth Center staff were also described as diligent advocates on behalf of residents. DYFS workers, for example, acknowledge that the pressure they felt from Bradley staff helped to ensure that the assessment and out-of-home placement processes were somewhat less protracted than they might otherwise be.

### Residents' Perspectives

The literature of juvenile justice and institutional child care abounds with accounts of repressive regimes, insensitive staff and the bitter experiences of inmates. Positive assessments of programs come mainly from their designers and administrators. In this project, residents of the Youth Center interviewed were generally positive about the Center and the staff. While they had quite a few predictable complaints about rules, restrictions, and the food, they acknowledged that the staff members were generally caring and willing to listen to them and to help them. They each also acknowledged that for them individually, their placement at the Center was necessary, appropriate, and useful to them.

Each of the respondents acknowledged that the conflict with his parents was such that he needed to be out of home, but had nowhere else to go. The Youth Center met pressing needs for shelter and care, and was accepted as a temporary solution.

Longer term residents, however, were strongly critical of the Center because of the boredom which they claimed to have suffered. One such resident stated that he had in fact preferred the period he had

spent in the Detention Center to Bradley because at the Detention Center there was more to do, such as weight training and woodshop. Boredom was the most frequently voiced complaint among all residents. They also had complaints about the points system and the restrictions imposed by the Center. (These will be considered later under those specific theme headings.) On the other hand, residents were enthusiastic about some of the attempts to enrich the program. Among those specifically mentioned were a 'disco-cising' exercise program on the girls' floor and a course of instruction provided by one child care worker to teach and motivate residents to adopt healthier diet habits, and to prepare attractive meals while preserving their nutritional value.

These generally positive comments were received with equanimity by the Working Group. They accepted that it was probably true that the Center was regarded by external users and residents as necessary and that the staff provided the service in a caring way, but this kind of positive regard did not seem to meet the unsatisfied needs which were at the heart of the morale problem. It was when they were interpreting the data elicited from the Center's own staff that

they seemed to be grappling with the issues which were troubling both the Working Group members and other members of the Youth Center's staff.

Youth Center Staff Members' Perspectives & Morale

The administration, social workers and child care staff at the Center were all far more critical of the Center and its programs than were either the residents or the external users of the program. Overall, however, they were more positive than negative, and it was clear they considered that they were providing a valuable, if not a sufficiently valued, service. It was their concerns about not being valued which seemed to be at the heart of the morale problem and which elicited the greatest response from the Working Group.

Several staff contended that the Youth Center was undervalued by the rest of the service system, and there was a feeling that the views of Administrators and staff were not being sought, let alone taken into account, in many of the discussions on how various procedures should be adapted to implement the new Juvenile Code, even though many of these matters directly affected the Center. In addition, the Bradley Youth Center staff perceived the Center as

being cast in a negative role by external users, including parents. Many parents saw it as a punitive institution, the use of which was being invoked in order to teach their child 'a lesson', and to thereby enforce parental authority. (They were often, in fact, disappointed and angry when they discovered that this was not the case.) Similarly, staff felt that Bradley was being presented to parents and youths as the only facility remaining when nothing could be done in a juvenile-family conflict.

This latter impression was of concern to the Working Group because it suggested that Bradley served no positive function, but was either neutral in the sense of being "only a holding center," or that it was a negative punitive experience. Staff at all levels (including the administration) felt that there was little or no appreciation by users or parents of the many positives which the agency provided to residents.

They see us as the bottom of the barrel, the end of the road, the scrap heap, where you dump your kid when you've tried everything and nothing works.

Staff particularly resented this perception of the Center at a time when, as mentioned in the previous chapter, they were feeling pressured and frustrated in

handling an increased and increasing proportion of long term residents. Their perception was that on one hand they were seen by others as mere "baby sitters" or custodial workers at a "holding center", and yet on the other, they have the task of managing on a long term basis youths whose behavior is so difficult, or whose circumstances are so problematic, that no appropriate placement can be found for them for many months.

Another issue was also affecting their morale. This was the bread and butter issue of salary scales. Every child care worker interviewed mentioned that a major source of dissatisfaction was the low rate of payment. Most regarded the salaries as being at best 'a bad joke'. They pointed out that the hours they worked were incompatible with family and social life, and there were many pressures, and occasionally dangers, inherent in the exhausting job. Some said that it was necessary for them to have a second job because the salary was too low to live on, but working another job meant that they were less energetic and alert than they needed to be to do the work at the Youth Center as well as it should be done.

They also saw themselves as grossly underpaid compared with other occupations.

We are often seen as correctional officers and the Youth Center is seen as a temporary custody service. But New York City is advertising for correctional officers and is paying them a starting salary of \$21,000. We start at \$11,000. In corrections they have a tight routine, strict security, isolation cells and the whole works for maintaining control. But we are an open center and kids can walk out of here any time and we can't physically prevent them. All we've got is our wits and our tongues and we're working with kids who are often a lot bigger than you or me; and they are kids who have been manipulating their parents or their parents have been manipulating them by flying into a rage to get their own way. We have to keep them under control, while at the same time being mother, father and Dutch uncle as well.

Members of the Working Group who were also members of the Administration of the Center regarded the issue of salary as posing a problem for them too, particularly in relation to implementing plans to redevelop some aspects of the program and to add some additional components to it. They anticipated that staff who felt very strongly about the pay issue (and there were many who expressed such strong feelings) might be resistant to plans for innovation and change. Administrators were concerned that staff could be inclined to adopt a line such as, "How can you expect us to do more when we are paid so little for what we already do?"

A final comment on morale derives from the Consultant's observations while he was in effect a participant observer at the Center. During a strike of County employees which occurred while he was at Bradley, he noted that although the direct service providing staff of many county services, including all of the staff of the County Juvenile Detention Center, struck, only one member of the Youth Center's staff went out on strike. This suggested that, despite their grievances, the level of loyalty and commitment of Bradley staff is remarkably high.

#### The Response of the Working Group

The Working Group was disinclined to come to grips with the pay issue. While they regarded it as very important to the morale of the staff of the Center, they also regarded it as a very long standing problem which had been addressed on several previous occasions without success. In addition, a pay claim is currently being negotiated. For that reason, the Working Group decided not to pursue the matter at the time of this project. Instead they focused on the data relating to staff concern about being undervalued by the rest of the service system and on the negative perception of the Center as a kind of dumping ground by external users

and parents. They saw this as a problem on which they might "more quickly" have some impact.

After some deliberation, the Working Group and the Consultant concluded that there was a link between these two problems and a third issue which was briefly outlined in the previous chapter; namely, the long-standing reluctance of the Center to regard its work with residents as treatment or rehabilitation. By not referring to their work as treatment or rehabilitation, the Center may have contributed to outsiders' impressions that the Center was in fact no more than a custodial center where juveniles were held until more permanent alternative arrangements could be made for them. When it was asked what had been done recently to communicate an accurate positive picture of the work being done with residents at the Center, the Working Group was unable to identify any actions of this nature. From this, the Working Group concluded that the Center may have been contributing to its own neglect and negative image by its tendency to play down its treatment/rehabilitative role. Similarly, it may have contributed to its being insufficiently consulted in the deliberations on how the service system would have to adapt to the demands of the new

juvenile code. The members of the Working Group, who were also members of the Administration of the Youth Center, were unable to indicate any formal or informal steps that had been taken to make the Center's views known. The essence of the Working Group's interpretation of the data was that the administration of the Youth Center had been too passive, too neutral, and too cautious in presenting the Center to the rest of the service system. They had hidden their light under a bushel, and were wondering why no one was appreciating it or regarding it as being of sufficient importance to be automatically included in the major deliberations about the adaptation of the county-wide service system to the requirements of the new Juvenile Code.

Another possible interpretation which the Consultant suggested to the Working Group was that at the time of its establishment as a JINS Shelter, the Bradley Youth Center did not give any attention to projecting an image or 'marketing' its services. The laws requiring the clear separation of status offenders from youths who had committed crimes, and the subsequent development of the distinct legal categories of JINS and Juvenile Delinquents, and the establishment of JINS Shelters, formed the avant guard centerpiece of

the 1974 Juvenile Code. The JINS Shelter was considered at that time to represent progressive thinking and its role in the Youth Services System was probably taken for granted to be so positive that marketing was largely unnecessary. What might have been a contributing cause of the staff's distress was that the spotlight had moved, and that the Crisis Intervention Service now represented what was new and progressive. The shelter was no longer the 'latest and greatest,' and while in practical terms it had clearly become essential to the county service network, no one seemed excited about it. Rather, it was now taken for granted.

The Working Group agreed that the present malaise was probably a result of some combination of factors of this kind, and decided that, regardless of the reasons for its neglect, they should now take active steps to reestablish a positive image. The Group considered that the Center could be accurately presented in very positive terms as a facility with the structure, comprehensive staffing configuration, intensity of supervision and support, and the flexibility and adaptability to cope with a diverse range of residents and a diverse range of needs.

Instead of being presented negatively as the only place left when family counselling and crisis intervention efforts have failed, it could be presented positively as the program most suitable, given the prevailing circumstance of both the juvenile and his family, because it could provide the range and intensity of services which were needed at that time. The Center's role could be interpreted to families as being analogous to the services provided by an acute care hospital when local outpatient care is insufficient.

The Consultant and the Youth Center's Clinical Supervisor (also a member of the Working Group) carried out an analysis of the process by which the youths came into the Youth Center so that they might locate key points in the process where it might be possible to give parents, Crisis Intervention Service, and D.Y.F.S. workers more accurate and more positive information about the Center. At the same time, the information needs of the Center could be made clear, as could the expectations the Center had of its users. (The staff at the Center also resented the tendency of external users to sometimes "dump" youths at the Center without leaving adequate information on the background and

precipitating circumstances of the need for the youth's admission.)

The findings of this analysis were utilized by the Clinical Supervisor and shared with the Working Group in a newly drafted program outline for the Youth Center. At several points this outline exploits opportunities to present the program in positive terms to parents and to the workers of the various agencies with which the Youth Center interacts. The Working Group is currently in the process of refining both this outline and a revised statement of philosophy. (The reasons for the latter are discussed below.) The Working Group also arranged to meet with Crisis Intervention Service workers to outline the Bradley program, and facilitate communication and cooperation.

#### The Changed and Changing Role of the Youth Center

Some of the data collected and summarized under this theme heading has been mentioned in the previous chapter in order to illustrate the way in which data was fed back to and interpreted by the Working Group. It will be mentioned again here because this highlighted how the Youth Center was gradually shifting from the original JINS Shelter role to a newer and much more complex role.

Since its establishment as a JINS Shelter, Bradley had consistently and correctly emphasized that it was not a treatment center, but had been established to provide short-term accommodation and support. This mission had been emphasized to staff and to most workers working in services and facilities which interacted with it.

During interviews with Youth Center staff, the Consultant was frequently told "we are not a treatment center....we only provide temporary Shelter care." The staff member would then go on to explain how difficult it was to work with youths for several months with no clear indication of where the youth would eventually be placed. They also spoke of the difficulty of modifying problem behavior and of the difficulty of keeping youths occupied with various time-killing activities. It seemed that over a period of time 'temporary' care at Bradley had become less often temporary and more frequently intermediate or long term care lasting several months. This trend became more pronounced with the establishment of Crisis Intervention Service on a pilot basis; and after January 1, 1984 and the implementation of the new Juvenile Code, the trend had become even more pronounced.

It seemed that Crisis Intervention Service was being effective in diverting the youth involved in relatively less serious juvenile-family crises, while youths involved in the most complex and intractable situations were still being admitted to the Youth Center.

The consequence for the Youth Center was an increase in the proportion of youths with more severe emotional disturbance and/or more acute or chronic family conflict. They needed to be sheltered for several months because the chances of them returning home were slight and because they were very difficult to place. Therefore, turnover of youths became slower, and many youths began to remain longer at Bradley.

This changed the emphasis of the Youth Center. Despite the officially stated mission of the Center as being to provide only temporary shelter, the staff had become de facto intermediate to long-term care providers, and inevitably they had also become de facto treatment agents rather than temporary care providers, as they had been in the past.

Clearly, Bradley had moved from being predominantly a temporary care shelter to become a facility which was also an assessment center, an

intermediate care provider, and in some cases a long term care provider. In addition, the working group recognized that the Center was dealing with a greater proportion of depressed and angry youths than in the past. In fact, the youths had much to be depressed and angry about because it was apparent that most of them could not go home, and equally apparent that there were very few facilities which were prepared to take them. These youths were not only depressed, angry, and in a generally confused emotional state as a result of family conflict or other emotionally damaging circumstances when they were admitted to the Center, but sometimes they tended to become more so as they experienced the frustration of protracted delays as they waited for placement. The fact that the Center was, and would continue to be, involved in providing treatment of one kind or another had become plainly evident and the working group recognized the need to reconceptualize and restate the Center's mission or philosophy. This has been done, and the Working Group has approved a first draft of a new mission statement.

A Revised Philosophy and Program

The draft statement addresses the needs of the long term, hard to place residents and includes specific reference to programming for their particular needs. It also acknowledges that the Center is inevitably engaged in a treatment and teaching role. Both the draft statement of philosophy and the draft program outline already mentioned include specific program provisions for long term residents. The core of the new program outline is a 'Placement Preparation Program' which has as its key objectives the rapid assessment of whether residents are destined for out of home placement, and if so, the planning with each of those residents of a program that will prepare them for the kind of placement for which they are destined. The plan is intended to set objectives in both the areas of interpersonal and practical skills, as well as any other area in which the resident seems ill-equipped to cope with the setting to which it is most likely he or she will go. If a resident seems likely to return home, a similar plan will be drawn up, covering the areas needing attention so as to enhance the likelihood of a successful reunion with his family.

The Working Group did, however, recognize that there was a danger in the new program design against which some safeguards would be needed. The danger related to what was noted in Chapter One; namely, that the overall thrust of recent policy development in juvenile justice has been to do less rather than more for adolescents in trouble. Policies of deinstitutionalization, diversion and decriminalization have been intended to ensure that fewer juveniles come to the attention of the courts, and that they be processed only if this cannot or ought not be avoided. Shur's injunction was to "leave kids alone wherever possible," (1973:155), and the new New Jersey Juvenile Code emphasized that it intended "To separate juveniles from the family only when necessary..." (1982:2). The Working Group decided that it would therefore be important to ensure that the new program had built into it some review mechanisms so that the program did not become an end in itself. The circumstances of residents and their families are therefore to be reviewed at key points in the process to ascertain whether it might be possible for the resident to go home rather than remain in the program.

The Protracted Assessment and Placement Process

In a similar vein, the Working Group accepted the need to develop the program to provide more effectively for long term residents, but at the same time, it determined that strenuous efforts should be made to ensure that the trend towards growing numbers of residents remaining long-term in the Center should be halted, or if possible, reversed by other means in addition to the review mechanisms discussed above. The Working Group identified the protracted assessment processes and the insufficiency of suitable long term residential facilities as the two main areas on which such efforts should be concentrated. However, these areas went beyond the immediate preserve of the Youth Center and involved both the wider county youth services and juvenile justice network, and the state authority D.Y.F.S. It was therefore decided that the appropriate forum in which to develop an approach to these issues was the original Task Group.

Fortuitously for the Task Group, the original member who had been transferred to another location eighty miles away (see Chapter Four) was subsequently promoted to a higher level in D.Y.F.S. His new area

of responsibility included Devon County and an adjoining county. He not only agreed to rejoin the Task Group, but by virtue of his new position, brought with him considerably more power and influence over D.Y.F.S. service provision, planning, and procedures, than he had previously possessed.

At the last meeting of the Task Group which the Consultant attended before terminating this consultancy (August 9, 1984), he pointed out that many of the initiatives which had been taken to change the program and aspects of its environment were no more than the beginning of lengthy processes, and he expressed the hope that both the Task Group and Working Group would continue to operate and provide support and an external sounding board for the administration of the Youth Center. Both the Task Group and the Working Group resolved to continue, and also agreed to give high priority to the two issues mentioned above -- the overhaul of the assessment process, and a review of the availability and suitability of the long term placement options available to the more difficult-to-place residents from the Youth Center. The Task Group member from D.Y.F.S. also undertook to explore various designs for a placement team or committee approach to

placement which could possibly replace the present slow system.

Another related development which may have been influenced by this utilization-focused evaluation strategy followed the Consultant's interview with the presiding judge of the Family Court in Devon County -- one of the 'External Users' of the Youth Center. The judge expressed considerable frustration at the time taken for the assessment and placement of youths needing long term residential care, and was equally frustrated by insufficiency of suitable long term residential facilities capable of managing the more difficult youths who came before the court. The Consultant shared with the judge some of the general directions and trends indicated by the data from the evaluation, many of which corroborated the impressions the judge had been forming since his appointment to the Family Court bench in January of 1984. Since that conversation, the judge had been maintaining pressure on D.Y.F.S. staff to expedite assessment and to obtain suitable placements for youths needing residential care, but more significantly, the judge recognized that it is beyond the power of these workers to produce placement

options which do not exist, or to streamline processes to which their Department requires them to adhere. He has now subpoenaed the Director of the State's Division of Youth and Family Services to appear before him (on August 17, 1984) to state why certain needed facilities have not been available to youths in need of residential placement. He has also invited representatives of the county and statewide news media. While it is certainly not possible to regard the judge's actions solely as a direct result of this evaluation process, it is quite possible that the corroboration provided by the evaluation data may have increased the judge's confidence in his own assessments of the placement problems enough for him to undertake such a confrontation.

#### Staff Participation in Program Development

In Chapter Two, the importance was noted of management harnessing the social forces within an organization to shape and guide values and to develop among employees a strong sense of commitment to the organization. It was also noted that commitment to values and a sense of purpose which were no longer appropriate to the environment in which they

operated could be damaging to an organization. The evaluation data in this study indicated there was generally a strong sense of loyalty and commitment among the staff members of the Youth Center, but, as has already been noted, there was also a degree of confusion and frustration resulting from a gradual divergence of the day-to-day practice and problems of the Center from the official purpose and values which had become deeply etched in the agency's ethos. The Working Group had recognized the need to reduce confusion by developing and inculcating a modified philosophy and statement of purpose, but it realized that it would also be of great importance to maintain the staff's strong commitment to the agency's core values.

Some of the confusion and frustration expressed by staff seemed to the Consultant to be attributable in part to them being unaccustomed to contributing to policy formation. They seemed unused to making suggestions for policy modification based on the day-to-day realities and frustrations which they experienced. Given this observation, and influenced by the theme of paying attention to employees and

taking pains to shape their values (which was noted in Chapter Two when reviewing the work of Mayo and Bernard<sup>a</sup> and others of the "human relations school"), it was considered by the Consultant to be important to involve the staff at all levels as early as practicable in the development of the modified program. Such an approach would have the potential to guide the staff's adaptation to the shifts in philosophy and practice as they struggled with the operationalizing of the program. Closer collaboration between lower level staff and the administration seemed also to have benefits for administration, in that staff members working at the face-to-face direct service level with clients had the potential to serve as antennae feeding back information which could help management avoid the kind of divergence between practice and official philosophy which had begun to occur at the Youth Center.

The Consultant outlined these concepts and discussed the relevance of the various inferences from the data. The Working Group came to similar conclusions about the early involvement of staff in developing a modified program, and the Clinical Supervisor of the Center (a member of the Working Group)

began working on the program outline and the operationalization of the outline with Social Workers and the Senior Child Care Workers. The latter group has also begun interpreting the modifications to each of their staff teams. The Working Group also intended that this approach lead to the development of the very practical 'loosely coupled, self designing systems' (Peters and Waterman 1981, Weick 1976, 1977) considered in Chapter Two.

#### Interpretation and Utilization of Quantitative Data

As outlined in Chapter Four, some confirmation of the trends and changes perceived by those interviewed was sought from quantitative data obtained from the agency's records. It was noted when the process was discussed in the previous chapter that this was not a particularly rewarding exercise because of a lack of confidence in the accuracy of the data. The data shown in the tables in this section were regarded by the Working Group as probably being accurate, but for the reasons stated in Chapter Four, some lingering doubts remain. However, in Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy, the prevailing criterion which determines the value of evaluation data is utilization; and in the case of the quantitative data

obtained from the agency's records, the Working Group and the Task Group both had sufficient confidence in the data to regard it as providing, if not absolute confirmation, at least strong support for the kinds of changes the respondents to the interviews believed they had perceived. On this basis, they were prepared to make major changes to the Youth Center's program. In terms of Patton's criterion, the data therefore can be regarded as quite valuable.

The data obtained from the Youth Center's records is summarized in Tables 1-4. The Working Group's interpretations of the meaning and importance of the data are summarized below.

Inspection of Table 1 showed that while there had been a higher percentage of girls than boys admitted to the Center in 1982, the opposite was true in 1983 and for the first five months of 1984. The Working Group did not place much importance on this finding because data was available only for the first five months of 1984, and the group thought it quite possible that the trend shown for 1983 and January-May 1984 might not be sustained. However, if it were sustained it might indicate that families are more prepared to keep trying to resolve family

TABLE I  
 ADMISSIONS TO BRADLEY YOUTH CENTER  
 1982 - 1984

	1982		1983		1984 *	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Males	325	44.77	184	53.96	45	52.94
Females	401	55.23	157	46.04	40	47.06
Total	726	100.00	341	100.00	85	100.00

Compiled from official daily census records at  
 Bradley Youth Center

\* Jan. - May only

TABLE 2  
 ADMISSIONS TO BRADLEY YOUTH CENTER  
 SHOWN BY MEAN RATE OF ADMISSIONS PER MONTH 1982-84

	1982		1983		1984 *	
	#	Rate per month	#	Rate per month	#	Rate per month
Males	325	27.08	184	15.33	45	9
Females	401	33.42	157	13.08	40	8
Total	726	60.50	341	28.41	85	17

Compiled from official daily census records at  
 Bradley Youth Center

\* Jan. - May only

conflict with their female children with the support of the Crisis Intervention Service, or other services to which they have been referred by C.I.S., than they are with their male children. The Working Group did not regard the data as suggesting anything which would require an active response on their part, but decided to continue to monitor the data to see whether the apparent trend was sustained.

Table 2 shows the same data in terms of the rate at which youths were admitted to the Youth Center. The significance of the data was quite plain. The rate at which youth were admitted during 1983 was roughly half that of 1982, and the rate of the period January-May 1984 was roughly one third of the 1982 rate. The Working Group inferred from this that during 1983 the Crisis Intervention Service had been effective in handling many cases of juvenile-family conflict which in the past would probably have resulted in the juveniles concerned being admitted to the Center. The further reduction in rate during January-May 1984, that is, since the role of the C.I.S. had been mandated by the formal implementation of the new Juvenile Code, showed the increased importance of the

C.I.S. The Working Group also interpreted the data as showing that one of the goals of the new Juvenile Code -- the prevention of unnecessary admissions -- seemed so far to be being achieved. They also interpreted the data as reflecting a trend which they had inferred from their own observations of youths at the Center; namely, the much less frequent admission of youths to the Center following what they (the Working Group members) regarded as irresponsible and frivolous petitions made by parents to handle disciplinary problems which in the opinion of the Working Group members, parents ought to have handled themselves. As the police officer or the Task Group observed:

The old laws were being so grossly abused by some parents that getting their teenage kids sent to Bradley had become the equivalent of sending their younger kids to their bedroom.

The Working Group and Task Group members considered that the overall effect of keeping children with their families and out of the Center, except when it was very clearly necessary to admit them, would be that fewer juveniles would be admitted to the Center, and that those admitted would be much more likely to be in need of a great deal of assistance. This would result in slower turnover, with fewer youths returning

home and a proportionately greater number remaining at the Center for lengthy periods awaiting difficult to obtain out-of-home residential placements capable of meeting their complex needs. In short, the Working Group and Task Group interpreted the data as supporting the observations made by the staff members who had been interviewed by the Consultant. The Working Group and Task Group, however, were both cautious about the data because data for only the first five months of 1984 was available at that time. They speculated that the reduction in the number of youths being admitted was due to the operations of the Crisis Intervention Service whose function was now both mandated by laws and fully operational. There remained, however, the possibility that some of the potential admissions to the Youth Center which had been made unnecessary by the intervention of C.I.S. might again become potential admissions because the underlying problems might not have been permanently resolved, but might re-erupt. These later eruptions might not necessarily be containable by the interventions of C.I.S. In summary, they (the Working Group and the Task Group) anticipated that the interventions of C.I.S. would

provide permanent solutions to the juvenile-family conflict in some cases, but temporary solutions in others. In these latter cases, the necessity to admit the youth to the Youth Center might be averted initially, but a subsequent family crisis which C.I.S. could not resolve might require the admission of the youth concerned. Thus, the reduction in the rate of admissions to the Youth Center achieved for the first five months of 1984 might not be sustained. The Working Group anticipated that breakdowns in the later months of 1984 of some of the temporary solutions achieved by the C.I.S. in the early months of 1984 would probably mean that the rate of admission to the Youth Center would rise again towards the end of 1984, but probably not to the level of the 1983 rate.

The data in Table 3 also gave strong support to the views expressed by Youth Center staff members interviewed. One had commented that:

We seem to be getting far fewer black kids in here since the new laws came in January. I don't know why that is.

Others had made similar observations. The Working Group interpreted this as indicating that black families might have more opportunities to resolve

TABLE 3

BRADLEY YOUTH CENTER

RACE OF JUVENILES ADMITTED 1982 - 1984

	1982		1983		1984 *	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Black	319	43.94	114	33.43	25	29.41
White	390	53.72	219	64.22	55	64.71
Hispanic	15	2.07	6	1.76	5	5.88
Other	2	0.27	2	0.59	0	0.00
Total	726	100.0	341	100.00	85	100.00

Compiled from official daily census records at  
Bradley Youth Center

\* Jan. - May only

juvenile-family crises by arranging placement of their children with other members of their extended families or with friends. Working Group members stated their observations were that black families experiencing a juvenile-family crisis were more often interacting with an extensive family and kinship network than were their white counterparts. Isolation from such networks appeared to be a very common characteristic of the families of many of the white children resident in the Center.

This matter was followed up by the Consultant in a discussion with the Administrator of the Crisis Intervention Service, who stated that his field workers had also reported that black families were much more inclined to resolve a juvenile-family crisis by arranging the placement of the juvenile with relatives or friends than were white families with similar problems. He also made the observation that the parents of white children in a juvenile-family crisis were often isolated from family and kinship groups and that his impression was that isolation was often a significant factor in the overall juvenile-family crisis.

The Working Group and Task Group interpreted these findings as indicating that C.I.S. was developing in the way intended by the new Juvenile Code, but did not interpret the findings as implying that any particular action should be taken in the Youth Center. The findings and the various speculations about their meaning have been included here, despite the fact that they did not meet the usefulness criterion, because of their general interest, and because the literature is replete with instances of black offenders and black children being lesser beneficiaries than the white majority of various justice, correctional and social policies and practices. An instance of a policy development which seems to be of particular benefit to black youth is therefore noteworthy.

As indicated in the previous chapter, Table 4 was compiled in order to compare the length of stay of residents in each of the years 1982 and 1983 and for January to May 1984. The data from Table 4 was then charted to form Figure 1. The Working Group was able to interpret the various patterns representing each of the years concerned, and distinguish between the effects of local policies of the various presiding judges and the effects of the County Department of

**TABLE 4**  
**BRADLEY YOUTH CENTER**  
**PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN DISCHARGED**  
**BY NUMBER OF DAYS IN RESIDENCE AT TIME OF DISCHARGE**

Number of days in residence	1982		1983		1984 (Jan. - May)	
	Number of children in category	Percentage of all children discharged	Number of children in category	Percentage of all children discharged	Number of children in category	Percentage of all children discharged
1 day or less	20	2.75	88	25.81	21	24.71
2-5 days	123	16.94	59	17.30	8	9.41
6-10 days	130	17.91	65	19.06	13	15.29
11-15 days	135	18.60	33	9.68	6	7.06
16-30 days	134	18.45	37	10.85	22	25.88
31-60 days	122	16.80	34	9.97	5	5.88
61-90 days	54	7.44	13	3.81	5	5.88
91-120 days	6	0.83	3	0.88	2	2.35
More than 120 days	2	0.28	9	2.64	3	3.54
<b>Total</b>	<b>726</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>100.00</b>

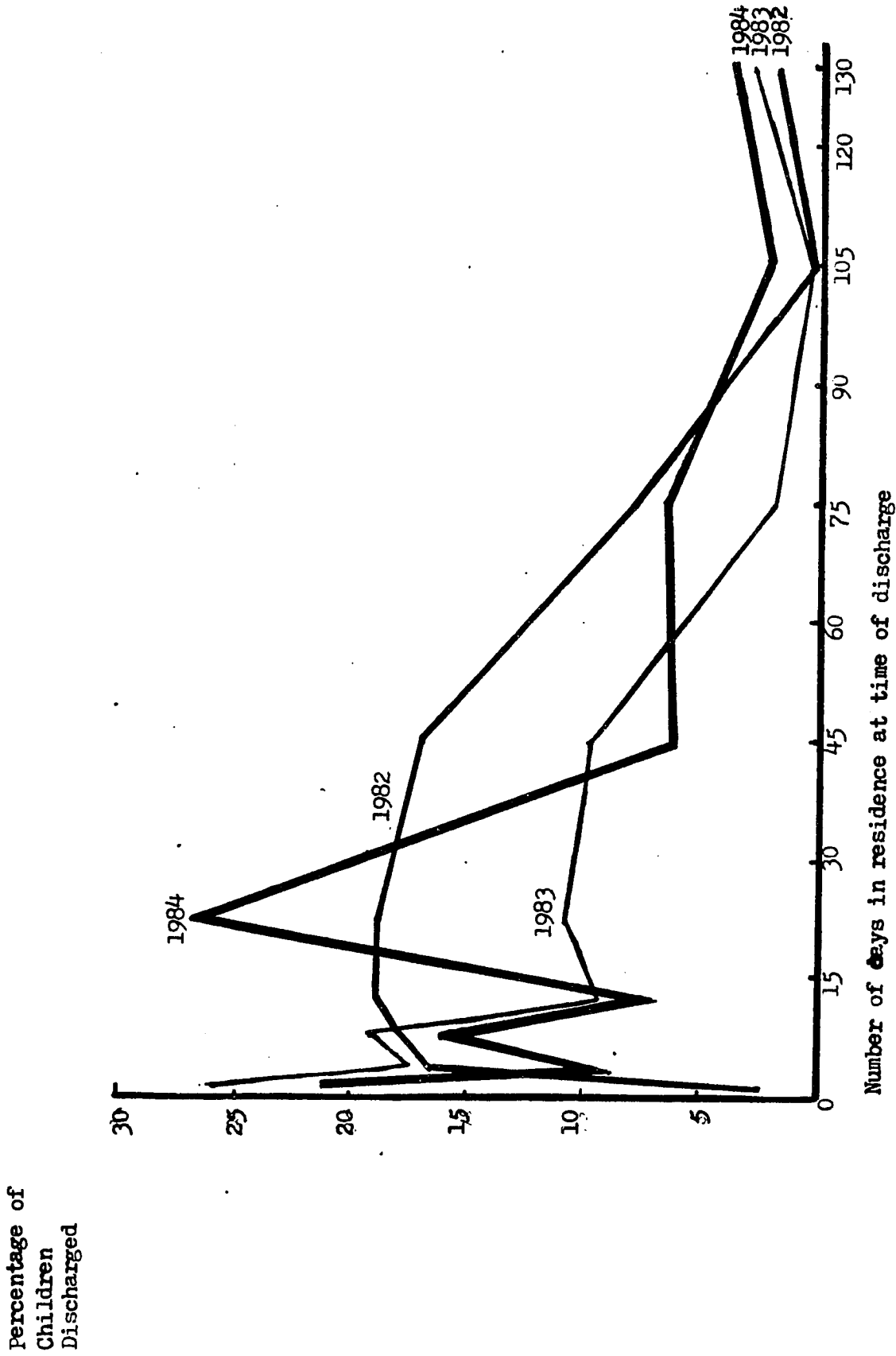


Figure 1 Bradley Youth Center: Percentage of Children Discharged by Number of Days in Residence at Time of Discharge

Youth Services' attempts to anticipate some of the requirements of the new Juvenile Code. This enabled them to readily locate points in both the legal processes and the formal psycho-social assessment processes where procedures might be modified in order to shorten these processes. At one of the Working Group meetings, the Working Group suggested to the Administrator that she meet with the Presiding Judge of the Family Court to discuss with him possible ways of shortening processes, thereby moving more youth on to long term residential placements more quickly. The subsequent meeting between the Administrator and the Presiding Judge had valuable results. They agreed upon some procedural changes which did reduce the time taken to process the cases of youths awaiting out-of-home placement, and also agreed that the Youth Center should prepare assessment reports and make recommendations to the judge as to the most appropriate placement for youths in residence. They also suggested that copies of these reports should be simultaneously sent to the psychiatrist and psychologist responsible for preparing the psychiatric and psychological assessment reports for the court.

These results of this example of data utilization were seen as valuable by the Working Group for several reasons. Firstly, reducing the time youths had to wait in the Youth Center before a placement decision was made meant it was more likely that a youth could be moved to the placement at a time when he was behaving positively, and feeling positive, rather than when he was frustrated and negative because of what seemed to him to be unwarranted and unbearable delays. Not only did the reduction in delay mean that a youth could move to a placement from a positive experience at the Youth Center, but it also meant that negative conduct and 'splitting' (and getting into more trouble) by frustrated residents could be reduced. Secondly, this example of data utilization was seen as valuable because the fact that the Youth Center had previously had no official role in the assessment process. This had been a long standing "sore point" with the administrators and staff of the Youth Center, and had contributed to their overall feeling of being undervalued. It had been particularly galling to the Youth Center people because they justifiably regarded themselves as being better located to make judgments

about a youth's behavior, strengths, and weaknesses, than was the D.Y.F.S. caseworker, the psychiatrist and psychologist who saw a youth infrequently for relatively short office interviews, while they were with him for much longer in a variety of situations. The equal participation of the Youth Center staff in the assessment process did much to reduce their feeling of being regarded as somehow inferior to other agencies.

While the data in Table 4 and Figure 1 were valuable in the way just described, the Working Group, as indicated in the previous chapter, considered that the data did not fully illustrate the situation which they perceived the Youth Center to be experiencing. Particularly, Figure 1 did not show with sufficient clarity that Bradley was having to give more attention to long term residents than had been the case in the past. To overcome this difficulty, data was collected from daily census sheets, summarized and shown as Figure 2.

Figure 2 was much more satisfactory in the view of the Working Group, as it showed graphically the changes they had felt were taking place in the composition of the residents of the Center. They

Percentage

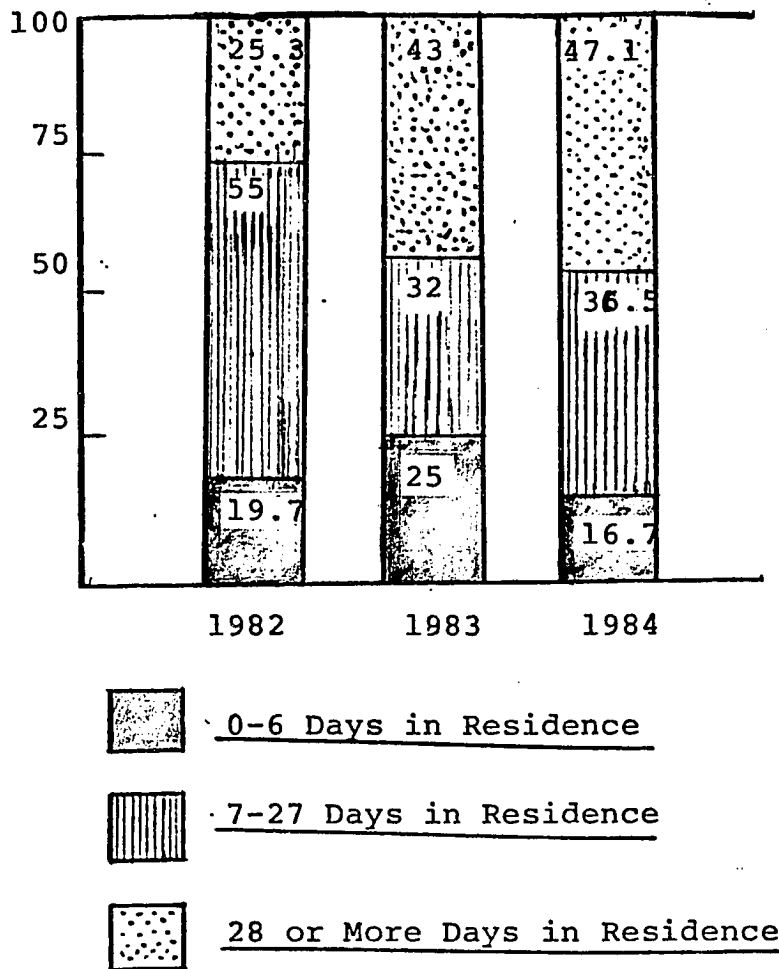


Figure 2 Relative proportion of Short-term  
Intermediate-Term, and Long-Term  
Residents in Residence

also regarded Figure 2 as giving support to their perception of a need to adapt the Youth Center's program so as to enable it to provide more effectively for long term residents with very complex situations.

Because of the limitations of the quantitative data, as discussed in Chapter Four, the Working Group did not use it to support or guide any other utilization initiatives. However, the examples just discussed show how the data was seen to provide important support to the inferences which have already been drawn from the qualitative data from the interviews. This was well illustrated in the Administrator's preparedness to initiate a meeting with the judge because she felt that the data presented in Figure 1 supported her perceptions, and helped her to share them more easily. She felt more confident of being able to gain the judge's agreement with her views than she would have been had she not been armed in this way.

One outcome of the attempt to use the Center's routinely collected data which may eventually prove to be the most valuable of all, was the realization that the Center was using part of its resources to collect

quantitative data which were not only inaccurate but which would also have been of little practical use to the Center even if they had been recorded perfectly. The Working Group is currently developing a new data collection and monitoring system which they hope will provide greater capacity to monitor day to day trends, and will also provide a better basis for longer term planning and program development.

The "Points and Levels" System and the "Goals" System

As well as illuminating broad fundamental issues such as the changing nature of the program and the problem of staff morale, much of the data obtained was useful in evaluating several of the program components. An example of this was the way data on the "points and levels" and the "goals" systems helped the Working Group to re-appraise these important program components.

The points and levels system is a central component of the program based on behavior modification principles. It is regarded by the administration as being essential to maintaining control and shaping behavior within the Center. Points are gained or lost by residents for the way in which they behave, complete chores, and comply with the various components of the

daily routine. A score card is kept by staff for each resident. According to the total number of points scored, residents enjoy privileges or have restrictions imposed. Each resident is assigned a level at the end of each week. The higher the level, the more privileges the resident is allowed in the following week. Examples of privileges are leave passes for the day or weekend, or for outings during the week (see Appendix for details). For it to work well, the points system needs to be seen by residents as necessary, appropriate, visibly fair, consistent and also important enough to be taken seriously.

During interviews it very quickly became evident that the points system was seen as very important by both residents and staff. Child care staff see it as very important because it is the main aid which they have to maintain control and shape youths' behavior. For residents it is a major preoccupation, and every resident spoke about it at length and with a great deal of feeling.

Almost all respondents perceived the system as useful. Criticisms were directed at the way it sometimes operated rather than at its elimination. Most residents

did not like the system but acknowledged that it was probably necessary to maintain order. (Despite, or perhaps because of, the disorder in their own lives, residents showed no preference for chaos. They seemed to recognize that structure and order served their interests as well as those of the staff of the Center.) Their criticisms were typically about the application of the system and about the magnitude of the penalties.

Some youths complained that certain staff members used the system to 'ride' residents they did not like.

Often points are taken for stupid petty reasons (and the system is sometimes) used by some staff to single out someone and give them a hard time....You can lose 10 points for walking out of a room you were not given permission to walk out from. Staff get on your case and they can give you a hard time for just about anything....But it is no use complaining. Irene will listen and you feel she is willing to hear your point of view, but she always backs up the staff so what's the point...."Some staff are much fairer than others. Some get very personal."

Allegations of inconsistency in the application of the points system came not only from residents. One staff member commented:

"Some staff tend to be lenient, others play it tough, others in between. I don't like to be too tough....you've got to give a kid a bit of space. I like it when a kid does something without having to be asked. I try to reward that."

Another staff member said:

I take a tough line right from the start....Most kids, about 80 percent, respond fairly quickly....there's some who don't care, and they are the ones who don't care about anything. Even some of them come around to cooperating with it (the points system) and taking it seriously when they see other kids going out on regular weekend leave. Kids test out. If you are consistent in applying it they stop testing out and start trying.

A comment made by several residents was that the number of points lost for some forms of misconduct were quite excessive relative to penalties for other forms of misconduct. Other residents suggested that wherever possible, penalties for misconduct should relate to the nature of the misconduct. "If I've been dirty or untidy, I should be given a penalty of sweeping and cleaning rather than lose my points. This way there would be a penalty, but I would still have something to lose if I still had my points." Another resident similarly suggested, "If a kid won't get up on time, then the penalty should be that he should go to bed earlier."

Overall the points system seemed well accepted in a general sense, but respondents seemed to be suggesting that it needed some modification to ensure

fairness, and close monitoring to ensure consistency of application. However, it seemed to the Consultant that the preoccupation of residents and staff with the points system may have been contributing to the neglect of the goals system.

Like the points system, the goals system is also intended to shape behavior, but it has a longer term aim; namely, to prepare a youth for future placement. All residents who have been in residence for more than 3 weeks are meant to work toward a set of individualized goals set by the youth in collaboration with staff (See Appendix C for details.) It seemed to the Consultant that the residents did not place much importance on the goals system, because despite being provided with opportunities to talk about goals and the goals system, very little comment was made about it. One astute senior member of the staff put it this way:

The points system takes away from the goals system. So much is riding on the points system that kids don't give near enough attention to the goals system.

It also seemed that base level staff gave little attention to the goals system. Although they acknowledged that it was important, very few of them commented on it, and the comments that were made

suggested little involvement with it. This contrasted sharply with their obvious involvement with the points system. The immediacy of the benefits and the penalties of the points system probably meant that it was capturing the attention of both residents and floor staff at the expense of the goals system, which was equally, if not more, important than the points system in terms of the ultimate potential benefit for the youth concerned.

The data on the points and goals systems were considered by the Working Group, which finally decided to integrate the two systems into one, and to increase the emphasis on rewarding positive behavior to overcome the perceived excessive negativity of the system. They also plan to structure the system so that working towards longer term goals will have at least some of the immediacy and importance of the current points system.

A great number of other comments which were elicited from interviewees were summarized and fed back to the Working Group. Although few of them have as yet been utilized directly in the redevelopment of the program, they were noted with interest by the Working Group and may well eventually be taken into consideration

and influence the new program. Several of these comments were listed in a progress report to the Task Group, an extract from which is appended (Appendix F), as it shows the variety and character of the suggestions made.

#### The Influence of the Case Studies on Utilization

The role of the case studies in the overall evaluation process was outlined in Chapter Four, where the case of 'Ronald' was used to illustrate how a case study influenced decision makers. In this chapter, some examples of how case study data clarified issues and increased confidence in data collected by other methods will be included.

The following example illustrates the way in which case study material was juxtaposed to data from other sources. It will be recalled that the Working Group came to the conclusion that the time spent in the Youth Center by residents awaiting difficult to obtain long term placements, should be utilized to prepare them more effectively for such placements. Consideration was given to what kinds of program components would have the impact required in the time available. The Consultant drew the Working Group's attention to the

case of 'Tony' and the benefit he had obtained from a 'guided group interaction' program at 'Greenfields', a residential program for delinquent youth where he had been placed between two periods at Bradley. The case study included several comments made by Youth Center staff about Tony's increased maturity after his stay at Greenfields, and how much more able he was to discuss future plans in a realistic manner. The Consultant had also been able to follow up and to add to case material and interview data by interviewing 17 year old Tony the day before he left Bradley for his next placement. The Consultant asked Tony what he would do to develop the program if he were in charge of Bradley. He said that he would have

....a group program like Greenfields. It really forces you to think. I'd still be stealing and lying and doing drugs if I never went to Greenfields. You have to face the truth there. The other kids and the staff won't let you get away with lying and blaming everyone else for what you did and how you got there. They know what you're doing because they used to do it themselves. You can't just bluff your way through because they know you are lying, and they can really pin you down. They force you to tell the truth and they're not satisfied till you've told it all truthfully, but once you have you find out you can really face the truth and the group helps you to face up to what you have to do.

The Working Group members were all able to recall and recognize the markedly increased maturity of Tony who had previously been notoriously immature and troublesome at the Center. The juxtaposition and corroboration of data from more than one source -- the triangulation of data -- was very persuasive. The explication of concepts or the illustration of issues by using examples from cases with which Working Group members had had direct practical experience frequently helped bring abstract discussion down to very practical considerations and weighing of possibilities:

That program certainly helped Tony.  
Would it work with other kids like that?  
How would Julie, Chris, and John respond  
to that? Could they cope with the peer  
pressure?

In another discussion on the development of the new program, consideration was given to staff training needs. Again it was possible to juxtapose data from more than one source to illuminate an issue. In the interviews conducted for the project, respondents had been asked what kind of training was needed by staff at the Youth Center. One particularly astute respondent who was a former senior staff member at Bradley, and was now an external user who was still

very familiar with the operation of the Center, made the following observation:

It seems to me that Bradley child care staff need two main kinds of training. First of all, they need on-the-job training so that they have a thorough grasp of the routine of the place and have got some grasp of the appropriate ways of relating to the kids in various circumstances. The routine is very important at Bradley. This is because of the constantly changing population with kids coming in and going out. They need to be more fixed in process to avoid chaos. Also if staff are thoroughly familiar with the routine and following it closely, there is better teamwork in the place and when there is better teamwork, the staff can be more relaxed and flexible with the kids. The kids also can settle down and be less anxious if they become familiar with a routine. So although superficially it sounds paradoxical, a fixed clear routine allows for flexibility and a more relaxed atmosphere than would be possible otherwise ...This however is not always in the best interest of the kids who have to remain at Bradley long term. While the routine of the place is helpful to short-term kids it can become maddeningly boring to long termers. It can reinforce and emphasize their feeling of being stuck at Bradley.

The other part of training should be to offset the training in the tight routine, so that the routine of the place doesn't become a be-all and end-all overwhelming thing. You have to guard against narrowness - widen staff's horizons; which means injecting all sorts of other information into them in on-going training. Some of this should be practical stuff -- de-escalation techniques to avoid blow up, crisis intervention techniques, physical restraint techniques -- things of immediate

value to them in the role as custodian and care givers. But there should be all sorts of other things to keep them looking out at the sort of world the kids are going to have to make their way in. Part of this should include family theory, family dynamics, family therapy. There's a tendency for people working in a setting like Bradley to be very sympathetic to the kids and unsympathetic towards the parents. Some theoretical input which would help them to analyze and appreciate the dynamics of whole families is needed so that they are not too one sided. They need to understand whole families so that they can be of more practical help to both kids and families.

The first part of this comment was supported by the data from the case study of Ronald, which illustrated how the routine of the Center had been valuable for him and how the staff had been able to respond calmly to him and yet adhere closely to the routine, and how all of this had benefitted Ronald. The comment referring to the tendency of the routine to underscore the feelings of boredom and frustration of the longer term residents was corroborated in the case studies of "Donna," "Jack" and Tony," each of whom "split" partly because they were frustrated by delays and bored by the routine of the Center.

The external user's suggestion that training in family theory and family therapy should be introduced was supported by data from the complex case of

'Jillian'. Jillian, now 14, is the daughter of her mother and her mother's father. Among the extensive case materials were references to Jillian's mother's alleged incestuous relationship with Jillian's older brother, and Jillian's various attempts to become pregnant herself from the age of 13. As well as the complex and confusing family dynamics, particularly in relation to sex and a sense of inevitable destiny in relation to teenage pregnancy and incest, there was also a history of heavy drinking and alcoholism in the family. The complexity of the family relationships strongly suggested that some kind of family theory would be a very valuable, if not essential, aid to staff dealing with a case of this kind.

The case of Jillian also proved valuable on an occasion when the Working Group was discussing the relevance of training for the Center's staff in "structured family therapy" with a consulting family therapist, with a view to hiring him to provide a series of staff workshops. The Consultant used Jillian's case to illustrate to the therapist the complexity of the family situations of some residents at the Center. The therapist responded to the case

material with a series of structured questions and with an analysis and interpretation of Jillian's family, which very favorably impressed the members of the Working Group. They decided to continue to explore structured family therapy as the body of theory on which they might develop the program components in which staff would work with both the youth and his or her family.

These few examples illustrate how case study material was utilized to inform program development processes and decisions. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the immediacy of the case studies, and the Working Groups' familiarity with the ramifications of each young person's case, enabled group members to extract themes and pursue the ideas which were under discussion. At times the Consultant had to pull the group back from discussing the individual rather than the underlying issue, but on the whole, the case study process proved to be an extremely effective way of focusing the attention of Working Group members.

The broader effects of the Consultation Project on the Agency will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

EVALUATING THE EVALUATION

As gold which he cannot spend will make no man rich, so knowledge which he cannot apply will make no man wise.

Samuel Johnson

The dominant criterion by which the effectiveness of Patton's utilization-focused evaluation strategy may be judged is the degree to which findings are utilized. In Patton's terms, therefore, this project was highly successful, as the major findings were not only accepted by the decision makers, but were also promptly utilized as the basis for several major decisions which will shape the development of the Youth Center over the next few years.

It must, however, be acknowledged that the evaluation data was usually not the sole basis on which action was taken. Frequently the data confirmed or supported some growing awareness which decision makers already possessed, but upon which they had not yet been prepared to act. The confirmation of this knowledge which was provided by the evaluation data was often the necessary spur to action. Examples follow of several occasions when findings were speedily translated into action. The first of these focused on the Center's mission statement.

When the evaluation data suggested that the philosophy and the official rhetoric of the Youth Center was out of alignment with day-to-day realities, the Working Group drafted a modified statement of philosophy which better reflected the real situation. Similarly, when faced with data which indicated that the nature of its resident population had been changing, and that its program was not adequately meeting the needs of approximately half of its population, the Working Group began to re-design the program so that it would better answer the needs of the residents. Again, when provided with data which implied that the morale of the Youth Center's staff was being adversely affected by the Center's negative image, the Working Group analysed the current system of communication points with outsiders and built into their modified program design a specific strategy for 'Positive Program Presentation' which sought to replace the Center's stance of passive resentment with a stance of aggressive positivism, planning to exploit all opportunities to communicate to the outside environments the many positive aspects of the Center's program. A fourth example deals with staff morale. Data which indicated that staff's morale was being further damaged by their non-inclusion in deliberations about the implications of the new juvenile code and other major systems changes, persuaded the Working Group to initiate meetings with

representatives of other components of the environment to ensure that Bradley's perspectives would be considered in negotiations for change.

These and other examples given earlier in this chapter demonstrate that the project's findings were indeed utilized by the agency. Their utilization is already significantly altering the way in which the agency is operating, and greater changes will follow as the utilization continues.

At times the degree of utilization appeared to be greater than seemed warranted by the quality or certainty of the data, but in Patton's own view the role of the evaluator is to provide perspective rather than truth. He gives precedence to the empirical assessment of local decision makers' theories of action over the generation and verification of universal theories. (1983: 282-3)

This project was successful in Patton's terms in that it demonstrated at all stages of the process the effectiveness of close collaboration between the evaluator and the key decision makers who will ultimately choose to use or not use the evaluation's findings. This close collaboration with those who make all the final choices as to what the evaluation questions should be, and how answers to those questions should be sought, resulted, as Patton had suggested it would, in the data being regarded as relevant by the decision makers, who then promptly utilized it.

The project was also successful in terms of the points of view of others writing on evaluation and the role of the evaluator. Davis and Salasin expressed the hope that evaluators could play a "change consultant role" which would "...generally accommodate rather than manipulate the views of persons involved" (1975:652) The consultant does not push or manipulate decision makers to accept his pre-conceived notions about what questions should be asked and what research methods should be used to answer them. The change consultant role advocated by Davis and Salasin brings the decision makers and the consultant together in a closely collaborative process where all participants share responsibility for designing the evaluation, interpreting its results, and utilizing them to develop the program. This is exactly what occurred in this project.

It was significant not only that this project was successful from the point of view of evaluators; even more important was that it was strikingly consonant with the perspectives and values of social work and social workers.

Whether the modality of social work is case work, group work, community organization, or social administration, certain core values guide program design and practice. Social work does not seek to impose its views upon or manipulate its clients, but to enable them to determine for themselves what their needs are and how they should be met. The parallel between this stance and that of the

consultant's role in working with the Task Group and Working Group in this project is self-evident. The social worker recognizes that the essential change in the client's condition will take place only when the client is helped to help himself, and that he will be able to overcome his problems to the degree that he assumes the role of solving for himself the problem by which he is confronted. The support of the social worker should be directed towards the client's growing independence. (Briar and Miller, 1971: Hollis, 1971: Lewis, 1982: Perlman 1971.) Again this description of the role and value stance of the social worker closely corresponds with that of the consultant in his work with the decision makers to identify the evaluation issues and questions and promoting an active participatory role for them in the evaluation process. Like the social worker, the consultant starts where the client is. And in much the same way as the social worker enables the client to recognize the need to help himself and to eventually become independent, the consultant was able to follow a similar course with the members of the Task Group and Working Group who finally resolved to continue the process of problem solving and program development after the consultant had withdrawn from the situation.

Lewis points out that

At one time, social workers were commended to include a recipient (of services) in making decisions that affected him on the grounds that such a practice is consistent with a recipient's right to self-determination. This practice has come to be justified on the basis of evidence that the recipient is more likely to implement such decisions if he is included in making them. If the latter understanding achieves the status of fact, the need to include the recipient in the arriving at decisions that affect him will be treated as a given and acted upon accordingly. (1982:133)

The various outcomes of this project suggest that the principle of self determination may become fundamental to the evaluation of social programs as it has to social work practice. It is the view of the writer that the great extent to which the evaluation findings of this project were utilized were largely the result of the extensive self determining role played by key decision makers. And as when any social work intervention has been successful and effective, the recipients of those interventions proceed with greater confidence in their abilities to deal with the problems which will confront them in the future, in this case the clients -- the administration of the Youth Center and the other decision makers in the County youth services network -- may be more likely to confront future problems with markedly greater confidence in their own problem-solving abilities.

LIMITATIONS ON THE GENERALIZABILITY OF PATTON'S STRATEGY

The fact that this evaluation was successful does not mean that the strategy would be equally effective in all cases. Patton's whole strategy is based on a number of assumptions - if these assumptions are invalid in any particular case there is every likelihood that an evaluation will fail or even damage the organization it was intended to assist. There will also be a number of factors specific to each setting that are not incorporated in Patton's model, but which can have great influence on the outcome of the project. In this section, some of the factors which contributed to the successful outcome of this project will be outlined, then the six main phases of the strategy will be reviewed to demonstrate that if the main assumptions which underlie Patton's strategy had been false, the whole process could have failed to produce what was desired, and might even have damaged the agency.

The first of these idiosyncratic factors in this case was that the Consultant and the Director already knew and respected each other. They were enrolled in the same doctoral program, and shared similar professional backgrounds and experience in the field of juvenile justice. The Director asked the Consultant if he would carry out the evaluation; he therefore came to Bradley with the full support of the Director thus bearing with him some of her considerable power. Because of his connection with the Director, the

Bradley staff members were more pre-disposed to accept and respect his interventions than they otherwise would have been.

The second idiosyncratic factor was that the Director regarded very positively by her staff members, who respected her very considerable power. As well as possessing the formal power accorded her by virtue of her position and her control over resources, she also had a significant degree of charismatic power and power derived from her professional qualifications. These last two forms of power are linked to the history of the agency. Prior to her appointment, directors had been appointed through the system of party political patronage at the county level, and had not necessarily had any experience in the administration of juvenile justice or other human service organizations. During the three years just prior to her appointment there had been a succession of these directors under whom internicine conflict had been rife, resulting in psychological damage and fatigue in many of the surviving administrators. Several of these survivors told the Consultant that they very much appreciated the professionalism, legitimacy, appropriateness and fairness which the new Director brought to her office. The fact that it was she who had selected the Consultant to carry out the evaluation project meant that he met with ready acceptance throughout the organization.

Had the staff members not held the Director in such high esteem, obviously this might not have been the case.

A third idiosyncratic factor in this evaluation concerns the qualifications and experience peculiar to this Consultant, which contributed to his rapid acceptance by Bradley staff members.

The Consultant had had several years of experience as a direct service case worker with status offenders and juvenile delinquents, as a supervising case worker, an administrator of a small center for delinquents and status offenders, and several more years as the administrator of a network of such facilities. It is likely that this breadth and depth of experience helped him to quickly understand many of the problems faced by Bradley administrators and direct service workers. It is also likely that this understanding was evident to the various respondents and encouraged them to respond more frankly, fully and with less suspicion than might otherwise have been the case. It is the writer's experience that many workers in this area feel a certain amount of suspicion and hostility towards evaluators when they perceive them as insufficiently familiar with their work to be able to understand what they (the respondents) are trying to convey when they describe their problems. These three factors - the endorsement by the Director, the Director's high standing with her staff, and the Consultant's own familiarity with the field - were all influential.

in the successful outcome of this project and reduced the resistance that might have been encountered from staff members. In the rest of this chapter consideration will be given to the ramifications of Patton's basic assumptions that might have been encountered from staff members.

The success or failure of a project of this kind depends largely on whether the fundamental assumptions of the model or strategy are well-founded. In this case, the application of Patton's strategy was successful in that it resulted in the prompt utilization of the data collected and the consequent modification of the program as intended by the utilization focused evaluation strategy. At several points in the process, however, it could have been possible for what was assumed would happen, not to have happened. The following brief analysis of the six main phases of the utilization-focused evaluation strategy will discuss ways in which the project could have gone badly awry as easily as succeeded.

#### Forming the Task Group

A major assumption underlying Patton's strategy is that key decision makers will be both able and willing to give their time to become members of a Task Group. Key decision makers in most organizations are often burdened with many responsibilities, and unless they were very favorable in their attitude towards the evaluation, might very readily find reasons why they had no time to participate.

As already indicated, something of this nature did in fact occur with the original Task Group when the Director became overburdened with the joint requirements of the Task Group and the statewide committee on implementation of which she had become a member. This problem was overcome by forming the Working Group and retaining the original Task Group to meet less frequently and to provide oversight to the Working Group. This maneuver worked well in that the members of the Working Group came mainly from the administration of the Youth Center, and were strongly motivated to improve the program. Had the Task Group been disbanded, the Working Group could have been dominated by its self interest. The external oversight provided by the Task Group with its more diverse membership, interests, and slightly greater distance from the problems of the Center, may have (as it was intended to) kept the Working Group from operating from a too narrow or self interested perspective. Had the Task Group not agreed to continue and to provide this oversight, it is quite possible that the Working Group could have perceived problems and issues too narrowly, and that the Consultant could have accepted its perspectives, resulting in a less effective outcome.

### Identifying and Focusing the Evaluation Questions

In focusing the evaluation questions, there is a danger in using Patton's strategy that narrowness of perspective or excessive self interest could also dominate the choice of questions. Patton's strategy assumes that the questions chosen by the Task Group will reflect the major uncertainties and knowledge gaps of the key decision makers. The underlying assumption appears to be that the individuals chosen will not manipulate the situation in order to achieve political priorities of their own, and that with the guidance of the evaluator they will have the ability to frame the evaluation questions objectively.

In practice this was extremely difficult to do in this project. The original task group members individually seemed to have great difficulty in deciding what the important questions were, and collectively they found it even more difficult to be clear and to reach a consensus about what the questions should be. The one clear area of consensus was that they wanted to retain the Youth Center. They therefore regarded as irrelevant any questions as to whether the Center should continue to exist. Their concerns centered mainly on questions that

would help to show in what ways the program would have to be modified in order to survive and to be able to continue to provide a service similar to that which it already provided. It was difficult to move the consensus much beyond this basic position, although on several occasions the Task Group swung sharply towards a position in which it gave priority to the analysis of almost every problem ever faced by administrators of human service organizations. It was not until after the Task Group had done a great deal of to-ing and fro-ing between these two extremes that the evaluation questions eventually pursued were agreed upon as the most relevant. Despite the Consultant's being supposed to fulfill a neutral objective and enabling role, it was necessary (or seemed to the Consultant to be necessary) for him to identify from the discursive discussions of the Task Group what the questions seemed to be, and then to summarize them for the Task Group, and ask members whether or not they were the evaluation questions they wanted to ask. In shaping up the questions in this way, it was quite possible that the Consultant was not completely objective, but was influenced by his own perceptions of what the issues were.

Although it did not happen in this project, it is not difficult to imagine that the process of deciding what the most important questions should be could easily develop into a bitter quarrel between those representing opposing points of view. On the other hand, if members of the Task Group did not hold strong points of view or were unable to adequately focus them to form clear evaluation questions, the evaluator becomes potentially very powerful, and can dominate the process of deciding upon, and giving priority to, the evaluation questions. Another possibility is that Task Group members could collude in order not to mention issues which none of them want raised, such as issues which, if explored, could be embarrassing to all of them.

The points made above strongly suggest that the Task Group should be chosen with great care. Members should be individuals who have not only a reputation for competence and the respect of their peers, they should also be people with the ability to perceive policy, program, and evaluation issues with clarity. If this is not the case, the Consultant may unintentionally dominate the processes in which the Task Group is engaged. If this does ultimately occur, a great deal rests upon the

integrity, objectivity and capability of the evaluator. Patton's strategy assumes both a highly competent, objective Task Group of high integrity, and a similarly qualified evaluator. In reality, neither can be taken for granted.

If the writer were to undertake a similar project in the future, he would give greater emphasis to focusing the evaluation questions and to emphasizing to the Task Group that the questions must be clearly and tightly focused before the project can proceed. In this project, there were too many questions which were not sufficiently tightly worded and focused, which caused the subsequent processes to have a less clear sense of direction than would be desirable. This lack of a clear sense of direction after framing the evaluation questions tends to perpetuate itself throughout the entire evaluation.

#### Selection of Evaluation Methods

Patton's strategy also assumes that both the Task Group members and the evaluator are highly competent and objective in the process of selecting the evaluation methods best suited to collecting data which will answer the evaluation questions. It also assumes that they would not be manipulating the process in order to bring

about the selection of the methods they regard as being most likely to produce the results they would most like to see.

The assumption that both Task Group members and the evaluator will have a high level of competence and objectivity in selecting evaluation methods is a rather optimistic one. It is probably more realistic to assume that both Task Group members and evaluators would generally have preferred methods, or at least be much more familiar with some than with others, and would generally tend to opt for one of them.

In this case, the Consultant had not carried out an evaluation before and had not developed any strong preferences. Task Group members were also unfamiliar with the range of methods which might have been used. As indicated in Chapter Three, they had assumed that the evaluation would be a summative one using quantitative methods and a classical experimental model because they assumed these to be the standard approaches to evaluation. It seemed to the Consultant at this time that the issue of staff morale had become the dominant and most pervasive issue, and the Task Group had given it first priority, but it was not quite clear what the problems were. An exploratory approach using only minimally structured interviews seemed to be most likely to elicit a clearer picture of what the underlying issues were.

This view was put to the Task Group by the Consultant, who also pointed out that the summative quantitative approach they had in mind was not the only one possible, and that it was inappropriate given the imprecise nature of the questions about which they were concerned.

The Consultant also suggested the use of triangulation to corroborate, by means of quantitative data from agency records and case studies, the data obtained from interviewing. And so in this part of the process the selection of methods was the product of close collaboration between the Consultant and the Task Group; but the Consultant was the dominant influence. Had the Task Group been more definite about what it sought from the evaluation or had firmer ideas of what methods it regarded as appropriate, the Consultant would have been less likely to have dominated the process of making this decision. However, as has just been suggested, it is likely that Task Group members may more often than not have only a relatively limited knowledge of evaluation methods compared to the knowledge of the evaluator. Therefore, Patton's strategy could frequently be exploited by an evaluator who wished to give the

appearance of involving decision makers when in fact he was shaping the evaluation almost entirely as he saw fit.

It is equally possible to speculate that the reverse of the above situation could occur in which strong, knowledgeable and forceful Task Group members could demand that an evaluator utilize methods which he regarded as inappropriate. In such circumstances, the evaluator could attempt to persuade the Task Group to use other methods. If he was unsuccessful, he would then face the choice of resigning his commission or carrying out an evaluation he believed was methodologically unsound.

It would seem from all of the above that an evaluator would need to be confident of the integrity of his Task Group, their ability to quickly grasp methodological concepts, and his own ability to communicate and to persuade.

#### Data Collection, Feedback, Analysis, and Interpretation

An important assumption underlying this part of the strategy is that the intended respondents would be prepared to participate and cooperate in the project, and that they would have the necessary time to give to the evaluator. A second implicit assumption is that the organization would have conflict-handling methods adequate to handle the conflict which might be triggered by the data. Patton's strategy seems to assume that

data will be handled smoothly, and that rationality will prevail. However, it is equally likely that various interests could be threatened or existing conflicts exacerbated by the evaluation process.

In this project, an example of this kind of conflict occurred when data frequently highlighted the delays in processing youths awaiting placement due to the cumbersome nature of the procedures of the State agency, D.Y.F.S. In addition, it became clear that most of the youths who were in the Youth Center for protracted periods were the responsibility of D.Y.F.S., and that D.Y.F.S. was paying the County the emergency shelter rate of \$5.50 per day for each youth, even though the youths were resident in the Youth Center for many months, and the actual cost of keeping these youths at the Center was calculated to be \$123.00 per day. On the basis of this information, the Director approached the County with a view to negotiating a more realistic rate of reimbursement for residents accommodated at the Youth Center for D.Y.F.S. At the time of writing, the negotiations were incomplete. In this instance, the data and the actions which followed its being brought into the open markedly heightened the tensions between the

County workers and D.Y.F.S., adding to D.Y.F.S.' already tarnished reputation for being ponderous and bureaucratic. It was probably due to the high regard in which the D.Y.F.S. representative on the Task Group was held by other members that this data did not result in destructive conflict which may have been damaging to both agencies. In fact, because it is being well-handled by County and D.Y.F.S. representatives, the outcome may be constructive in that the County will be better able to cover the costs of its services because of a more realistic rate of reimbursement being agreed upon, while there will be an increased financial pressure on D.Y.F.S. to use the Youth Center only when necessary, and to expand the range of placement options for these 'hard to place' young people. Although this outcome may be constructive, it seems likely that it could just as easily have been a destructive one.

As previous examples have done, this example suggests that there are inherent in Patton's strategy risks which should be anticipated by one who is contemplating using it. One way of minimizing some of these risks is to select the Task Group very carefully from individuals of high integrity who are capable of negotiating towards

constructive solutions under tense and sensitive conditions.

#### Data Presentation and Utilization

It is assumed in Patton's strategy that once the decision makers are recruited, the Task Group will have the knowledge to effectively interpret, present, and utilize the data that has been gathered. It is also assumed that those involved will not try to interpret, present and utilize the data to protect or pursue their own interests. These again are very optimistic and perhaps naive assumptions. One could speculate that in most small local direct service providing agencies, it is unlikely that even basic knowledge of evaluation research methods and data analysis would be common, and sophistication in these matters would be rare indeed. It is even less likely that in any organization at any level members would be free from any motivation to protect or pursue their own interests. It would be much safer to assume that they were self interested and to plan accordingly.

It was for this reason that in this project the Consultant selected Task Group members who represented different interests, and in some particulars represented

opposing points of view. This was done in order both to prevent any particular point of view from dominating, and to attempt to reconcile these differing positions as much as possible. And, as just discussed, the individuals concerned needed to be capable of negotiating and compromising sufficiently to avoid stalemates or breakdowns due to excessive conflicts of interests.

Fortunately, it was possible to recruit such people, but if an evaluator were forced to recruit from less well equipped individuals, it would demand great diplomacy and negotiating skill from him if destructive conflict and breakdown were to be avoided.

It will be recalled that due to unexpected demands on two of the Task Group members it became necessary to form the Working Group, and for the Consultant to work frequently, indeed almost on an ongoing basis, with them. It was also considered desirable to retain the Task Group to meet less frequently, but to provide oversight and objectivity. It was in relation to interpreting and implementing the data that the Working Group proved to be a considerable strength to the project. While it could be argued that the Consultant had little self interest

and greater objectivity in interpreting the data than did the Working Group, it was very clear that he had a far more superficial understanding of the agency and its environment. On several occasions when the Consultant and the Working Group were discussing their respective interpretations of the data, Working Group members were able to point out where the Consultant's inferences were clearly wrong due to his inadequate understanding of the nuances of the system. In other instances where the Consultant could see little meaning or value in some data, Working Group members were able to interpret it as having important meaning, and providing useful information.

The Task Group also proved useful as a check on any narrowness of perception on the part of the Working Group. For example, they were sometimes ready to judge D.Y.F.S. and C.I.S. as being at fault when other explanations were possible. The presence of members representing the interests of D.Y.F.S. and C.I.S. on the Task Group meant that members of the Working Group had to have sound reasons for any interpretations of data which reflected adversely on D.Y.F.S. or C.I.S.

The interpretation of data phase of the project was also one in which power conflicts between the two main factions in the Youth Center became most apparent. The factions were the traditional ones found in many child care agencies -- the Child Care Workers on one hand, and the Clinical Staff on the other. They were represented on the Working Group by the Residential Supervisor and Clinical Supervisor respectively. The Clinical Supervisor was inclined to see data as indicating the need for a more carefully planned treatment-focused program in the Center, while the Residential Supervisor was inclined to resist these interpretations, especially if they seemed to imply a need to change the program in ways which would excessively curtail the naturalness, spontaneity and common sense of her better child care workers. She was also very wary of notions of 'therapy' and 'treatment'. A more focused treatment approach was likely to enhance the power of the Clinical Supervisor, while it diminished that of the Residential Supervisor.

Fortunately for this project, both Supervisors were prepared to subordinate their factional interests to the greater benefit of the residents and the whole staff team. This had the effect of enlivening the debates on the meaning of data, as the supervisors interpreted

data in accordance with their factional perspectives, but also permitted a constructive consensus to emerge as the Consultant acknowledged the merits of both points of view and sought ways to blend them. As consensus began to form, the Administrator, with the aplomb of a practiced leader, would tend to assume it as if it were her original point of view.

Had the two supervisors not been prepared to subordinate their factional interests to the broader interests of the Youth Center, and had the Consultant and the Administrator not been able to reconcile their points of view, the data interpretation and presentation process might well have inflamed existing tensions between the internal factions of the Center.

It would be all very well to suggest that evaluators intending to use Patton's strategy should identify potential factional power struggles and be prepared to handle them before embarking upon the evaluation. The difficulty is that these kinds of dynamics are usually a little below the surface and are not readily communicated to a stranger just entering the organization. It is not until the evaluator is well into the thick of the evaluation that these power struggles are apparent. What is then necessary is

adroit diplomacy and negotiation skill in order to obtain the input to the evaluation of these disparate points of view, while keeping them from dominating the data interpretation process.

This review of the assumptions underlying the six main stages of Patton's strategy suggests that although the strategy has the potential to elicit data and to enhance utilization, it also includes many questionable assumptions which, if poorly founded, could lead the evaluator into many conflict-laden and potentially destructive situations. The impression of the writer is that most of these assumptions rely overmuch on the integrity, good will, objectivity and guilelessness of the participants in the process, while giving insufficient attention to the conflicts of interests, power struggles, individual egos and ambitions, and potential for manipulation of the individuals and factions concerned.

Despite all this, however, Patton's strategy provides a refreshing alternative to the pervasive tendency of evaluators to pay little regard to the perspectives of decision makers and information users who are to be the ultimate users of the evaluation information. Guba effectively captures the nature of

the situation as perceived by many administrators:

It is my experience that evaluators sometimes adopt a very supercilious attitude with respect to their clients; their presumptuousness and arrogance are sometimes overwhelming. We treat the client as a "child-like" person who needs to be taken in hand; as an ignoramus who cannot possibly understand the tactics and strategies that we will bring to bear; as someone who doesn't appreciate the questions he ought to ask until we tell him -- and what we tell him often reflects our own biases and interests rather than the problems with which the client is actually beset. The phrase "Ugly American" has emerged in international settings to describe the person who enters into a new culture, immediately knows what is wrong with it, and proceeds to foist his own solutions onto the locals. In some ways I have come to think of evaluators as "Ugly Americans." And if what we are looking for are ways to manipulate clients so that they will fall in with our wishes and cease to resist our blandishments, I for one will have none of it. (1977:1)

The efforts of Patton, Guba and others who "will have none of it" and who believe evaluation should be a process which enhances mutual respect and frank communication between evaluators and decision makers, are timely. For too long administrators have had to endure the frustration of having their programs evaluated by "experts" whose ignorance of the realities with which administrators must contend gives them the confidence to

produce reports ultimately regarded as irrelevant and useless by those providing direct services.

Despite the excellent beginning work of Patton and his like-minded colleagues, there is still a long way to go. Patton's strategy is based on several naive assumptions which do not pay due heed to the considerable body of knowledge that has accumulated about organizational behavior. If Patton's model can be further developed to incorporate the knowledge we have of organizational structures and dynamics, we will indeed have an evaluation and program development strategy that will be both relevant and sympathetic to the whole field of human services.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Although the five bills which made up the 1982 Code were passed in December 1982, they were required under the New Jersey Constitution to be 'tabled' for twelve months so that any objections or moves to amend the legislation could be accommodated. The 1st of January 1984 was the first day of the first month after that twelve month period had elapsed.
- (2) The correct name of the Family Court is the 'Superior Court of the State of New Jersey -- Family Part'. However, it is commonly referred to as the 'Family Court' and because of its brevity and familiarity, the latter term will be used throughout this dissertation.
- (3) Andrew Scull's Decarceration (1977) argues that the deinstitutionalization movement is an example of the reactionary implications of liberal social science theory, which implies that deviants are simply a product of official labelling, who would be much better off if they were unregulated. Scull argues against this laissez-faire perspective and suggests that 'community treatment' or often lack of treatment, basically means a cutback in social services.

4. Vinter, Downs and Hall (1976) set out in detail the comparative progress of each of the states in regard to deinstitutionalization in 1974.

APPENDIX A

CHECKLIST OF EVALUATION SITUATIONS FOR  
WHICH QUALITATIVE METHODS ARE APPROPRIATE

1. Does the program emphasize individualized outcomes, i.e., different participants are expected to be affected in qualitatively different ways? And is there a need or desire to describe and evaluate these individualized client outcomes? Yes No
2. Are Task Group members interested in elucidating and understanding the internal dynamics of programs -- program strengths, program weaknesses, and overall program processes? Yes No
3. Is detailed, in-depth information needed about certain client cases or program sites, e.g., particularly successful cases; unusual failures; critically important cases for programmatic, financial, or political reasons? Yes No
4. Is there interest in focusing on the diversity among, idiosyncracies of, and unique qualities exhibited by individual clients or programs (as opposed to comparing all clients or programs on standardized, uniform measures)? Yes No
5. Is information needed about the details of program implementation -- what clients in the program experience, what services are provided to clients, how the program is organized, what staff do, and basically inform decision makers as to what is going on in the program and how it has developed? Yes No

6. Are program staff and other decision makers interested in the collection of detailed, descriptive information about the program for the purpose of improving the program, i.e., is there interest in formative evaluation? Yes No
7. Is there a need for information about the nuances of program quality, i.e., descriptive information about the quality of program activities and outcomes, not just levels, amounts, or quantities of program activity and outcomes? Yes No
8. Will the administration of standardized measuring instruments (questionnaires and tests) be overly obtrusive in contrast to the gathering of data through natural observations and open-ended interviews, i.e., will the collection of qualitative data generate less reactivity among participants than the collection of quantitative data? Yes No
9. Is the state of measurement science such that no valid, reliable, and believable standardized instrument is available or readily capable of being developed to measure the particular program outcomes for which data are needed? Yes No
10. Are legislators or other decision makers/funders interested in having evaluators conduct program site visits such that the evaluators become the surrogate eyes and ears for decision makers who are too busy to make such site visits themselves and who lack the observing and listening skills of trained evaluators? Yes No

11. Are the goals of the program vague, general, and nonspecific, indicating the possible advantage of a goal-free evaluation approach to gather information about what effects the program is actually having? Yes No
12. Is there the possibility that the program may be affecting clients or participants in unanticipated ways and/or having unexpected side effects, indicating the need for a method of inquiry that can discover effects beyond those formally stated as desirable by program staff (again, an indication of the need for some form of goal-free evaluation)? Yes No
13. Has the collection of quantitative evaluation data become so routine that no one pays much attention to the results anymore, suggesting a possible need to break the old routine and use new methods to generate new insights about the program? Yes No
14. Is there a need and desire to personalize the evaluation process by using research methods that require personal, face-to-face contact with the program -- methods that may be perceived as "humanistic" and personal because participants are not preordinately labeled and numbered, and methods that feel natural, informal, and understandable to participants? Yes No
15. Do Task Group members have philosophical or methodological biases that lead them to prefer qualitative methods, thus increasing the likelihood that they will find the results of a qualitative evaluation particularly believable, credible, understandable, and useful? Yes No

APPENDIX B

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Date of Distribution: 3/1/84

SUBJECT: GUIDELINES - POINT SYSTEM

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Wake-up points are given to the resident for being:

Up, dressed properly, neat, bed made by 7:30 a.m.  
 All of these must be present or no points are given.  
 No partial points are given.

2 points for breakfast, lunch, and supper are given on basis of behavior at meal time.

Chores must be checked by staff, and card signed by staff. Partial points may be given in accordance with how well the chore was done.

Class points are given by teachers on basis of punctuality and behavior of the residents.

If a resident is out of the Shelter, at school, on pass, with an outside agency, etc., they will be given all points which they would have earned had they been in the Shelter provided that they return on time and not under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

If a resident refuses to give a staff his/her point card when asked, staff will politely remind the resident that if he/she does not give the point card, the card will be lost for the day. Any points earned up to that time will be void, and any fines will be recorded in the log for the next day's card.

Point cards are totaled by staff at the end of study. Residents with enough points for activities will then go to the T.V., stereo, Recreation Room, or outside, or on an activity. Residents lacking sufficient points will remain in dining room where they may talk quietly, read, write letters, or do homework. If group behaves well during activity time, a cigarette break will be held from 9 to 9:10 and from 10:50 to 11:00. Level I restriction is over at 10 p.m. (bedtime 10 p.m.). For all others, restriction is over at 10:30 p.m. (bedtime 11 p.m.).



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Date of Distribution: 9/1/83

SUBJECT: POINTS

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WAKE-UP

10 points total

RESIDENT MUST:

1. Get up on time
2. Shower, dress, etc.
3. Have neat dorm
4. Be ready for breakfast before earning the 10 points Given as one unit: either all 10 points or none.

MEALS (3)

2 points total per meal  
6 points daily

- 1 point being on time
- 1 point behavior and clean-up

CHORES (3)

3 points total per chore  
9 points daily

- 1 point doing chore when told
- 1 point bonus for not needing staff reminder
- 1 point doing chore well

CLASSES (5)

3 points total per class  
15 points daily

- 1 point going to class
- 1 point being on time
- 1 point behavior and participation

STUDY

2 points total

- 1 point doing homework or other work as directed by staff
- 1 point watching news

EVENING ACTIVITY

3 points total

- 1 point being on time
- 2 points participation in activity as directed by staff

BEDTIME

8 points total

- 3 points ready and in bed on time
- 5 points quiet on time

DAILY TOTAL

53 points



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SUBJECT: MINUS POINTS

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Not obeying dress code	-3
Messy dorm	-3
Feet on furniture	-3
Not listening	-7
Being abusive	-10
Being obstinate	-10
Not attending class (in house)	-10 per class
Passing a note	-25
Not attending class (out of building)	-50 per class up to -250 per day
Using telephone without permission	-50
Being in dorm without permission	-50
Yelling out the window	-50
Threatening another resident	-50
Playing with dumbwaiter	-100
Speaking over or being near the fence	-100
Physical contact	-100
Smoking in unauthorized area	-100
Being in unauthorized area	-100
Running away	-250
Leaving school grounds	-250
*Fighting	-300
*Stealing	-300
*Damaging property	-300
*Threatening staff	-300
*Possession of drugs or alcohol	-400
*Assault	-400

\*These actions may result in a complaint being signed and a request for Detention being made.

Forging or losing point cards - loss of all points for that day.

Administrative discretion - any amount.

POINT CARD

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

PTS. \_\_\_\_\_

WEEKLY TOTAL: \_\_\_\_\_  
STAFF

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

CHORE: \_\_\_\_\_

ISSUED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

ACTIVITY:	_____	_____
BEDTIME:	_____	_____
WAKE-UP:	_____	_____
BREAKFAST:	_____	_____
CHORE:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
LUNCH:	_____	_____
CHORE:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
CLASS:	_____	_____
DINNER:	_____	_____
CHORE:	_____	_____
STUDY:	_____	_____

POINTS EARNED:	_____
POINTS:	_____
DAILY TOTAL:	_____
	_____
	_____
	_____
	_____
	_____
	_____
	_____

	POINTS EARNED	POINTS FINED	BALANCE	FINES CARRIED	BALANCE	POINTS CARRIED	GRAND BALANCE	FINE CODE
THURSDAY								
FRIDAY								
SATURDAY								
SUNDAY								
MONDAY								
TUESDAY								
WEDNESDAY								
THURSDAY								
FRIDAY								
SATURDAY								
SUNDAY								
MONDAY								
TUESDAY								
WEDNESDAY								
THURSDAY								
FRIDAY								
SATURDAY								
SUNDAY								
MONDAY								
TUESDAY								
WEDNESDAY								
THURSDAY								
FRIDAY								
SATURDAY								
SUNDAY								
MONDAY								
TUESDAY								
WEDNESDAY								



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\*\*\*HONOR ROLL\*\*\*

RESIDENTS ELIGIBLE FOR OVERNIGHT PASSES

RESIDENTS ELIGIBLE FOR DAY PASSES

RESIDENTS ELIGIBLE FOR WEEKEND ACTIVITIES

RESIDENTS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR WEEKEND ACTIVITIES

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SUBJECT: LEVEL SYSTEM

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LEVEL II

1. All residents enter program on Level II.
2. Basic rules and points apply.
3. Level II Honor Roll is 340 points.
4. a. If resident fails to earn 225 points, he/she will be placed on Level I.  
b. If resident goes into minus points, he/she is placed on Level I immediately.  
c. If a resident goes into minus points during first week in program, shift leaders will determined if immediate drop to Level I is in order.
5. During 4th week of residency, team will meet to identify individual goals.
6. Privileges and restrictions:
  - a. Evening activities
  - b. Weekend activities
  - c. Special trips
  - d. Bedtime at 11 p.m. weeknights, 1 a.m. weekends
  - e. Day passes home Saturday and Sunday. New residents must first earn 225 points in order to get day passes.
7. When resident attains Honor Roll of 340 points for 2 consecutive weeks, then he/she moves up to Level III.

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LEVEL I

1. Minus to 225 points.
2. All rules and points apply.
3. Residents on Level I must maintain at least 225 points for 2 consecutive weeks or make the Honor Roll of 340 points for 1 week before moving back to Level II.
4. Privileges and restrictions:
  - a. No evening activities. If T.V. room is being used for an activity, Level I residents must sit in dining room. They will be permitted to smoke there on those occasions.
  - b. No weekend activities.
  - c. No special trips.
  - d. Visitors on Sunday and Tuesday - no passes.
  - e. Bedtime 10 p.m. weeknights - 11 p.m. weekends.
5. Residents minus 500 points or more , or residents who have been on Level I for 4 consecutive weeks, may have an individual contract at the discretion of Administration.



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LEVEL III

1. Basic rules and points apply.
2. Level III Honor Roll is 385 points.
3. Residents may earn 25 points per week for efforts made toward goals - to be assessed by team and awarded each Thursday.
4. When resident attains Honor Roll of 385 points for 4 consecutive weeks, he/she moves to Level IV. Goals to be reassessed by Team.
5.
  - a. If resident fails to earn 340 points, he/she drops to Level II until Team meets to make a final decision.
  - b. If resident goes into minus or loses 100+ points for any one incident, he/she drops to Level II immediately. Team will meet to determine further action.
6. Privileges and restrictions:
  - a. All activities (a-c) of Level II.
  - b. Bedtime 11 p.m. weeknights - 2 a.m. weekends.
  - c. Weekend passes home Saturday 9 a.m. - Sunday 9 p.m.
  - d. Store trips with staff.
  - e. May make one personal phone call per week as approved by staff.
  - f. One friend may visit Tuesday night - as approved by staff.

2.25



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LEVEL IV

1. Basic rules and points apply.
2. Level IV Honor Roll 415 points.
3. Residents may earn 50 points per week for efforts on individual goals.
4. When resident has attained Honor Roll of 415 points for 3 consecutive weeks, Team will meet to decide if resident should move up to Level V and when that should occur. New goals to be established.
5.
  - a. If resident fails to earn 385 points, he/she drops to Level III until Team makes final decision.
  - b. If resident goes into minus or loses 100+ points for any one incident, he/she immediately drops to Level III. Team will determine any further action.
6. Privileges and restrictions:
  - a. All activities (a-d & f) of Level III.
  - b. May make 3 personal phone calls per week as approved by staff.
  - c. No shower upon returning to Shelter (except on AWOL's and weekend passes).
  - d. Resident may obtain employment outside of Shelter, as approved by team.
  - e. Weekend passes home - Friday 5 p.m. - Sunday 9 p.m.



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LEVEL V

1. Basic rules apply.
2. No point card.
3. Responsible for being "Big Brother or Sister" to new residents for their first week.
4. Team will monitor behavior daily to determine if resident remains on Level V.
5. May make one personal phone call per day as approved by staff.
6. All privileges of other Levels.
7. May set own bedtime.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Evening activities will still be based on minimum daily points of 41.
2. Weekly chores will be assigned to residents each Friday by staff. The highest Level chooses first, (highest points within Level chooses first for that Level), next highest Level chooses next and so on. . .
3. All personal phone calls are limited to 10 minutes and must be collect if outside of calling area.
4. Individual goals will be made available to residents and staff.
5. There will only be one Honor Roll trip per week. All residents on the Honor Roll, regardless of Level, would go on same trip.
6. If possible, Level V may have more special activities i.e., plays, concerts, etc. This would depend on available funds.
7. A resident may contract to earn extra points if he has put himself so far behind on the level system that privileges and advancement are beyond his reach. (See attached)

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COUNTY OF DEVON



DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICES

SHELTER, YOUTH CENTER  
125 ROSE STREET • BRIDGEWATER, N.J. 07001 • (201) 644-2711

Director

Administrator

HOUSE CONTRACT

I realize that I have put myself so far behind on the level system that I will not have privileges for many weeks. In order to earn additional points, I understand that I must not lose any points for 3 days; and I agree to the following:

1. Follow All The Rules of The Shelter
2. EARN 53 POINTS A DAY
3. DO EXTRA CHORES

I know that this contract is a privilege, and I will follow the program rules to keep this privilege.

10/4/81  
Date

Anne Doe  
Signature

[Signature]  
Witness

2.25a

APPENDIX C

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Date of Distribution: 9/1/83

SUBJECT: GOAL PLANNING

Page 1 of 1

PURPOSE:

All residents spending more than 3 weeks at the Conklin Youth Center will work toward a set of individualized goals. These goals will aim toward preparing the resident for a productive adjustment to his future placement. They will also allow the resident to feel productive and attended to as opposed to forgotten and scared. The goals are to be supportive and therapeutic but not necessarily treatment oriented.

All individual goals will be established at Team Meetings. These goals will be based on the four following program goals developed by John Pinkard:

1. Functionalism
2. Interdependence
3. Self acceptance
4. Self actualization

Examples of possible goals are included in the guide to goal planning. (Attached)



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SUBJECT: GUIDE TO GOAL PLANNING

Page 1 of 3

PROGRAM GOAL: FUNCTIONALITY

Behavior: Responsibility Taking

Definition: Residents will be punctual, reliable, dependable, and accountable, actively taking responsibility with self, peers, staff, things, doing what is needed when it is needed.

Example: To school on time, returns what is borrowed, tells the truth, does chores on time, being where he/she is supposed to be on time, getting up on time, going to bed on time, taking care of his room, and performing individual tasks with and without supervision.

Behavior: Politeness

Definition: Residents will be considerate, tactful, and courteous at all times in front of staff, peers, and family.

Examples: Say please and thank you, does not yell, greets people when entering a room, says goodbye when leaving, does not physically and verbally abuse another person, and does what is requested of him by staff without negative verbiage.

Behavior: Tolerance

Definition: Residents will have the capacity to endure and adjust to time, situations, places, and people when these conflict with other desires.

Examples: Waits for staff to get to him, resident is in program at all times, residents go to therapy even when he/she does not feel like it, ignores others when they bait him, endures and discusses problems as they arise.

Behavior: Respect

Definition: Resident will have high regard (esteem) for self, others, and property.

Examples: Keeps hands off others, does not curse, takes care of another's property, speaks clearly without verbal aggression, will endure and evaluate others' opinions and feelings, will make an honest attempt at restitution when responsible for destruction of property.



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SUBJECT: GUIDE TO GOAL PLANNING

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PROGRAM GOAL: INTERDEPENDENCE

Behavior: Cooperation

Definition: Residents will be willing to work jointly, following direction from staff, obeying all rules, safety codes and standard procedures.

Example: Performs tasks when adults ask without negative verbiage, does not disturb group, the resident obeys in time of crisis, does not tease, bait for fight, participate in athletic activities even though not inclined, participates in group activity, shares willingly with others, obeys all rules.

Behavior: Helpfulness

Definition: Residents will seek out opportunities to provide and get assistance, aid and relief to and from others including self, peers, staff, and family.

Examples: Aids staff in crisis, aids residents in crisis, aids others in cleaning their areas, shows a new resident how to pitch in, assists staff when possible; also asks for help when he/she needs it.

Behavior: Realistic Assessment of the Environment

Definition: Residents have the ability to perceive and interpret the environment appropriately in order to react appropriately, which includes making the ultimate use of the environment for constructive purposes.

Examples: Admits to limitations in the environment (things are not necessarily fair), is cognizant of the environment's assessment of him, understands the parts of the environment and can use them to achieve constructive goals, seeks out help from appropriate persons.

PROGRAM GOAL: SELF-ACCEPTANCE

Behavior: Cleanliness

Definition: Resident will keep work areas clean, care for items in their possession, provide proper storage for items, and leave areas clean for others to use.



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Examples: Keeps room neat and clean, assists staff in keeping floor clean, picks up garbage from floor, cleans tables after eating, wears proper attire for specific occasions, keeps closets and drawers clean, cleans up after self at school.

Behavior: Personal Hygiene

Definition: Resident will exhibit proper grooming and wear clean, proper attire based on activity, and will take care of medical, dental, and nutritional needs.

Examples: Tries all foods, no junk foods, tells the nurse when they are ill, takes medication as directed, takes showers regularly, combs hair, changes clothing to fit circumstances.

Behavior: Realistic Self-Assessment

Definition: Residents have a realistic perception of themselves within the social setting; they are aware of their limitations, impact on others, and their feelings, values and opinions.

Examples: Accepts their own feelings, values, opinions and can express them in ways suitable for constructive living, listens to others and is willing to accept others' opinions, accepts conclusions of a mediator, talks out problems with another resident, i.e., running away, and verbalizes strength and weakness and how it affects others.



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A. During the first week following admission:

1. Resident attends initial and second shelter care hearings.
2. Staff and Social Worker observe behavior, log observations, and maintain chronologicals on each resident.
3. Staff work with child around the following adjustment goals:
  - a. Resident will become familiar with the Program expectations: (Read and sign rules, accommodations, procedures).
  - b. Resident will begin to develop relationships with staff and other residents.
  - c. Resident will cooperate with and become adjusted to the program:
    - 1) He will follow the rules and procedures.
    - 2) He will cooperate with staff.
    - 3) He will share living responsibilities with other residents.
4. The Social Worker sets up a regular meeting time with the resident. S/he helps the resident to think about some problem areas and goals which he would like to work toward.
5. Social Worker gathers information from various agencies and involved parties. If appropriate, a list of realistic placement options is determined. Resident is encouraged to choose goals which will help prepare him for the most likely of these placements.

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B. During the second week in program:

If the child is Court ordered to remain at Conklin for a second week or more, the staff and Social Worker will GATHER INFORMATION.

1. Staff and Social Worker continue logging observations about specific behaviors.
2. Social Worker meets with the resident to reinforce the resident's desire for change and to continue the process of identifying goals.
3. Shift leaders make observations about the resident's interaction with staff and identify the strongest relationships.
4. Staff and Social Worker begin to draw some conclusions about the observations they have made.

C. During the third week in program:

1. Social Worker sends a notice to the appropriate team members (Senior floor workers, nurse, teacher, other designated staff) of a tentative date for the goal setting meeting. Meeting time is generally from 3:30 to 4:30 to allow both shift leaders to participate.
2. Shift leaders confirm the date and if appropriate suggest that one other staff become involved.
3. Resident is evaluated for participation in weekly group.
4. Resident meets with the Social Worker to talk about realistic placement options and focus on specific goals which he will work on while at the Shelter. He may request to attend the meeting or he may choose the goals when alone with the social worker some time before the meeting.



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D. During fourth week in the program:

1. Shift leader meets with staff to get their input for the goal setting meeting.
2. Goal setting meeting is conducted by the team. The child may be invited if it is appropriate.
3. The purpose for the goal planning meeting is to set short-term (8 weeks) goals which will help the resident to prepare for his/her future placement.
4. The procedural steps for the goal planning are as follows:
  - a. Identify the strengths and weaknesses.
  - b. Generalize the specific weaknesses to a larger more inclusive problem.
  - c. Identify the problem under one of the major themes (use guide to goal planning drawn up by Rockleigh Residential Center staff).
  - d. Design an appropriate set of goals which addresses both the identified problems and the resident's requested goals.
  - e. Keep the goals limited to a workable number.
  - f. Identify some specific behavioral tasks which address the goals.
  - g. Identify some staff strategies to aid the resident with these goals.
  - h. Agree on an enabler for each task.
  - i. Discuss some additional options for helping the resident with particularly difficult tasks.

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5. Social Worker completes the goal planning chart and sends copies to the floors, teacher, nurse, and clinical supervisor within 3 work days of the meeting.
6. Resident, Social Worker, and senior floor worker meet to review the goals and sign the plan.
7. Goals are included into the resident's daily point earnings.

E. During second and third months in the program:

1. Staff and Social Worker maintain notes in the log and weekly chronologicals on the resident's progress toward goals.
2. Social Worker meets with resident weekly to discuss problems and reinforce motivation to change. When resident is working successfully on several goals, he is encouraged to bring up new issues.
3. Senior Worker supervises staff facilitation of the goal plan.
4. Staff and Social Worker meet weekly to award points toward the resident's work on his/her goals, and discuss progress.
5. Social Worker makes changes in the plan if re-evaluation of the goals and methods deems it necessary.

F. Three months into the program:

If the resident is successfully working on most of his goals, a second formal meeting is established to draw up another goal plan. (Same procedure as outlined above)  
 If it is appropriate, meeting may be to develop a pre-discharge goal plan. (See formal Discharge Procedure)

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