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AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY BASED SERVICES FOR
YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS IN PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

1970 - 1980

A Dissertation Presented

By

THOMAS LEON McFALLS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1982

Education



Thomas Leon McFalls

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AN ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY BASED SERVICES FOR
YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS IN PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

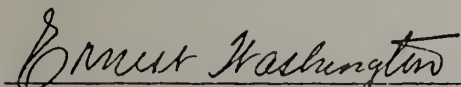
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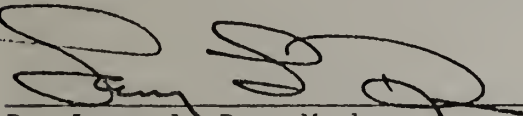
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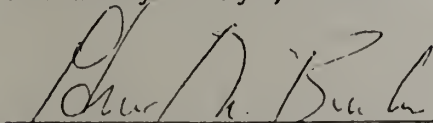
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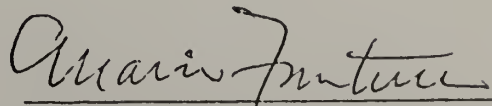
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Dr. Larry L. Dye, Member



Dr. Edmond Burke, Member



Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

To my parents, whose encouragement and personal sacrifice helped me gain an appreciation for higher education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It was characteristic of the Massachusetts deinstitutionalization policy and the rise of Pittsfield's community-based services that the people involved did the unexpected. When Dr. Jerome Miller was hired to reorganize the Division of Youth Services, he did not begin that task with the expectation that the institutions would have to be closed. University of Massachusetts was an unlikely site to receive the 99 youthful offenders from the last remaining institution and to house these youth on campus for the three-month transition period while alternative placements were being worked out for them.

Pittsfield is a community that prides itself on its traditional manner of conducting community life, including its human services. It was, therefore, a surprising place to become a laboratory for the growth and development of a wide range of new services for adolescents. Volunteers like Mrs. Claire Smith, President of League of Women Voters of Central Berkshire, Tom Renik, President of United Way, and Jim Craig, its treasurer, were thoughtful leaders who continued successfully to take organizational risks so that the new Youth Resources Bureau and network of services would flourish. There were also professionals in Pittsfield like Jim Mooney, Executive Director of Boys' Club, Dave York, Executive Director of Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Bob Mattews and Jim Guillo, the two Executive Directors of YRB, who showed great innovative skills and political prowess.

These are but a few of the folks from Pittsfield to Springfield to Boston who created an atmosphere for change, supplied the innovations, and got others to embrace their ideas so that the projects would be implemented.

My return to graduate school in 1971 after a fourteen-year lay-off from formal education was another unexpected event. Had the department chairman not canceled our meeting and shunted me off to lunch with Larry Dye and Ed Buddleman, I probably would have majored in aesthetics instead of criminal justice. That luncheon meeting began my education in criminal justice, youth services, and the needs of adolescents. Some of the lasting impressions I got from the seminars at Farley Lodge and at Larry Dye's home were of people who did the unexpected, including the Harlem mother who started the first foster home for teenage heroin addicts and their newborn babies. I was equally impressed by the three different people who could not tell me where the Westfield Detention Center was located when I sought directions from them, only to learn it was just a few blocks from the site of my inquiries.

I would not have been able to preserve the unexpected, the unpredictable and the unorthodox, however, without the assistance of the following people. Sgt. Polidoro, Pittsfield Police Department, Tom Collins, Probation Department, and Tom Darcey, Department of Youth Services, provided the basic data for much of this dissertation. Jim Mooney and Jim Cuillo and all the public and private

agencies furnished the historic evidence which enabled me to tell the Pittsfield story.

My wife and my family showed much patience and understanding in all the different stages of this dissertation. Each offered encouragement at just the right time.

The preparation of this manuscript was greatly enhanced by the editing of Mary Helen Callahan, whose special talents and continued interest in the project helped make it all come together. There has been a team of typists: Rose Razze, Renate Gerner, Jackie Black, Mary Owen, and Kay Shuey. Their individual efforts have been indispensable. The resources and cooperation of the United Ways of Central Berkshire and of Delaware were most helpful.

A final thanks to the doctoral dissertation committee: Professors Ernest Washington and Edmond Burke, and Dr. Larry Dye. Their inspiration and guidance has been greatly appreciated and needs to be acknowledged with special gratitude.

ABSTRACT

An Analysis of Community-Based Services
for Youthful Offenders in Pittsfield, Massachusetts
1970 - 1980

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Directed by: Professor Ernest D. Washington and Dr. Larry L. Dye

When Massachusetts moved to deinstitutionalize its juvenile justice system, the City of Pittsfield created a Youth Resources Bureau to build a wide range of community-based services for delinquents and non-delinquents that has endured. Although marked by a high turnover of professional staff and numerous changes in locations in early years, these services have survived: multiple counseling sites, foster care, emergency shelter, job opportunities, and an alternative school. Helping youthful offenders has become a shared community responsibility. Pittsfield differed from earlier experiments in community-based services by achieving strong support from traditional agencies, like the Boys' Club which has uniquely provided both direct community diversion and parole supervision for youth committed to the Department of Youth Services. The initial prediction by skeptics of an increase in juvenile crime resulting from deinstitutionalization has not materialized.

This study details disposition decisions by police, courts and DYS. Police divert a few youth from the system; however the nature of offenses and the presence of appropriate community services would allow for much greater use by police of diversion options. The Probation Department diverts a very large portion into community-based services. Most youth committed to DYS go to unsecured group homes, some are enrolled in community-based services, and a few are remanded to secure detention and treatment facilities.

This study provides a basis for projecting requirements of other juvenile justice systems wishing to provide substantially more community-based alternatives to incarceration. The need for more client choice in the placement decisions and a longitudinal study of youth assigned to community-based services are stressed.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Of the many and valuable institutions sustained in whole, or in part, from the public treasury, we may safely say, that none is of more importance, or holds a more intimate connection with the future prosperity and moral integrity of the community, than one which promises to take neglected, wayward, wandering, idle and vicious boys, with perverse minds and corrupted hearts, and cleanse and purify and reform them, and thus send them forth in the erectness of manhood and in the beauty of virtue, educated and prepared to be industrious, useful and virtuous citizens.

Massachusetts Governor George Briggs, a Pittsfield native, at the opening of the Lyman School for Boys in 1846.

For over a century, juvenile justice systems throughout the United States have relied principally upon incarceration as a way of dealing with youthful offenders. In January 1972, Massachusetts became the first state in the nation to shift from a strategy of confinement to one of community containment. Massachusetts' juvenile justice system was deinstitutionalized: training schools were closed, and offenders were housed in a new network of unsecured residential placements and provided with a wide variety of community-based services.

This study is both an investigation of how Pittsfield, Massachusetts, assembled a community-based service system for youthful offenders between 1970 and 1980 and an examination of the philosophical and organizational practices of the community's participating public and private agencies. Residential care, diagnostic services, counseling, special programs for adolescent youths with alcoholic problems, tutoring for pregnant teenage girls, an alternative school, and a job program for low-income youths are all part of the network of community-based programs that was established. By examining the ten-year history of the Pittsfield community-based services system and its growth and development at the local level, this study provides a basis for projecting the requirements for other juvenile justice systems emphasizing the least amount of security and a large amount of community-based alternatives for adolescent population.

Background of the Problem

Dissatisfaction with the juvenile justice system. The juvenile justice system can best be described as inflexible, inadequate, ineffective, and unimaginative. Historically, the juvenile justice system has developed very limited choices. An adjudicated delinquent can either be placed on probation or incarcerated in an institution. If probation or parole officers decide the delinquent might benefit

from a social service, they must turn to an outside community resource willing to include delinquents in its program.

The problems of inadequate resources and limited options are not confined to serious or repeated offenders. The range of choice is usually just as narrow for cases involving runaways, truants, parent-and-child conflicts, missing persons, and under-age drinkers--all of whom come to the attention of the police and probation officers with great frequency. As a retired New York City Family Court Judge pointed out:

Behind the formal parental petition alleging truancy or late hours are often problems of drug abuse, hard drug use, stealing from the home, periods of disappearance, promiscuity, excessive drinking or gang involvement ... (with) ... parents at the end of their wits, fearful of what may happen next ... One also finds a higher proportion of the emotionally disturbed children in need of residential treatment among these children and youth than among those children who have committed a criminal act and who are therefore found to be delinquent [Polier, 1974, p. 114].

An analysis of incarcerated youths is equally revealing. Among those youths found delinquent and committed to the Department of Youth Services in Massachusetts, officials found a

... high concentration of low income children--about 90 percent of the children committed to the Department each year come from families receiving some form of welfare--demonstrated that many treatment alternatives were not available to the disadvantaged. Since about 60 percent of the families from which the children come

have histories of parental alcoholism, drug use, mental instability, or child abuse, it was further obvious that the children's problems were complex and required individualized attention [Bakal, 1973b, p. 1].

Unless there are local shelters for runaways, counseling services for parent-child conflicts, or alternative schools for truants, those status offenders and serious offender problems go unresolved. Entry into the juvenile justice for a youth may be more "than a trip downtown and a lecture rather than a service [Weser, 1973, p. 2]."

Although designed to control and correct youth crime and delinquency, the juvenile justice system has been relatively ineffective. Nationally, the number of youths arrested for violent crimes (murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault) in the 1970s increased 60 percent--from an annual rate of 60,190 in 1970 to 96,387 in 1979 [Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1979, p. 198] (See Appendices E and F for calculations)--while the population of 11- to 17-year olds declined 5 percent [Bureau of Census, 1980, pp. 7 and 26]. As serious as these increasing rates of crimes against persons are, violent crimes committed by youthful offenders account for less than 5 percent of all of their crimes reported. Youth crimes are mostly directed at property, not people. Youths and young adults (those under 25) were responsible for between 70 and 80 percent of all motor

vehicle thefts, burglary, larceny-theft, and arson [Jordan & Dye, 1970, p. 3].*

Youths and young adults are not only responsible for a substantial and disproportionate portion of the nation's crimes, but they also tend to repeat their offenses. One of the most powerful rationales for closing institutions in Massachusetts was the awareness that

Youths, who underwent institutional care in the State reform schools showed a predictable and alarming tendency to reappear in the judicial and penal system. Recidivism studies in the State ... revealed more than a 70 percent return rate for reform school graduates confirmed that the "reform" schools failed to treat the underlying problems created in the child through poverty and family neglect [Bakal, 1973b, p. 1].

If a general hospital treated fractures, cancer, heart disease, and appendicitis with the same medical procedures, an immediate investigation would probably follow, and yet in the incarcerations of youthful offenders, emotionally disturbed, neglected, immature, retarded and delinquent youths are placed in the same institution and receive the same daily care regardless of their underlying problems.

Public officials in most states have been unwilling to take the political risk to lower institutional census during a time of increased

* However, the majority of crimes committed by youths go undetected. "Indeed, self-reported studies reveal that perhaps as many as 90 percent of all young people have committed at least one act for which they could have been brought to juvenile court [President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 55]."

crime and delinquency; instead, they prefer to continue to invest large sums of funds in custodial institutions and cling to the myth that "... the longer we imprison the offender, the repetition of his delinquency will be less likely [Bakal, 1973a, p. 4]."

Voluntary efforts to cope with the failures of the juvenile justice

system. Efforts to stimulate new ways of handling youthful offenders came from both the voluntary and the public sector in the late 1960s. Not knowing what to do about drug-dependent youths -- especially those middle-class youths who were getting public attention for their delinquent acts -- and genuine concern for rising crime rates among youths spurred activities at local and national levels.

This new type of offender -- often middle-class youths who had rarely before been subject to the juvenile justice system -- brought the inadequacy of both local community services and the juvenile justice system to the attention of many who had previously been able to ignore such problems. What juvenile justice officials and concerned citizens alike discovered was that traditional agencies knew little about handling drug dependency and related delinquency. Many local agencies and institutions were even openly hostile to young people with drug problems. Most of the voluntary efforts that did emerge at the local level were in the form of shelters for runaways, counseling services, telephone advice lines, free clinics, and various combina-

tions of services. For the most part, these services had not existed before in the United States; in fact, "prior to 1967 there were none (runaway homes) and never before had been [Glasscote, Raybin, Reifler, Kane, 1975, p. 4]."

During this period of searching for solutions and experimentation, there was very little leadership from the public sector. For example, the 1971 survey on the origin of hot lines reported that

more than half of the hot lines were founded by local citizens, another 14 percent by religious organizations, 14 percent by local government agencies, 9 percent by state agencies, 7 percent by educational institutions, and 2 percent by federal agencies. (For the most part) ... the money came from community and private donations, student activities funds, publications sales, collection of cans, some government grants, and from religious organizations [Glasscote, et al., 1975, p. 19].

Many of the drug-related delinquents who drifted into state-operated detentions and long-term secure facilities in the late 1960s and early 1970s did so because there were no alternative community services for them. A network of community-based services was largely nonexistent at the local level before the 1970s for delinquent and non-delinquent adolescents. Those services that were developed were largely the result of voluntary efforts.

The federal response to the failures of the juvenile justice system.

Serious national concern with the growing crime problem led to the

appointment in 1965 of a Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. A task force of this Commission focused on the problems of juvenile delinquency. This distinguished group of federal, state and local officials, and private agency advisors submitted its report in 1967, Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. The report was an in-depth "inquiry into the workings of the existing system of juvenile justice system and suggested methods of improving it [Task Force Report, 1967, p. XI]" by "... the development of a far broader range of alternatives for dealing with offenders [President's Commission, 1967, vii]." The Task Force listed almost forty recommendations suggesting a wide range of changes inside and outside the formal juvenile justice system (a complete listing of these recommendations is found in Appendix D). The Task Force viewed these changes to be components of a new type of community-based service system that would provide the opportunity to direct youthful offenders to a non-judicial track. The Task Force suggested the expansion of counseling and therapy, provisions for residential care, increased involvement of religious institutions and other private social agencies, and increased contact between the school and the community. It specifically recommended the establishment of youth service bureaus to provide and coordinate programs for delinquents and non-delinquents alike. For police departments it suggested setting up guidelines for handling juvenile delinquents, and increasing referrals to community agencies from the formal

juvenile justice system. By 1968 there were two laws based on the new methods recommended by the task force: The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act. These acts provided grants-in-aid to state and local governments and private agencies to assist in the prevention and control of delinquency. Funding applications from many states revealed vast differences in approaches to reform. Some applications proposed "... new services, including shelters, foster homes, open schools, remedial help, and other programs that promised community involvement and new approaches for children with special problems [Polier, 1974, p. 113]." Others applied for assistance in the coordination of existing services and the organization of a system of referrals to those services. Most of these efforts sought to

... remove some of the ugliest forms of neglect that have made a mockery of juvenile justice since the early part of the twentieth century ... like an end to the persistent use of jails and prison-like institutions as depositories for children and youths [Polier, 1974, p. 113].

Various national political leaders and state governors expressed dissatisfaction with this legislation. The governors reported,

We find that it (the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968) is poorly drafted as enacted, that it is inadequately funded, and that its administration is not properly coordinated with the Omnibus Crime Control Act [Jordan and Dye, 1970, p. 6].

Despite these limitations, the federal laws and the commission's report would become important links between the federal and state governments. Without the federal financial help provided, reform-minded states like Massachusetts could not have been able to redirect resources to deal with the juveniles at early signs of trouble and to deinstitutionalize its system. In considering the concept of a non-judicial track for first offenders and for status offenders, the commission had recommended that

each community establish a Youth Resources Bureau to provide services lacking in the community, especially those services of major importance to less serious delinquent juveniles. The scope of the responsibility for such bureaus would give the police, the juvenile courts, parents, schools and other agencies the opportunity to refer juveniles to an agency which would seek out the problems in the community rather than injecting them into the often unproductive spiral of the correction system [Jordan & Dye, 1970, p. 10]. (See Appendix C for diagram.)

The drug scare of the 1960's brought middle-class people for the first time face-to-face with the inadequacy of the juvenile justice system and the resources of the community. In a similar matter, the mounting rate of crime and delinquency brought the federal government to recognize the inadequacy of the overall formal juvenile justice system. The combination of the voluntary efforts and the federal responses to the failures of the juvenile justice system aided communities like Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in their efforts to reexamine and redesign new services for adolescents.

Juvenile justice in Massachusetts: 1845-1968. Much of the juvenile justice system in the United States can be traced to events in the Massachusetts juvenile justice system. The idea of probation started in Boston. More than 125 years ago John August, a private citizen,

got court officials to let him try to rehabilitate delinquents whom they would otherwise have sent to jail. His 1852 report, 'The Labors of John August for the Last Ten Years,' describes a program of services -- foster homes, job placement, use of volunteers -- that is as modern as many communities have today [Bakal, 1973a, p. 33].

In the 1840s Massachusetts also pioneered in establishing separate facilities for juveniles called "training schools," a concept that spread to every state in the nation. Almost from the beginning, Massachusetts' training schools came under criticism. In Dye's (1972) history of the county training schools, he cited investigations into their operations in 1872 and 1896. By 1933, another commission recommended consolidating the then five schools into two and stressed that "merely to send habitual truants to an institution, is not a sufficient, effective procedure for modern times [Dye, 1972, p. 15]." Six years later (in 1939), still another commission concluded that "the county training schools as now operated have no proper place in our institutional set-up for juvenile delinquents [Dye, 1972, p. 17]." In response to these various investigations and criticisms, Massachusetts' officials initiated different types of

institutional care. By 1960, there were three county training schools, four detention centers, three industrial schools, an institute for juvenile guidance, a residential treatment unit, and a forestry camp. [Powers, 1968, pp. 143-147] Those responsible for adjudicated delinquents in Massachusetts viewed their alternatives in terms of different types of facilities -- of variation in the degree of constraint imposed upon the youth -- rather than in terms of different modes of service provision -- of variation in the source and site of the resource made available to the youths.

More studies of the Division of Youth Services' operations were conducted during 1965 and 1968.* In addition to the training school's functions some of these studies examined the full operations of the department, its leadership, and its institutional care. The management studies focused on the great power held by the Division's director who, as the chairman of the Youth Services Board,

... was also the Director of the Division of Youth Services and was solely responsible for the formulation and execution of policies ... (has) to administer 10 institutions ... (to) appoint all employees in the institutions and prescribe their duties ... and to see that the broad mandate of the law ... encompasses both prevention and treatment of youthful offenders [Powers, 1968, p. 143].

* "There were investigations of conditions in the training schools by private advocacy groups, by individual lay investigators, by the State Attorney General, by several legislative committees, and finally by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare [Sherill, 1975, p. 30]."

The studies expressed concern the fact that each of the institutions had established separate budget and policy relationships with the director of the division, John Coughlin, during the eighteen years of his administration. Furthermore, the institutions, which were Coughlin's primary responsibility, had deteriorated during his tenure. The institutions had no certified academic or educational programs. The vocational training was limited, using out-moded skills which would provide little opportunity for the youths for future employment. [Bakal, 1973a, p. 154] Clinical services were almost nonexistent because of lack of professional staff. "Staff members were untrained, unskilled, and unlikely to know the newer treatment methods ... They ranged in age from forty to sixty years old [Bakal, 1973a, p. 154]."

The treatment of youths inside the institution was at best custodial, at worst punitive and repressive. Marching, shaving heads, and enforced periods of long silence were normal disciplinary modes. Punitive staff used force; they made recalcitrant children drink water from toilets or scrub floors on their hands and knees for hours on end. Solitary confinement was also used extensively and rationalized as the mode of treatment for those who needed it. [Bakal, 1973a; Dye, 1972; Ohlin, 1974].

By 1968, the Massachusetts juvenile justice system consisted of 750 employees* who operated ten institutions with a total population of 750 boys and girls and supervised a parole division with the responsibility for an additional 1325 boys and 325 girls [Powers, 1968, p. 148].

As the results of the numerous studies conducted in 1967 and 1968 began to surface, great pressures were put on Coughlin to resign. These pressures came from the legislature, civic associations and the League of Women Voters, private agencies including the United Community Services, Harvard University, and the local media and press. Finally, in the spring of 1968 the governor forced Coughlin to resign and to pave the way for reorganization of the division into a department and the appointment of new leadership.

Pittsfield, Massachusetts: A case study of reform. Pittsfield, as a case illustration, provides a historic prospective of the ten-year growth and development of a previously introduced concept which links deinstitutionalization to community-based services. The Massachusetts Department of Youth Services substituted residential placement for institutionalization, while Pittsfield offered the local juvenile

* Estimates of the total number of Division of Youth Service staff go as high as 900, but the exact number appears unverifiable. Jerome Miller, director of the Department of Youth Services from October 1969 to January 1973, claims it took him two years to find out how many staff he had.

justice system an opportunity to handle youthful offenders non-judicially within a newly created network of community services.

In human service organization terms, a decade is sufficient time to evaluate a community's efforts at reform. Enough changes occurred in the 1970s in Pittsfield to transform a pilot project into a strong tradition. By greatly expanding the number of local services for its youthful offender and adolescent population, Pittsfield was in a unique position to set up a community-based system outside the formal juvenile justice system. Pittsfield developed the capacity to handle its youthful offenders non-judicially to help its adolescents with their personal problems and to limit the number of youths who were committed to the Department of Youth Services for placement outside of Berkshire County.

Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the state's fourth largest city, is located in the most western part of the state. It is an industrialized city of 51,000 people, many of whom work for General Electric Company. The city serves as the commercial center of Berkshire County. Pittsfield is geographically almost half way (35 miles) between the county's northern and southern borders. Berkshire County's 142,000 people are scattered in the small towns and rolling hills which border on three states: Vermont, New York and Connecticut.

Pittsfield's juvenile justice system in the late 1960s consisted of a police department without a separate juvenile bureau; a

probation department with two probation officers, one for boys and one for girls; and accesses to a secure detention center in Westfield, Massachusetts, fifty-three miles to the east in Hampshire County.* The only juvenile delinquency prevention program in the community was a school adjustment counseling program jointly sponsored by DYS and the public schools. Pittsfield had no overnight resources for adolescents; it had to use the Westfield Detention Center or the local jail. There was no emergency shelter and no psychiatric unit within the General Hospital -- only a small outpatient children's psychiatric clinic. The only two child welfare agencies, the Family and Children's Services and the Children's Protective Services, were primarily oriented to the growth and development problems of the pre-school and the younger child rather than adolescents.

Pittsfield was not entirely without human service facilities for youths. There was a Boys' Club, a Girls Club, a Catholic Youth Center, a YMCA, and a neighborhood settlement house -- all deeply interested in youth eight to fourteen years old. Intended primarily for recreation and leisure time needs of young people, each agency stressed "character building" in their service description and thus could be assumed to have a delinquency-prevention focus. While these

* There were no regional offices of DYS prior to 1970. All transactions with the department had to be conducted in Boston, 150 miles away.

local agencies offered no special services to attract teenagers beyond a Friday night dance or a sports event, they were the type of facilities that the President's Commission Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime recommended to reach out to the adolescent population and help them into adulthood. The commission viewed these facilities, their staff and their voluntary leadership as primary resources to divert youthful offenders to a non-judicial track.

By the late 1960s, the emotions that stirred people at a state and national level to re-examine the care and treatment of adolescents were also experienced in Berkshire County. Interest was greatly stimulated by rising concern about youths' involvement in drugs. For the first time, middle- and upper-income youths became involved with drugs and were appearing before the local juvenile justice system.*

Local juvenile justice reform efforts in Pittsfield were sparked by a report prepared by the Pittsfield League of Women Voters that investigated delinquency, youth services and the needs of adolescents. Entitled Skeletons in our Community's Closet, it became a focal point for the Pittsfield League of Women Voters, the Pittsfield Urban Coalition, the Pittsfield Junior League, and the local United Way voluntary leadership.

* In his 1970 annual report to the United Way Board of Directors, the volunteer president, Charles J. Graham, specifically referred to the November 14, 1970, death of a 19-year old Pittsfield youth that was attributed to drug abuse.

For Pittsfield, the discussions began to define what was needed: counseling, education, jobs, shelters, foster care and group homes. Could a coordinated community-based service system be established? What was financially and politically required to make it work? Who would sponsor it? What impact would the new services have on the mounting increases in youth crime and delinquency? Would Pittsfield follow the 1967 recommendations of the President's Commission Task Force to establish a youth resources bureau? Although the suggested mechanism for establishing these new services for adolescents was a youth resources bureau, few were in existence. There was no substantial record of experimentation, only scattered success in delinquency prevention programs to support the concept of handling youthful offenders non-judicially were in existence. There really were no models to follow.

Statement of the problem. The major objectives of this study are to (1) determine the nature of the alternative community-based service system that was developed in Pittsfield during the early 1970s when Massachusetts' Department of Youth Services was closing its traditional training schools and implementing a policy of deinstitutionalization; (2) to determine the extent to which the community-based service system was functioning ten years later; and (3) to determine how the juvenile justice system in Pittsfield disposed of youthful offenders at the close of the decade with limited secure detention and treatment facilities available to the local community.

The organizational structure of Pittsfield's community-based service system was identified and described through the study of written documents, surveys, research reports, newspaper accounts, interviews, and on-site visits. These same sources were also used by the investigator to discover Pittsfield's overall philosophy about adolescent youths in trouble.

Through an analysis of data collected the investigator has:

(a) Identified by location, sponsorship and types of service the programs in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, between 1970 and 1980.

(b) Described the organizational structure and operating procedures between the adolescent services, the juvenile justice system, the local public schools department, the area office of the Department of Mental Health, and the local and regional office for the Department of Youth Services.

(c) Identified the role that federal revenue sharing and Title XX, block grants, and local United Way volunteer dollars have had in sustaining the community-based system.

(d) Assessed the number of local youths involved in three different components of the juvenile justice system in 1980 and depict their offenses.

(e) Quantified the number of youths who are referred by the police to the courts, and the courts' commitments to the Department of Youth Services.

(f) Illustrated the referral system in Pittsfield among the three different levels of the juvenile justice system and the other components of the local human service system that deal with adolescents.

Limitation of the study. Massachusetts in its reform efforts undertook imaginative and unprecedented experimentation. Data was therefore not available from other states to help predict the outcome of the departmental changes. Equally, no similar experiences are available from any other city to provide a comparison with Pittsfield's efforts in establishing community-based services. This investigation thus represents a profile of only one local network of services within one largely non-institutional juvenile justice system.

The present study was limited to the information which was available during the investigation period from Massachusetts' Department of Youth Services and the organizations in Pittsfield that participated in the growth and development of the community-based services. There were in some cases insufficient historical program information, records, or composites of individual records describing these local operations. Furthermore, much of the data relating to delinquent youths was confidential and was generally not available for use by those outside of the agency concerned or the juvenile justice system.

This study is not an examination of methods to alleviate the causes leading to delinquency but rather focuses upon the official, formal and voluntary informal services offered to the youthful offenders.

The investigator himself had an official capacity as the Executive Director of the United Way throughout the period of the study. This role may have biased his observations.

As fascinating as the Pittsfield case illustration is, it should not be viewed as a "model." It has not been designed or developed with those objectives in mind. It does not attempt to prove the impact of this local system on the life-style and delinquency behavior of youths.

This investigation does point in some important directions for further research. Too often in the past, research projects have had to confine their efforts to simple comparisons of two programs set against one another. Pittsfield's extensive network of services enables social policy makers and social science researchers to look at a broad set of options and a wide range of alternative services that reach into the many facets of an adolescent's behavior: the school, the home, the peer relationships, day care, overnight care. These services provide the youths with opportunities to alter their behavior if they so choose.

Design of the study. The descriptive case study approach has been used for this investigation. Data were gathered from a variety of basic sources:

- (1) Documents written about community-based services;
- (2) On-site observations of each of the community-based services and interviews with their financial sponsors;
- (3) Interviews with the local juvenile justice system officials, the regional office of the Department of Youth Services, the program directors of the alternative services; and
- (4) Written questionnaires administered in 1975 and 1981 to the directors of the alternative services. Special written inquiries sent to the key people in the local and regional components of the juvenile justice system.

Definition of terms. In order to provide a degree of consistency of terminology, it is necessary to define some of the terms used in the study that are essential to the investigator's interpretations.

Community-based. The resources available for youthful offenders within the boundaries of a locally designated geographical area; usually in private non-profit organizations whose operations are determined by a volunteer board of directors.

Deinstitutionalization. The discontinuation of residential custodial institutions coordinated with the establishment of community

placements as an alternative to the incarceration of youthful offenders.

Department of Youth Services. Hereafter referred to as DYS; the state agency in Massachusetts charged with the responsibility of maintaining custody over all youths between the ages of seven and thirteen who have committed an act of delinquency in the Commonwealth; established in 1968.

Human service system. An organized framework of comprehensive and coordinated services for individuals and groups of people in the areas of health, welfare, recreation and education.

Institutionalization. The incarceration of youthful offenders in custodial facilities operated by the Department of Youth Services.

Juvenile justice system. The formal network of services and officials within the police departments, the courts, the probation and parole departments, and the correctional facilities.

Resources. Services, activities, or programs clustered under a single sponsorship and designed to help alleviate a condition within the life of an adolescent.

Status offender. Someone whose behavior is illegal only because of his or her age. For example, delinquent acts like truancy and running away from home are status offenses.

Youthful offender. A child between the ages of seven and sixteen who violates any city ordinance or town bylaw or commits any offense against a law of the Commonwealth.

Youth resources bureau. A community-based organization which functions independently of the juvenile justice system and which is specially designated to deliver services to both intentionally diverted delinquents and non-delinquents by (1) providing direct services within the organization itself, or (2) by coordinating already existing services; or (3) by creating new services.

Significance of the study. In the field of human services, a decade is a sufficient period of time to have elapsed to examine the concept of providing community-based services for youthful offenders. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the community selected as a case illustration in this investigation, has dramatically expanded its community-based services during the past decade as an alternative to incarceration.

Not all youths who are troubled or who get into trouble get caught up in the juvenile justice system; indeed, the vast majority do not become involved with it. But the number of those who do has doubled in the past seven years and now reaches two million annually. (See Appendix G for calculations) Both the rise in the formal handling of youthful offenders and the frequency with which the youths reappear in the system throughout their adolescence and into adulthood raise serious doubts about the effectiveness of the juvenile justice system.

One major national strategy to decrease the involvement of youths in the formal juvenile justice system is to divert them into

an informal network of services, thus assigning the responsibility for their care and treatment to a community-based system of services that functions in cooperation with, but outside of, the juvenile justice system. The recounting of Pittsfield's history provides a well-documented description of the interorganizational arrangements that make up the formal and informal components of a local community-based juvenile justice system.

It is important to recognize that under a community-based services system the juvenile justice system must rely on resources outside of its own network. The willingness on the part of the community to provide those resources is thus crucial to the effective operation of that juvenile justice system.

The emergence of community-based services for juveniles and the closing of juvenile custodial institutions in Massachusetts were not an orderly sequence of events. Few youth resources bureaus existed in the nation in 1969 when Massachusetts began its reform movement, yet Pittsfield would rely on a newly created Youth Resources Bureau as a major vehicle for the creation of a new type of juvenile justice system. The development of additional community-based services and the closing of custodial institutions in Massachusetts were almost unprecedented, somewhat haphazard, and sometimes a series of unrelated events. It is nonetheless possible to measure Pittsfield's efforts against the recommendations of the 1967 President Commission's Task Force on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

Tracing Pittsfield's step-by-step development of a new community-based services system for youthful offenders and other troubled adolescents can provide an assessment of what efforts are required in other communities who wish to forge new partnerships with state and local juvenile justice systems, state mental health and social service departments, public schools, elected city and county officials, and private non-profit organizations. The recording of an extensive new community-based services system has obvious importance for other cities, counties, and states as they go ahead with their own development efforts. Pittsfield's organization and service delivery results are measurable and can be replicated elsewhere.

Organization of the dissertation. Chapter I sets forth the background, limitations, design and significance of the problem. Chapter II includes a review of the related literature and research associated with the development of non-institutional services for juveniles and details the deinstitutionalization of the juvenile justice system in Massachusetts. Chapter III describes the methodology used in conducting the study. Chapter IV delineates the growth and development of community-based services for youthful offenders and adolescents in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, between 1970 and 1976. Chapter V provides an assessment of the handling of youthful offenders between 1976 and 1981. Chapter VI includes the summary, conclusions and recommendations from the study.

C H A P T E R I I
A REVIEW OF JUVENILE JUSTICE
CORRECTIONS POLICY AND PRACTICES

With the exception of relatively few youth, it is probably better for all concerned if young delinquents are not detected, apprehended or institutionalized. Too many of them get worse in our care.

Milton Lunger, New York State's
Director of Youth Services (1966-
1976)

In a very real sense, deinstitutionalization is not a new concept: the majority of adjudicated youthful offenders have never been institutionalized. Most youthful offenders remain in their communities and thus are, and always have been, candidates for community-based services. Furthermore, whether status offenders or those who represent a potential danger to public safety, most youthful offenders have similar problems: emotional immaturity and/or instability; lack of education and skills; unhealthy or unsuitable home situations. Therefore they sometimes share a need for similar services. How these services might best be offered has presented the juvenile justice system with some of its more perplexing problems.

Literature on juvenile delinquency programs. The remarkable thing about the wide variety of programs designed to prevent juvenile

delinquency or rehabilitate the juvenile delinquent is that so few provide any useable information to policy makers. As one analyst stated:

No responsible business concern would operate with as little information regarding its success or failure as do nearly all our delinquency prevention and control programs. It is almost possible to count on one hand the number of true experiments in which alternative techniques are compared ... [Wheeler, Cottrell, Romaseo, 1970, p. 224].

Dixon and Wright's analysis. There have been numerous studies of programs to deal with youthful offenders. In the Dixon and Wright analysis the researchers looked at 6,666 abstracts that were produced between 1965 and 1975 and from that number selected 354 indepth studies. After these 354 articles, pamphlets, and unpublished reports were collected and further analyzed, only 95 of the articles and reports contained some form of empirical data which could be used for analysis. The results, however, of the 95 empirical studies

confirm that an extremely small percentage of delinquency and youth development efforts are ever evaluated, even minimally. Furthermore, even when adequate evaluation is performed, few studies show significant results [Dixon and Wright, 1974, p. 34].

Perhaps an even more telling summary stresses that information which policy makers have available is virtually non-existent:

We spend millions of dollars a year in prevention and correction efforts with little other than guess work to tell us whether we are getting the desired effects [Cressey and Ward, 1969, p. 442].

However, the Dixon and Wright analysis did emphasize, in a positive sense, that the community-based programs which were examined showed that there was one conclusion that cannot be contested

even if one remains cautious of his interpretations of the evidence, the indication is always that community intervention is at least as effective as incarceration. This is a matter not to be taken lightly [Empey and Erickson, 1972, p. 200].

The analyst went on to stress that community treatment can be supported on theoretical grounds as well.

Institutions are much less likely to be in a position to deal with whatever environmental situations contribute to delinquents' behavior. Finally, budgetary considerations alone make community projects worthy of further funding and evaluation research [Dixon and Wright, 1969, p. 33].

Martison's analysis. Martison's work reports similar results. He examined published reports from 1945 through 1967, and after careful examination of 231 reports stated that "... With few isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism [Martison, 1974, p. 25]."

Lundman and Scarpitti's analysis. A third, widely accepted analysis of prevention projects reported in the professional literature, by Lundman and Scarpitti, makes a number of interesting recommendations for delinquency prevention projects. Their analysis of professional publications from 1957 through 1974 included nearly 1,000 citations, and further narrowed the study to 50 projects for serious review [Lundman and Scarpitti, 1978, p. 208] They concluded that

... delinquency is an enormously complex phenomena. Few prevention efforts give any indication having successfully prevented youngsters from engaging in law violation. (As researchers) ... we know little about why particular projects fail to prevent delinquency [Lundman and Scarpitti, 1978, p. 220].

Mann's analysis. In Mann's study for the Rand Corporation he stressed

... that no basis can be found to relate a specific set of treatments to a defined population of serious offenders and, further, that insufficient data were available to support judgments about the relative effects of different treatment approaches [Hudson and Mack, 1978, p. 5].

Mann pointed out the dilemma faced by policy makers who

... must attempt to satisfy two partially incompatible demands -- that serious juvenile offenders be punished, incapacitated and deterred, and that they be rehabilitated. [He underscores] The difficulty is compounded by an extreme lack of hard data

about treatments and outcomes specific to serious juvenile offenders [Mann, 1976, p. vi].

Summary of analysis of research. In summary then, studies of the quality of research in the field of juvenile delinquency programs show only isolated successes. Many more programs were unsuccessful, inconclusive, or were carried out without using established measurements for social science research. For the most part, projects in juvenile justice do not possess measurements in evaluations that can stand up to independent analysis. These circumstances mean that for practitioners and policy makers in the field of juvenile justice much of the efforts that are made must be based on instinct, experience, and the practical approach of "if it works -- keep trying it [Mann, 1976, p. 82]."

Alternatives to institutionalization. A historical review of the juvenile justice system shows that about every ten years a new method is developed for handling youthful offenders. The 1950s and 1960s saw several projects which were designed by social scientists to document the validity of seeking alternatives to incarceration for youthful offenders. Three such experimental projects are the Highfields and the Essexfields projects from New Jersey and the Pinehills project from Provo, Utah.

Highfields: An open-residential program. As the 1950s began, the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, the Essex County Juvenile Court, and the Ford Foundation combined their efforts to establish an open facility. The program included both a work program and a newly created counseling program: guided group interaction. Its sponsors were uncertain that it would be "possible to organize and operate a short term residential center and provide the treatment of delinquent boys on a non-custodial basis [Weeks, 1958, p. 17]" since this had not been done in the United States before. Ernest W. Burgess, the project's research director, pointed out at the time:

There was some faith but not certainty that the Center could be operated successfully without guards and without the other precautions against escapes of the large custodial reformatory. There was nothing to prevent all the boys from running away and thus putting an end to a noble experiment [McCorkle, Elias and Bixby, 1958, p. iv].

The experiences of Highfields confirmed the faith that a successful open residential program could be designed and that the boys would take part in its work and counseling programs. Week's study of Highfields had compared that program with Annandale, the state (N.J.) reformatory for youthful offenders. It has concluded that "a much higher proportion of Highfield's boys than Annandale boys succeed after release from treatment." [Stephenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. 100]. The Highfields Project did survive. It has been in continuous operation for over 25 years.

The Provo experiment: The Pinehills project. In 1960 the Pinehills project, another experimental program, was launched as a community alternative to incarceration for persistent juvenile offenders. All the boys, ages 14-18, assigned to the program lived at home. Those who were not in school were employed for pay in a city work program.

On Saturdays, all boys worked. Late in the afternoon of each day boys left school or work, came to Pinehills (the program center) and attended a group meeting. After the meetings were completed, they returned to their own homes. During the summer every boy attended an all-day program which involved work and group discussions. On rare occasions, a boy might work apart from the others if he had a full-time job [Empey and Erickson, 1972, p. 9].

The Pinehills program was community-based and non-residential. The repeat offenders assigned to it came and went on their own. Many were candidates for reformatories but because they were in the project, they were free in the community.

Essexfields: A non-residential program. In the 1960s New Jersey's Division of Correction and Parole responded to another proposal from the Ford Foundation to set up a non-residential program in the heart of Newark, which is the state's largest city and has its highest delinquency rate [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. 1].

The non-residential aspects of Essexfields, however, raised these questions:

Would boys, geared to an irregular pattern of late night prowling and late morning rising, report regularly from their homes to Essexfields at 7:30 a.m. each week day? Would they return unescorted to their homes in the evenings as late as 10:30 p.m. without getting into trouble along the way? Could they resist the temptations of their delinquent friends and sometimes indifferent families during the weekends? Would not the pull of the disorganized communities to which they returned daily be too great to hold them to the program [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. 100]?

In April 1961, the first boys were admitted to Essexfields [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. 2] to work on the grounds of the County Mental Hospital under the supervision of the County Shade Tree Commission [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. 1]. Lunch and dinner were provided at the hospital. The second major part in the program consisted of two guided group interaction meetings (like those at Highfields) held every weekday evening for ninety minutes each. At the close of the evening's discussion groups, the boys returned home.

Summary. Organizationally, both the Provo and the Essexfields experiments, however, had a similar fate: they did not survive the original round of funding by the Ford Foundation even though the researchers' findings were that the boys made as good or a better adjustment than youths from custodial institutions (Utah State Industrial School and Annandale State Reformatory, New Jersey respectively) [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. 104]. Provo's Pinehills

was discontinued in 1965. Essexfields closed its doors in 1966 [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. iii]. The detailed accounts of critical votes on these pilot projects show that neither was able to gain sufficient political support to become incorporated in the operating budgets of the respective local communities.

Essexfields was financed originally by a three-year Ford Foundation planning and operation grant; it was hoped that the county would take over its operation at the end of that time. After considerable debate concerning State and County responsibilities for the treatment of delinquents, the enactment of enabling legislation by the State Assembly, and a public hearing at which strong community support was expressed by representative groups and individuals, the Board of Chosen Freeholders granted partial support for one year. However, at the end of that year Essex County felt unable to renew its commitment and after many attempts to secure financial support, Essexfields closed its doors in 1966 [Stevenson and Scarpitti, 1967, p. iii].

In Provo's, Pinehills project, the end result was that those people who conducted the Provo Experiment -- its director, the judge, and the Citizen's Advisory Council -- failed in their commitment to the Ford Foundation to match its grant with local operating funds. Nevertheless, the Experiment was completed, largely because its staff existed on small salaries, and because some parts of the research segment of the study were cut out.

By 1965, when grant funds were finally exhausted, a desperate effort was made by the Utah County Mental Health Association to continue supporting the program, but the association itself was in desperate straits so that its spiritually generous, but monetarily small offer was declined [Empey and Erickson, 1972, p. 168].

In his closing analysis of the demise of the Provo Experiment, which attempted to establish community-based services as alternatives to incarceration, Empey (1972) wondered out loud, "What might have been done, both to insure that it would be innovative, and yet to make certain that it would obtain continual financial support [p. 170]." It was ten years later and far from Utah before Empey's questions about the necessary ingredients to survive organizationally would be answered.

Regardless of the decade, the setting or the sponsorship, there are three options open to the juvenile justice system: "lock up, give up or try harder [Mann, 1976 p. 82]!" Highfields, Provo and Essexfields were communities who decided not to "lock up, but to try harder." Unfortunately, the public officials did not agree with the project efforts; otherwise, the projects would not have terminated at the end of their demonstration period.

The Massachusetts experiment. The first state to institutionalize youths in 1846, Massachusetts became in 1972 the first state radically to deinstitutionalize its delinquent population by closing all of its traditional training school facilities.

Through a combination of statutory changes and aggressive administration action, the existing system of juvenile corrections in the 1970's was significantly changed from a state-oriented system, emphasizing physical security, to a community-based system, emphasizing individualized care and treat-

ment through a diverse mix of programs, the vast majority of which were privately administered [Harshbarger, 1976, p. 9].

Pressures for change. From the mid-1960s on the Department of Youth Services was subject to increasing pressure to change by the legislature, the public, the media, and professional and civic associations. "Once a leader in youth services, Massachusetts had evolved one of the worst systems in the country [Bakal, 1973b, p. 155]." What had begin in the 1840s for humane purposes in the separation of youths from adult prisons, had evolved into ten different facilities with a combined recidivism rate that reached 80 percent, that housed in a "warehouse fashion" the children of the poor, generally blacks. "Of the inmates, 89 percent came from homes of parents who were on or eligible for public assistance; 60 percent had parents with alcoholism and drug addiction problems [Bakal, 1973a, p. 155]." Furthermore, the annual cost per child was as high as \$11,500, twice the national average [Bakal, 1973a, p. 155]. Punishment for offenses by the youth against discipline, which had become the watchword of the institutions, ranged from denial of privileges to solitary confinement and brutal beatings by the guards.

A series of investigations and exposes, began in 1965, continue to attack the existing system.

The first was the 1965 report of the Governor's Management Engineering Task Force followed by a 1966 report from the Attorney

General's Advisory Committee on Juvenile Crime. In 1965 Governor John Volpe asked the Childrens Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of the division for the governor's office [Bakal, 1973a, p. 155].

So scathing were the findings and recommendations of the HEW study that they were withheld from the public for almost a year until discovered and exposed by a major Boston newspaper in 1967. The disclosure prompted a new wave of studies by public bodies, including the Massachusetts Committee on Crime and Youth, and by private groups, such as the Friends of the Youth Association and the Parent-Teacher Association. Meanwhile, the Massachusetts' legislature conducted hearings to review the policies of the Youth Services Board and to consider new legislation.* Finally, the governor appointed a blue ribbon panel to review all aspects of the HEW report and to conduct a definitive investigation of the division.

Under intense pressure and responding to the public outcry against the division's leadership, Governor Seargent pressured Coughlin to resign in May 1969. In an interim appointment, Frank Maloney, a former professor at Boston College of Social Work, was named the acting director of the division.

* The studies (1) criticized the administrative structure of DYS, (2) highlighted that the institutions and detention centers were free to do their own hiring, firing and (3) that budget appropriations were made on an institution-by-institution basis.

The reorganization act. By August 1969, the legislature and the governor acted in concert to pass the Reorganization Act of 1969, which elevated the division to the status of a department and moved it out of the Department of Education and into a new super agency consisting of welfare, health, mental health and corrections.

This new department was to be headed by a commissioner and four assistant commissioners of his choosing. Also, it set up a new professional tone for the agency "using such key words as therapy, prevention, community services, purchase of services, and research [Bakal, 1973b, p. 152]." Perhaps most importantly the act empowered the department to "establish necessary facilities for detention, diagnosis, treatment and training of its charges including post-release care [Bakal, 1973b, p. 157]."

In October 1969, Governor Seargent confirmed Dr. Jerome Miller as the first commissioner of the new Department of Youth Services. Miller was selected because of his training and experience. "He had assumed office with a broad mandate to humanize the treatment of youth consigned to the care of the newly reorganized Department of Youth Services [Gould, 1976, p. 2]."

First steps of deinstitutionalization. What Miller inherited was an agency in turmoil, divided internally by the critical reports and facing great external political pressure. Furthermore, the press and the legislature had high expectations of his ability immediately to

upgrade the system and to shift the emphasis from institutional services to community-based programs.

By the end of the first year, despite the chaos, Miller had accomplished three important things. First, he had provided the philosophy and tone for later reforms through public appearances, press releases, and lectures around the state. Miller characterized this time as one in which he "... wandered from group to group looking for supporters ... (and) observing to form his own independent impressions of the operation [Gould, 1976, p. 4]." He paid impromptu visits to the institutions that only increased his dismay:

... I believe morally and ethically that the institutions were my responsibility. So they became an issue that the more I traveled around and looked at these awful places, the more I had to clean them. And the more I had to clean, the greater the moral dissonance I felt I was in. And I couldn't seem to be able to do much about it [Gould, 1976, p. 5].

Second, Miller used his administrative power to change and rotate top administrators from different institutions. One of the difficult hurdles he faced was the civil service system and his inability to change staff because they were locked into their positions. As the prospects for mass conversion appeared increasingly bleak, Miller resorted to less conventional methods of dealing with the staff. He sent them on indefinite vacations; he returned them to school; he stripped them of their responsibilities while leaving

their salaries and titles intact. Miller described, for example, his dealings with the superintendent at Shirley (a 39-year career employee):

I found a paragraph in a red book, blue book, personnel book that said the head of an agency could send someone on vacation with pay. So that's what I did. Told him to go on vacation and take an extended leave because I had to get rid of him -- out of the institution ... because the whole staff had coalesced around him to kind of oppose what we were trying to do. And so at that point I brought a guy in on a janitor's salary to be in charge of the institution ... [Gould, 1973, p. 10].

Third, Miller had also introduced some humanizing effects to the system through administrative orders. He prohibited staff from striking children and put a stop to the excessive use of lock-ups, haircuts, marching, and imposing silences.

By late spring of 1970, Miller was able to close down the maximum security unit at Bridgewater. This was done immediately after one of his impromptu site visits in the summer of 1970 when, in company with the governor's wife, he witnessed a near-riot at Bridgewater. Bridgewater was closed within a few weeks, its residents paroled or transferred and the institution itself left vacant. By mid-1971, Miller had decided to phase out the Shirley facility. The Oakdale facility was closed in March of 1971. In January 1972, during the legislative recess, Miller used his commissioner's discre-

tionary powers to close the institutions. Youngsters who could not be immediately paroled, placed, or referred to community programs were housed temporarily on the campus of the University of Massachusetts. The one-day closing of Lyman, the first reform school in the nation, was accomplished by a motorcade which drove the youths from that facility to the campus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. (See Appendix A for pictorial view of the Lyman School.)

Financing the transition. The transition from the Coughlin administration of eighteen years to the Miller administration of eighteen months was a ride on a fiscal roller coaster. Unless the Miller administration could convert the Youth Services Board's bureaucracy into the newly created Department of Youth Services, then Massachusetts' reform movement would probably fail to survive as Essexfields, New Jersey, and Provo, Utah, did in the 1960s.

Through innovation, bold decision making, and sometimes political "guts," Miller was able to deinstitutionalize the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services in a very short period of time -- eighteen months.) Despite Miller's success in the deinstitutionalization effort, the department was not without its problems, largely in the area of finances. Miller describes the fiscal operations he inherited as

a rinky-dink operation in terms of administrative set up ... the department had functioned with 13 or 14 separate budgets,

all related to institutions ... there were no kinds of accounting. It was really an odd sort of arrangement and to me at the time I knew nothing about budgets or line item budgets or anything ... [Gould, 1976, p. 4].

Prior to Miller's arrival in Massachusetts, Congressman Robert Drinan had advised him that "what the Massachusetts legislature will do, is create a department and not fund it, and you'll get caught in a huge sort of fiasco [Gould, 1976, p. 4]." According to Miller, "... they did exactly what he said. They created a department, they didn't fund any of the positions. My own position, for instance, wasn't funded for over a year [Gould, 1976, p. 4]."

By the fall of 1971, the financial picture of DYS appeared brighter -- although still confused -- than it had at any time the previous two years.

For fiscal '72, the DYS had received LEAA funds totaling over \$900,000 to be used for planning, administration, and reorganizational staff. The department had also received \$580,000 in LEAA money for purchasing services from group homes. Finally, the state legislature had under -- Speaker Bartley's leadership -- approved a supplement reappropriation of a \$1 million for purchase-of-services. Thus, for the first time, Miller had a substantial block of relative unencumbered funds to work with [Gould, 1976, p. 15].

By January of 1973, Miller had resigned and the department was taken over by a less flamboyant administrator, Joseph Levy, a former

child welfare worker who had been Miller's chief deputy. Although Miller is accredited with much of the change in the department, it is true that Levy had the arduous task of building an entirely new juvenile corrections system to replace the abandoned training schools. Levy ran the department for three years, but in a surprise move, he resigned on November 14, 1976. In an interview Levy denied that "... he was asked to resign by Governor Dukakis, but he did acknowledge that his support in the executive and legislative branches had eroded to the point 'there was no other option' [Serrill, 1975, p. 4]." The legislature's dissatisfaction with his administration, he said, was shown by a cut in the Department of Youth Services budget from almost \$17,000,000 in fiscal 1975 to \$14,400,000 in fiscal 1976* [Serrill, 1975, p. 4].

The new system. What emerged from the Miller and the Levy administrations' closing of the institutions? There were about 2,200 youngsters aged 10 to 17 under the jurisdiction of the Department of Youth Services, about 600 of whom were girls; about 200 were in detention administered by the department; about 1,200 were in residential or non-residential treatment programs; about 800 were on parole. Of the 200 youths in detention, about 60 were in secure facilities; 90 were

* This cut was a critical loss to Pittsfield, for it ended the department's delinquency prevention funds and the department's support of the Youth Resources Bureau.

in less secure "sheltered care" facilities; and about 70 were in temporary foster homes [Serrill, 1975, p. 6].

DYS provided several different kinds of residential care: about 75 were in secure "intensive care" facilities, another 300 were in group home facilities, which ranged from small to large residential schools; most of the rest were in foster care. Approximately 75 were in programs in other states. The foster home program included about 200 youths placed with both public and private agencies.

The largest single program category for DYS was its non-residential daycare; it provided services for about 650 youngsters, most of whom would have been institutionalized under the old system. Under these arrangements, DYS had established two different types of non-residential programs: one was a "street" program in which counselors with small case loads spent each day watching their charges; and the other featured alternative schools which were small flexible "open-classroom type programs" and in which DYS had invested over \$1,000,000 a year [Serrill, 1975, p. 6].

These examples are cited to show the openness of the new type of system which the Miller and Levy administrations were able to create. The changes introduced by DYS were products of an emergent rather than a planned approach. It is an approach, however, which has sustained itself despite its critics, its financial turmoil, and the continuous turnover of administrative leadership -- with both new governors and new department administrators repeatedly throughout the

decade. It has demonstrated to the nation that it is possible to sustain a juvenile justice system with the minimum number of youths involved in secure detention or treatment facilities without significantly increasing the rate of crime and delinquency within the state. It is to the credit of the imaginative, creative people from many different sources -- private citizens, legislators, political leaders, the press, and the universities.

Interestingly enough, in spite of inadequate community resources, the specter of increased crime and delinquency as a result of closing the institutions simply did not materialize. A very few vocal individuals who prophesied dire consequences of deinstitutionalization were proven wrong.

Massachusetts' state officials, who closed the custodial institutions, were aware of the built-in deficiencies at the local community level. As Ohlin, Coates and Miller (1974) pointed out in their historical analysis:

Closing the institutions raised the problems of building a new structure of services more closely integrated with community life ... It came to involve the decentralization or regionalization of services into seven regions; the development of new court liaison staff working with juvenile judges and probation personnel to coordinate detention, diagnostic and referral policies, and individual case decisions; a new network of community services including residential and non-groups; some centralized services for the institutional treatment of dangerous and disturbed offenders; ways to monitor the quality of the services increasingly pur-

chased from private agencies; and staff development programs to reassign, retrain, or discharge former staff members in ways minimizing personal hardship and injustice [p. 94].

More importantly, they were willing to take the risks involved by further overloading the local juvenile justice system in an effort to force the cities and towns to take full responsibility for the youthful offender.

With the closing of the state's custodial institutions, three developments occurred simultaneously:

1. All state-sponsored residential resources, which juvenile justice personnel and other local officials had relied on for over a century to keep troublesome youths out of the community, were removed.
2. Some youths who were under the Department of Youth Services' care did return to the community so that there was a period of transition from one jurisdiction to another.
3. The manner in which the local juvenile justice system had carried out its responsibilities, and its meager resources, were exposed. [Ohlin, et al., 1974, p. 110]

If the Miller administration's plans for deinstitutionalization were to succeed, then community-based services would have to be provided. These services would be a conduit through which the juvenile justice system could handle many cases non-judicially and would be new resources that probation officers needed to help youths sent to the courts. The Miller administration's basic objective was to re-

turn the responsibility for youthful offenders to the local communities as quickly and decisively as possible.

Summary. This chapter has traced the limited amount of sound research that has been recorded in the field of juvenile corrections. It cited three projects from the 1950s and 1960s that stressed the validity of shifting from a juvenile justice system emphasizing incarceration to a juvenile justice system using local community-based services outside the juvenile justice system to rehabilitate youthful offenders.

These experiments in alternative placements of youthful offenders took place in New Jersey and in Utah. The settings stressed the freedom of youthful offenders to come and go and encouraged interaction between the offender and the various human service entities in the community, particularly the public school and job corps. Despite the success of the projects in demonstrating that youthful offenders could be contained in community-based programs as well or better than in institutional settings, two of the three projects failed to receive community funding to sustain them after the initial foundation grant period expired.

It had become more and more clear to public officials in Massachusetts that the training schools were not doing the rehabilitative function for which they had originally been designed. Observers also realized that the institutions were being filled with a mixture of

youths, including the retarded, the mentally ill, the child welfare cases, and a variety of youthful offenders from truants to runaways, from drug dependents to teenagers capable of repeated violent acts, such as murder, rape and arson.

These youths had arrived at the institution from various conduits within the human service system -- the schools, the child welfare agencies, the courts, and the mental health and mental retardation departments. They shared two things in common: they were predominantly from poverty-bound households, and they were incarcerated without civil rights for an indeterminate period of time. For Massachusetts what had been an ideological and social institutional struggle, became a very personal matter for its newly appointed department director, Dr. Jerome Miller.

Our institutions were awful. I mean, they were really brutal and terrible places, and I got very involved in looking at that. I'd show up unannounced and look at it (and know) that it was mine and I had to do something about it ... [Serrill, 1976, p. 25].

What emerged from the Miller administration's struggle with the incapacity of the operations of the institutions and their inability to grasp what was needed for the youthful offender, has been described as the process of deinstitutionalization. The decision to close the institutions and return the youths to the local community has become

the most visible national symbol of a new philosophy of corrections through its repudiation of the public training schools approach and its advocacy for therapeutic communities and alternative community-based services [Ohlin, et al., 1974, p. 780].

By 1972, less than two years after Miller took office, Massachusetts became the first state to close its institutions and return its youthful population to the community. Despite Miller's departure within the next year, his successors have been able to maintain for a decade the consensus that Massachusetts would not lock up its youthful offenders.

No other state has followed Massachusetts' lead. Miller himself moved to Illinois and Pennsylvania and, although he was successful in modifying some of those states' practices (in Pennsylvania's case he closed one of its institutions), neither Pennsylvania nor Illinois followed in Massachusetts' footsteps.

C H A P T E R I I I

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE METHODOLOGIES USED IN THE STUDY

There are three kinds of lies:
lies, damn lies and statistics.

Benjamin Disraeli

This chapter describes the methods and procedures by which the data for this study were gathered and analyzed. It explores the scope and scale of the organizational structure of Pittsfield's community-based service system. How did these services evolve? Who were the public sector and the private sector sponsors? What role did the Youth Resources Bureau play in the buildup of the community-based service system? How durable have the services been? Lastly, what influence did the development of the community-based services have on the ways in which the youthful offenders were handled by the police, the courts, and the Department of Youth Services?

Data gathering. Basically, there were four methods of gathering data in this investigation. The first was participant observation: the investigator served as the Executive Director of the United Way in Pittsfield from 1966 to 1977. As such he was an active participant, a program supervisor, and an observer for much of the initial development period of the community-based service system.

Data were also collected from two questionnaires (designed and administered by the author) that sought descriptions of the network

of services developed for adolescents by the various human service organizations during the decade. One questionnaire was administered in February 1976 and the second in March 1981 (see Appendices K and L.)

The third method of data collection was based on interviews conducted with key persons in the local juvenile justice system and the regional office of the Department of Youth Services, as well as with those direct service providers who were responsible for the growth and development of the community-based service system.

Finally, the investigator reviewed literature related to community services in Pittsfield. He also examined the case referral records of the Pittsfield Police Department, the Probation Department, and the Department of Youth Services Regional Office.

To date, there has not been a formal or comprehensive review of the direct services that make up the community-based service system and the juvenile justice system of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The closest approach to formal reviews were the processes that were utilized by the individual funding sources when they reviewed funding applications from the various direct service agencies. (Funds were originally provided from the Department of Youth Services and the United Way, and eventually from the City of Pittsfield's Human Services Commission.) There is no annual formal review of the case records from the local police department or the probation department within the local court system. The Department of Youth Services

Regional Office in Springfield is one of seven regional offices reporting to the Boston headquarters of the department and, therefore, there is no local evaluation of its efforts.

Questionnaires (February 1975 and March 1981). In the absence of any uniform program that evaluated the various resources making up the community-based service system, it was necessary to design a systematic way of collecting data about the services that were being provided within the local community and to also seek information regarding the relationship between these services and the juvenile justice system.

In developing the first questionnaire, the investigator sought basic information about the operations of the program including a description of services provided, location of the services, number of persons served, facilities and operations costs, and similar data. These data served to give a historic perspective showing the general growth and development of the organizations through the first period under investigation (1970-1975).

After the closing of the Youth Resources Bureau in June 1977 and the investigator's departure from the community in September 1977, it became necessary to design a second questionnaire to record what had occurred during the second period regarding changes in organizational practice and philosophy, or shifts of emphasis.

It was obviously desirable to tie the development of the community-based services system to the practices of the local juvenile justice system. In the case of the Pittsfield Police Department, the annual reports that the Juvenile Bureau files with the police chief served as a benchmark. These documents include the arrest and referral records of the police. Although there are some limitations in the way in which this information is presented because the reports are internal departmental documents whose uses are not the same as the investigator's, the reports do record, summarize, and classify the arrests data. After careful consideration, it was deemed not necessary to ask for further information other than clarifications which were provided by the Juvenile Bureau chief.

In reviewing the Probation Department's operations, the objective was to trace decisions regarding the disposition of youths and to ascertain how the department used the available community-based services. During February 1981, the chief probation officer filled out a disposition profile (see Appendix H) for the first fifty cases that came to his attention, thus providing sample data.

The Regional I director of the Department of Youth Services agreed to provide case disposition records of each juvenile from the Berkshire County area committed to DYS during the years 1979 and 1980. In each case, the identifying information of individual juveniles was removed to preserve confidentiality, but there is sufficient data remaining to provide a profile of the disposition of

youthful offenders by the DYS's Regional I office. In addition to this case record examination, the investigator also visited the local Pittsfield DYS area office* and reviewed its working relationship with the juvenile justice system and the community services.

Interviews. After the 1975 questionnaires were circulated and returned, the investigator (who as then also functioning as the Executive Director of United Way) made field visits to each one of the sites with an assistant who was a member of the United Way staff. The purpose of the field visits was to clarify the accuracy of information that had been provided by the earlier sources and to ascertain a historical perspective. In no instances were individual youths discussed.

As a follow-up to the second questionnaire and the special inquiries that were made to the juvenile justice system directly, the investigator again made on-site visits to discuss operations and gather information about the day-to-day activities of the key elements of the community-based system (specifically the Boys' Club, the Probation Department, the Pittsfield Police Department, the Regional

* In Massachusetts the area offices are sub-sets of the regional office. Pittsfield is in Region I, Berkshire area. See Appendix B for map.

Office of the Department of Youth Services, and the Department of Mental Health.)*

Updated information for these agencies were provided by pertinent financial information from the City of Pittsfield's Human Services Commission by correspondence and phone follow-up during 1981.

Review of literature. An intensive search of professional reports and studies was conducted. The reports reviewed include the studies by the Massachusetts Committee on Children and Youth Regional Project, Special Commission Reports by the Department of Youth Services; comprehensive Planning Reports and Special Reports of the Massachusetts Council on Crime and Delinquency, and national periodicals and texts specifically written about the Massachusetts deinstitutionalization program.

For the most part, information about the local direct service agencies and the Youth Resources Bureau comes from copies of applications for funding requests made by local agencies over the past decade. From time to time local newspaper articles were helpful in providing a perspective on key community events regarding the development of community-based services and the interaction of those services with the local juvenile justice system.

* The former Executive Director of the Youth Resources Bureau became the Associate Area Director of the Department of Mental Health, thus providing vital continuity of information.

For the most part, the information on referrals from the juvenile justice system to the community-based service was gleaned from formal reports. (Excerpts are provided in Appendices J and M.)

Analysis of the data. The following discussion (1) describes how the juvenile justice system in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, has handled its youthful offenders since the Department of Youth Services closed its traditional training schools; (2) demonstrates how the adolescent-serving agencies in the human services system outside the juvenile justice system have built up alternative services; (3) shows how the practices of the juvenile justice system in Pittsfield during the decade (1970-1980) have helped form a functional community-based juvenile justice system; (4) determines the number of Pittsfield youths involved in three different levels (police, courts and DYS) of its juvenile justice system; (5) depicts the type of offenses with which the youths have been involved; (6) illustrates the referral system which takes place between the different levels of the juvenile justice system and the community-based services; (7) describes the community efforts that were required to bring about these changes; (8) projects what might be required in other communities outside Massachusetts to create and maintain a largely non-institutional community-based juvenile justice system.

In the absence of any national, state, or local tests, measurements, or standards for community-based services capacities to handle

youthful offenders judicially or non-judicially, it was necessary to create means by which the social services developments and the juvenile justice system's responses could be measured. The basic purpose in creating the Youth Resources Bureau was to establish a planning and coordinating organization that could provide a new social environment in which services for adolescents could be developed so that Pittsfield could largely handle its youthful offenders non-judicially and hopefully require minimum commitments to DYS's regional residential placement programs.

Qualitative analysis: Program stability and agency survival. Two key issues reported in the social science literature of the field are program stability and agency survival. Measurements of service change are reported in Chapter IV. Some services did not grow and some declined, while others remained single entities, some expanded into multiple services, and others creased operations. To measure administrative stability variables of fiscal continuity, personnel turnover, and changes in location were also charted in Chapter IV.

Quantitative analysis: Crime rates and disposition of youthful offenders. Chapter V examines local crime rates by gathering incidents of arrests and recording their growth and decline. In probing the operations of the juvenile justice system's three components, it was necessary to create a descriptive statistical analysis from case

record information which provided the type of arrests, court dispositions, and Department of Youth commitments. Within each of these three components of the juvenile justice system, the investigator had to accumulate data, classify data, trace the referral information from one component to another, and plot the data to reveal trends. The data provided a definition of the scope of the degree of delinquency the juvenile justice system was handling.

Utilization of community-based services. To determine the scale of community-based service utilization and the handling of cases judicially, it has been possible to pull together the juvenile justice system's information from the police, courts, and the Department of Youth Services to be measured against the capacities of the new human services for adolescents.

To measure the juvenile justice system's referral rates, case record informations of incidents of referral were accumulated, classified, and recorded. When the three measurements of crime rates, disposition decisions, and community-based referrals are combined, it is possible to determine the local trends in judicial and non-judicial handling of offenders.

C H A P T E R I V

THE DEVELOPMENTS FOR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES

FOR YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS IN PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

This study is an analysis of our juvenile corrections system -- a system that we find really does not correct very much.

From a Report "The Skeleton in our Community's Closet ... The Challenge of Our Troubled Youth" prepared by The League of Women Voters of Central Berkshire

The traditional response to juvenile delinquency was that it was a matter for the police, the courts, and the juvenile correction system. In the new Massachusetts experiment, responsibility for juvenile delinquents was shared between the juvenile justice system and the human services providers. Pittsfield's human service system in its aggregate acknowledged that youthful offenders are also adolescents with troubles that cannot always be resolved with only the resources of their family and friends. The wide range of services that have been established, developed, and maintained during the past decade in Pittsfield is a testimony to the shared responsibility concept.

The presence of the particular human services that are provided in Pittsfield is an acknowledgement of the conditions adolescents face. Very briefly, the services acknowledge that youths who run

from home may do so as a result of a disastrous home situation; therefore, a temporary shelter was established. These services acknowledge that youths do have alcoholic problems; therefore, a program for teenage alcoholism was provided. The services acknowledge that surrogate parents may be necessary with foster care and Big Brother/Big Sister programs, and that adolescents have numerous problems which can be resolved by talking the problems over with someone other than a parent or peer. For these matters, extensive counseling was made available in a variety of settings.

Perhaps most fundamental to the Pittsfield profile of services that evolved in the 1970s has been the presence of alternative services for adolescents. Such basic institutions as the public schools, public welfare, mental health and corrections have been readily willing to acknowledge that the traditional ways do not always work for adolescents and that alternatives had to be provided. The local community's role has been to establish, develop, and maintain a wide range of community-based services.

The establishment of a Youth Resources Bureau.

History of the concept. The concept of a youth resources bureau as an independent agency to divert children and youths from the criminal justice system had been experimented with in several communities prior to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and

the Administration of Justice making it the centerpiece of its 1967 recommendations. The Commission emphasized that

every community should consider establishing an agency that would serve as a community-based center to which juveniles could be referred by the police, parents, school, and social agencies for counseling, vacation, work and recreational programs, and job placement [President's Commission, 1967, p. vii].

Specifically, the Commission observed: "There should be an expanded use of community agencies for dealing with delinquents non-judicially and close to where they live [President's Commission, 1967, p. 83]."

Use of community agencies has several advantages. In the Commission's opinion this new practice would:

Avoid the stigma of being processed by the official agency regarded by the public as an arm of crime control. It substitutes for official agencies, organizations better suited for re-directing conduct. The use of local sponsored or operated organizations heightens the community's awareness of the need for recreational, employment, tutoring, and other youth developmental services [President's Commission, 1967, pp. 223-224].

In 1969, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency conducted a nationwide field study to determine the extent to which existing agencies were directly or indirectly involved in setting up delinquency prevention programs through youth resources bureau-type agencies separate from the formal juvenile justice system. The study concluded that fewer than a dozen agencies

... were strictly non-coercive [or] ... planned on a jurisdiction-wide basis ... were neighborhood based ... received referrals from law enforcement agencies, schools, and other sources and coordinated appropriate resources [Norman, 1972, p. 3]."

The field study went on to stress: "Only a few bureaus attempted to develop new resources, and only one [of the twelve studied] focused its efforts on working cooperatively with other agencies to modify the existing systems which contributed to the problem of young people [Norman, 1972, p. 3]." The council recommended that a youth resources bureau "... should be independent of other agencies and systems [Norman, 1972, p. 9]" and emphasized

it is not part of the justice system although it may accept referrals from it. Its immediate goal is to keep children from becoming involved in the justice system, and its long-range goals are to reduce home, school, and community pressures to which children react with antisocial behavior [Norman, 1972, p. 9].

Dr. Kenneth Polk evaluated four youth resources bureau programs in Massachusetts, and at a 1980 Amherst conference (on Assessing the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act of 1968), he summarized his findings by stating:

It is useful at the onset to understand while there may exist rather uniform enthusiasm for the idea of the Youth Services Bureau, there is, unfortunately, no corresponding uniform understanding as to precisely what constitutes or should constitute such

an agency. Many ideas have been woven together in a loose pattern which conveys more conceptual uniformity than actually exists [Jordan and Dye, 1970, p. 101].

Local interest in a Youth Resources Bureau. The League of Women Voters of Central Berkshire adopted the study of juvenile delinquency as a local priority interest in 1967. By 1970, the professionals and volunteers from the Pittsfield Urban Coalition, the Berkshire County Junior League, and the United Way* began to explore the concept of establishing a youth resources bureau in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. It was the League of Women Voters' three-year study which highlighted the community's needs.

LWV study of delinquency and community resources. The Central Berkshire League of Women Voters' study made a number of important observations about the rising incidents of delinquency, the limited resources of the juvenile justice system to respond to the growing problems, and the community's resistance to change. Between 1968 and 1969, Pittsfield's police reported a 31 percent increase in juvenile arrests (198 to 260), and the Central Berkshire courts'** case load

* United Community Services of Pittsfield, Inc. became the United Way of Central Berkshire in 1972. To avoid possible confusion, the investigator will refer to both the United Way and its predecessor organization as the United Way.

** Central Berkshire courts include Pittsfield and the neighboring towns.

rose 47 percent (139 to 204). In fact, during the preceding ten years Berkshire County court cases increased twice as fast as the Massachusetts' statewide total: Berkshire County rose 252 percent (164 to 578), while Massachusetts increased 133 percent [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 3]. Pittsfield's Police Department used its detective division to handle juvenile cases. "None of the officers were specifically trained in juvenile work [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 5]." The probation officers

spent most of their time investigating the backgrounds of the offenses and counseling those presenting the most serious problems. Most offenders do little more than check in at the probation office regularly, (and) if they do not again come to the attention of the police, are offered no counseling [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 5].

The League's report stated that

... there is one parole officer for juvenile boys in Berkshire County with a probable case load of about 75, and a (girls') parole officer from Springfield who spends some time each week in the county [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 5].

Despite the apparent rise in reported delinquency, the League of Women Voters stressed that "generally, the court, probation officers, and the police hesitate to recommend commitments to the Department of Youth Services because they all recognize that rehabilitation is impossible in the state's constantly overcrowded institutions. At the

same time, however, they decried the lack of local facilities available to help in rehabilitation of a juvenile offender [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 4]." The League's report stressed

that juvenile delinquency has continued to rise and that efforts to combat it have been inadequate. It is imperative that the community analyze the problem and take positive action at the local level [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 5].

The study contained four overall conclusions:

(1) there were no facilities or agencies in Berkshire County whose prime purpose was the prevention of delinquency with the exception of School Adjustment Counseling and that program has been unable to function as such. There were no facilities or agencies whose prime responsibility was the rehabilitation of the juvenile offender. The Department of Youth Services - the state agency which has responsibility for delinquency prevention and delinquents - exists in Berkshire County only in the person of Parole Officers.

(2) At one time, it was believed that by providing plenty of recreational activities for youngsters, they would be kept out of trouble. That theory has been proven wrong as evidenced by the increasing juvenile court cases despite varied and extensive recreational programs in the city. Society must wake up to the fact that the problem is not that simple and that other methods have to be tried to combat, or better still, to prevent delinquency.

(3) A major concern is the long prevailing attitude that it is too difficult to get anything new going in this community. We have experienced that difficulty as have most of the readers of this report, but we sincerely feel that most attempts have been aborted because of this negative attitude.

- (4) The many missing services are --
- no emergency placement facilities
 - no group homes
 - no half-way houses
 - few meaningful jobs available to teenagers
 - no place to go just to talk
 - lack of trust by the young in police
 - lack of sex education
- [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 13].

The League of Women Voters went on to

recommend that every avenue be explored with the Department of Youth Services to provide those delinquency prevention programs for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders in Berkshire County [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 13].

Their report suggested that the first new service priority be the creation of an emergency placement care program.

Community momentum builds for a Youth Resources Bureau. In 1970, the League of Women Voters of Central Berkshire brought the director of the Massachusetts' branch of the National Council of Crime and Delinquency to Pittsfield to introduce the concept of a youth resources bureau to the area.

Personnel of social services and recreation agencies, the court system, and the schools were invited to attend the session. Those who did were vocal in their endorsement of the need for such a coordinating effort [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 20].

These representatives urged that the Juvenile Corrections Committee of the League of Women Voters continue its work toward finding possible solutions to the delinquency problem.

In July 1970 at LWV instigation, representatives of local social service agencies met to discuss the need for emergency placement of youths. The League reported that "this discussion led to an awareness of other gaps in youth services, and the concept of a youth resources bureau was again introduced by the representatives of the League of Women Voters [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 21]." Furthermore, the League reported that they were encouraged to pursue the ideas by Pittsfield's United Way and the state's Department of Youth Services.

A proposal was prepared by United Way, assisted by the Urban Coalition and the League of Women Voters, for funding a youth resources bureau under the Department of Youth Services' grant-in-aid program for delinquency prevention. The United Way assumed temporary administrative responsibility for the Youth Resources Bureau with representatives of participating organizations making up half the policy-making body. The other half consisted of youths representing various socioeconomic groups, some elected by their peers and others selected because of their involvement with existing agencies.

It was not the intention of the United Way to become as deeply involved in the initial administration and formation of the Youth Resources Bureau as had developed. One of its direct service member

agencies, the Family and Children's Services, was supposed to take the lead in implementing the League of Women Voters' plans. However, the Family and Children's Services announced at a public meeting near the application deadline that it was withdrawing as the primary applicant, and a poll of the other public and private agencies present at the meeting showed there was no other organization that was willing to apply. In a real sense, the United Way began its activities somewhat by default, even though it was an endorser and had been an active participant.*

Early administrative structure. The Youth Resources Bureau which was begun in September 1970 in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, was a community project. It was not an independent, free-standing organization or a part of a public agency, as was recommended by the President's Commission and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, although the Commission acknowledged that "under certain circumstances, pending acceptance of responsibility by government, a Youth Service

* It was also in the fall of 1971 that the investigator entered the University of Massachusetts Graduate School and met Dr. Larry L. Dye and Mr. Edward W. Bueldman, who were the principal architects of the Department of Youth Services Deinstitutionalization Program, which would occur in the next two years. Obviously, this association had a profound effect on the local developments in Pittsfield.

Bureau* may be operated as a private agency [Norman, 1972, p. 16]." In Pittsfield the voluntary sector had shepherded the program from the beginning and continued to get endorsement along the way from the public sector.

The Youth Resources Bureau was housed in the same suite of offices as the United Way. The project supervisor was employed by the Board of Directors and was under the supervision of the Executive Director of United Way, the investigator in this study. Policy matters were formulated by the Board of Directors of the Youth Resources Bureau. Although the Executive Director of United Way attended board meetings, he was not a board member and did not have voting privileges in either the United Way or the Youth Resources Bureau.**

From the beginning, the Pittsfield Youth Resources Bureau's major efforts went to establishing new services and modifying exist-

* "The name 'youth service bureau' was used by the President's Commission. In practice, the same functions are carried out under several other names: youth resources bureau, youth assistance program, listening post, focus on youths, etc. [Norman, 1971, p. 8]." Massachusetts used the term youth resources bureau.

** The involvement of United Way directors and staff in the YRB was not its first venture into seeking alternative services. Earlier in the 1960s it had been helpful both organizationally and financially by making direct grants to a number of experimental drug programs originally financed by independent, newly created organizations that received some consultation services from United Way member agencies that were interested in the drug programs but were not providing the services themselves.

ing services to incorporate the needs of youthful offenders and adolescents. It did not itself become a direct service agency responsible for the care and treatment of youths. Although it tried to focus on creating, planning and coordinating functions, obviously people did drop into the offices for direct services,* and agencies and organizations in the community turned to the Youth Resources Bureau for help. The YRB did operate a few direct services for short period -- particularly employment and tutoring -- as a way of keeping down overhead costs and of providing a convenient central location. For the most part, however, the YRB contracted for direct services and maintained a contractor-provider relationship with already existing local agencies or new services designed cooperatively by YRB and the provider.

Financing the Youth Resources Bureau. The initial operating funds for the YRB came from the United Community Projects Fund (its income from reserves). In the spring of 1971, additional grants were also received from the local Urban Coalition and the local Junior League. These were sufficient to keep the YRB operating until it could receive its first grant-in-aid from the Massachusetts Department of Youth Services.

The first delinquency prevention grant from the Department of Youth Services Bureau was for \$30,000 for the fiscal year July 1,

* In those cases it acted as an information and referral agent.

1971, through June 30, 1972. This grant called for approximately \$12,000 in operating funds for YRB, another \$5,000 for consultation to develop new programs, and \$13,000 for contract services.

There were three initial contract service grants to direct service agencies. The Neighborhood Youth Corps was given \$9,000 to establish an employment program for youths known to the police and the courts. An additional \$2,000 was given for an informal counseling program that was a part of a neighborhood center, "Harrabee Coffee House." Another \$1,700 was contracted for a part-time counselor to be a liaison between the source of referral and the emergency private homes set up for short-term overnight placement of youths in foster homes (there were no emergency shelters in Pittsfield in 1970).

The YRB received an additional \$30,000 in local matching funds to accompany the Department of Youth Services grant. These funds were from the United Way, the City of Pittsfield, the Christian Center, and the federally funded Neighborhood Youth Corporation. Thus in 1971-1972, its first operating year under DYS, the YRB had set up a total operating budget of \$60,000 for its own operations and those of the new direct service programs that it was establishing through contract services.

The YRB was able to repeat its Department of Youth Services' Delinquency Prevention grant in 1972, 1973, 1974 and the first two quarters of 1975. It also received matching grants from local community resources, including federal funds received in the local

community for anti-poverty programs, revenue sharing funds, and federal block grants for local human services.

Early achievements: 1971-1975. In summarizing the impact of the beginning years of the YRB, Robert Matthews, the first Executive Director* of the Youth Resources Bureau, reported to the Department of Youth Services and the United Way Board of Directors that the local organization had

initially directed our attention to youth employment, alternative living situations for juvenile offenders, a coffee house built around the black perspective and research for planning and coordinating services to deal with the troubled youths [Matthews, 1972].

Matthews stated with a pride and conviction that

never before has a local organization decided to devote itself almost exclusively to juvenile offenders or individuals having adjustment problems in the community [Matthews, 1972].

Matthews went on to emphasize that he felt that progress had been made in the attempts to diminish the number of youngsters involved with the courts and police and expand the capacities for dealing with youngsters involved with the courts. In his opinion the Youth Re-

* Matthews held the position from September 1970 to March 1974.

sources Bureau's efforts had had an impact on the arrest rates during 1971.

The number of juvenile arrests in 1971 was an increase of one percent as opposed to an average increase of 15-20 percent in the Pittsfield area for the last few years. In addition, 1971 was a year which showed the first decrease in new juvenile cases in Berkshire County in many, many years. There were 565 cases begun in 1971 which represents approximately a 10 percent decrease over 1970's caseload of 626. Previously, from 1967-70 there has been an annual increase of juvenile cases in Berkshire County between 7 and 25 percent. While we certainly cannot take all of the credit for producing what seems to be the first real progress of prevention of juvenile delinquency, I feel that our existence, communications, and programs played an important part in this effort [Matthews, 1972].

Looking ahead to the next year, Matthews outlined that the objectives for the YRB would be to emphasize alternative living situations for troubled youths and to establish the Choices Project.* The Choice Project was developed for young people who traditionally would go through the courts without receiving a service and now would be presented an education focused on self-awareness and decision making, and a channel for their desires and future skills.

* The term "choices" is not an acronym. It was deliberately chosen to illustrate to the youthful offender that they did have a "choice" in a different lifestyle than the one they were currently pursuing.

In actuality, what Matthews was describing was the beginning of an alternative school. This program was established in the basement storage area of the Red Feather House, which housed a number of local agencies including the YRB and United Way.

Despite the progress that had been made during the YRB's first year and a half of operation, there were still many youths in the juvenile justice system. The Executive Director of United Way reported to the Board of Directors in March 1972 that there were approximately 1,500 boys and girls who had come to the attention of police that year, and of those 250-300 were repeating their offending conduct to the point that they were referrals to the Probation Department. Court records were examined in an informal way by Matthews.

The Pittsfield youths who were being sent for detention purposes to Westfield were mostly of low income and were being represented by public defenders.

Matthews stressed three points at this same United Way Board of Directors meeting. He felt that the three vital areas for young people were that they needed jobs, an alternative school, and a sense of "worth and dignity." He stressed that in order to accomplish this, traditional social service agencies would have to "amend their philosophy to effectively deal with youth."

In summary, in less than two years the YRB was able to develop a series of direct services in the area of employment, education, coun-

seling, and emergency residential services. Through the combined financial resources of the United Way, other local non-profit organizations, the City of Pittsfield, and the Department of Youth Services, the YRB established itself as an effective developer of services for the community-based service system.

More services added to community. In the next three years (1973-1975), the YRB with the cooperation of other local agencies was able to open Pittsfield's first boys' group home, "Contact House." In September 1973, the local Girls' Club began a Big Sister program similar to the Big Brother program which had moved from the Christian Center to the Boys' Club in 1973. Also in 1973 the Volunteer-in-Probation project, which had its origin in Michigan, was informally begun to assist the local probation officers in handling the many youthful offenders who were appearing before the courts. (The V.I.P. program was one of only two programs in the ten-year history of this investigation that the local juvenile justice system chose to contract for itself; the other was a court clinic to aid in diagnostic services.) The V.I.P. program operated in the outer offices of the District Court building with a volunteer board of directors and a paid staff of two. It reported 50 cases in 1974.

Summary of programs developed by 1974. Between 1970 and 1974 the combined efforts of YRB and other local agencies created eleven

different programs. In one year (1974) community-based services served 652 youths. Table 1 summarizes the programs and the estimated number of youths served. It shows a mixture of counseling services, educational programs, employment opportunities, and residential services -- none of which existed before 1970 and the founding of the Youth Resources Bureau.

Table 1

COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES PROVIDED:
PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
1974

<u>Type of Program</u>	<u>Number of Youths Served*</u>
Counseling	358
Boys' Club (Big Brother & Other Counseling)	94
Catholic Youth Center (Detached Worker)	92
E. P. I. C. (Drug Day Program)	36
Girls Club (Big Sister & Counseling)	86
V. I. P. (Volunteers in Probation)	50
Education	34
Alternative School	34
Employment	162
Neighborhood Youth Corps -- DYS Sponsored	112
City of Pittsfield (For low-income youths)	50
Residential Services	116
Emergency Shelter	97
Contact House (Group Home)	19
Youth Resources Bureau Programs	6
Summer Enrichment (Jobs and Tutoring)	6
TOTAL SERVED IN ALL PROGRAMS	676

* The accumulated total is not an unduplicated count. Because of the confidentiality of the records of the various programs, it was not possible to ascertain how many different youths were served. Table 1 does give a summary of the programs and a profile of the general level of services that were being provided.

Developmental difficulties persist. There were a number of significant problems which occurred in the development stages of the community-based services. Changes in locations, turnover of key staff, and the need to seek multiple sources of funding were some of the major problems. It was not uncommon for programs to change their locations more than once. Table 2 summarizes the movement of the programs from one location to another. The eleven different programs had sixteen different locations between their beginning and the end of 1974.

In a similar manner, the directors' positions had a great deal of turnover. The eleven programs listed in Table 2 are repeated in Table 3, but the turnover rate is much higher for program directors than for program locations -- 26 different persons had filled these positions by 1974.

Table 2

CHANGES IN LOCATION OF COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES:
PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
POINT OF ORIGIN THROUGH 1974

<u>Type of Program</u>	<u>Number of Changes in Location</u>	
Counseling		6
Big Brother Program	3	
Catholic Youth Center	0	
E. P. I. C. (Drug Counseling Program)	3	
Big Sister Program (Girls Club)	0	
V. I. P. (Volunteer-in-Probation)	0	
Education		3
Alternative School (choices)	3	
Employment		4
Neighborhood Youth Corps -- DYS	2	
City of Pittsfield	2	
Residential Services		3
Emergency Shelter	2	
Contact House (group home)	0	
Youth Resources Bureau Headquarters	1	—
TOTAL CHANGES IN LOCATION		16

Table 3

CHANGES IN EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS* OF
COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES:
PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS
POINT OF ORIGIN THROUGH 1974

<u>Type of Program</u>	<u>Number of Changes in Executive Directors</u>
Counseling	14
Boys' Club -- Big Brother	4
Catholic Youth Center -- Detached Worker	1 (part-time)
E. P. I. C.	5
Girls Club -- Big Sister	2
V. I. P.	2
Education	3
Alternative School	3
Employment	3
Neighborhood Youth Corps -- DYS	1
City of Pittsfield	2
Residential Services	4
Emergency Shelter	1
Contact House	3
Youth Resources Bureau Headquarters	<u>2</u>
TOTAL CHANGES IN EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS	26

* Defined as the person who managed the daily operation and direction of the program and reported directly to its policy-making group.

Directors departed the position for a variety of reasons: some were given the opportunity to move from one type of position within an organization to a higher ranking position. Some departures were tragic; for example, in 1975 the director of Contact House's family burned to death in a mobile home fire. Other directors were dismissed because they were not able to carry out the duties and responsibilities. One was dismissed for "moral charges." In fairness to the various people who did work on the program, however, there is an issue of being "burned out." There is no question that many of these positions were very intense, demanding, and low paying.

The YRB was an effective instrument through which to provide new services, but the changeover of personnel and the shifting of location certainly did not offer stability in the lives of the youths and in the experiences of the people who were associated with the programs. The referral organizations, like the police and courts, would also hold back until they "trusted" the person to whom they were referring their clients.

Although changes in location and changes in directors caused disruptions, the most persistent and difficult problem was the continuous search for funds. To begin with, DYS was only one source of funds, and the local community was required to provide matching dollars for local programs to receive DYS's prevention grants. In 1974, it took fourteen different sources of funds to provide the \$350,000 operating budget for the eleven programs that served over

600 youths in Pittsfield. Table 4 provides a graphic illustration of the funding complexity of YRB programs, and the community-based network of services.

Table 4

FUNDING SOURCES FOR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES:
PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1974

<u>Type of Program</u>	<u>Amount Provided</u>	<u>Funding Source</u>
Counseling		
Boys' Club -- Big Brother	\$ 10,000	City of Pittsfield, R.S.
Court Advocate Counseling	4,985	YRB (DYS)
Court Diversion Counseling	2,860	YRB (DYS)
	4,800	Revenue Sharing, City of Pittsfield
Catholic Youth Center	13,046	Catholic Charities
	4,500	YRB (DYS)
Family Intervention Counseling	10,856	YRB (DYS)
Girls Club -- Big Sister	8,000	Revenue Sharing, City of Pittsfield
	290	Civil Organization
Harambee Coffee House	2,000	YRB (DYS)
V. I. P.	14,000	LEAA Grant from State of Massachusetts
	778	County of Berkshire
	<u>778</u>	Local Matches
Subtotal	\$ 76,893	
Education		
Alternative School	\$ 46,000	Chapter 750 - Dept. Educ. State of Massachusetts
	8,600	YRB (DYS)
	<u>750</u>	Urban Coalition (City of Pittsfield)
Subtotal	\$ 55,350	

Table 4 (Cont.)

<u>Type of Program</u>	<u>Amount Provided</u>	<u>Funding Source</u>
Employment		
Neighborhood Youth Corps		
-- DYS	\$ 53,544	DYS Purchase of Service
City of Pittsfield	21,000	Revenue Sharing, City of Pittsfield
	<u>1,500</u>	
Subtotal	\$76,044	
Residential Services		
Emergency Shelter	\$ 21,000	Office for Children, Commonwealth of Mass.
	23,500	Purchase of Service Dept. of Public Welfare
Contact House	<u>\$ 78,727</u>	DYS-Purchase of Services
Subtotal	\$123,227	
Youth Resources Bureau	<u>18,209</u>	DYS and United Way
Grand Total	\$349,723	

Summary: Youth Resources Bureau's outlook in 1975. Despite the turnover in staff, changes in locations, and multiple funding sources, the YRB explained that it had become

... the leader in the area for the transition from juvenile institutions to community treatment programs for the juvenile offender. In fact, we became so involved with the development of alternatives to juvenile institutions that in our proposal we seek not only provisions for prevention ... but also for our supervision of projects that were established to directly aid court referrals [Youth Resources Bureau, 1975, p. 3].

The YRB also had achieved a great deal of independence by 1975. It acknowledged a fiscal responsibility to the City of Pittsfield and to the United Way of Central Berkshire through the City Auditor and Executive Director of United Way. However,

the YRB hopes to incorporate by July of 1975 leaving it only accountable to the city and its own board of directors as well as to the Department of Youth Services, and it would diminish the role of the United Way to be that of advisor, (especially in the joint undertakings with United Way and YRB in the operation of CONTACT House) [Youth Resources Bureau, 1975, p. 2].

The YRB also stated that

by summer of 1975, it (also) is planning to have a "City Youth Services Committee" in place if only on an informal advisory basis so that it can be "an effective, coordinating body and a vehicle through which unmet community needs can be addressed [Youth Resources Bureau, 1975, p. 2].

Residential program stability and youth resources bureaus.

Survival. When the League of Women Voters completed its study in 1971, it highlighted the need for residential facilities (emergency placements, group homes, half-way houses) as the "first new service priority [League of Women Voters, 1971, p. 177]." The League's recommendations recognized that, for troubled youths, having some place to "run to" rather than just a household to "run from" was a key community service. Likewise, if Pittsfield were going to keep

its more serious youthful offenders deinstitutionalized, then some form of long-term care [more than thirty days] would be needed. As straight forward as the short- and long-term residential care objectives seemed to be in 1971, sustaining these services throughout the decade became a continuous challenge. Timely reimbursement by state departments for services rendered was the one nagging problem common to both the Emergency Shelter (the short-term facility) and Contact House (the long-term facility). Contact House also suffered from low census. The combination of slow payments by the state and low census was eventually to cause Contact House's demise.

Emergency shelter: a short-term facility. From its earliest days, the YRB had made a commitment to local residential care for youths. It was initially successful in setting up a foster home program for approximately 25 youths. The YRB had also worked diligently to sustain the emergency shelter's program, which by 1974 was taking care of approximately 100 youths per year.

At the end of 1975 however, the board of directors of the Berkshire County Family and Children Services was facing serious fiscal problems. The board voted to close the emergency shelter, even though it had served 225 different youths (mostly 12 to 18 years old) during the past 2½ years who had an average stay of about three weeks

in the shelter.* Family and Children Service had many service responsibilities, and the board decided that the emergency shelter had the lowest priority.

The shelter remained closed for seven months until a coalition of local professionals -- including representatives from Youth Resources Bureau, Public Welfare Department, Help for Children, and the Children's Protective Services -- received a special United Way grant and funds from the Department of Mental Health, the City of Pittsfield Revenue Sharing Commission, and a Title XX funding contract. This group formed a new local organization, Reserve, Inc., to chart future directions for local short- and long-term residential services.

Contact House: a long-term group home. In November 1976, United Way agreed to provide \$16,290 to continue Contact House and \$18,000 to continue operation of the emergency shelter through January of 1977. By the end of 1976 however, Contact House was faced with continued fiscal crises brought about by low census and delays in payment by state reimbursing agents. Less than a year after the local coalition

* Events surrounding the closing of the Emergency Home were only a part of the storm that was taking place between the United Way and the Family and Children's Service. There had been a long-standing feud between the two organizations, and eventually the Executive Director of the Family and Children's Service would resign. The United Way funded a management consultant service team to come in and assess the total operations of the Family and Children's Service, and eventually a new director was hired.

of providers and volunteers founded the new parent corporation -- ReServe, Inc. -- to oversee residential community care, the emergency shelter and Contact House's operations had to be closed. At the December 17, 1976 United Way Board of Directors meeting, the President of ReServe, Ms. Bonnie Lipton, made the following public announcement:

The Board of Directors of ReServe, Inc. and the Contact House Committee announce with regret the closing of Contact House Program effective immediately ...

The painful decision to close was reached only after careful examination. The program showed it was no longer viable for Berkshire County [United Way Board minutes, December 17, 1976].

In summary, the local experiences in operating Contact House as boys' group home spanned a period from 1973 to January of 1977. Neither the Department of Public Welfare nor the Division of Youth Services was able to provide sufficient number of boys in need of these services and the funding to support them. Even after the facility was opened up for regional and state-wide placements, the census did not remain high enough to achieve the break-even point and continue the service. There was one brief year in which the program operated as Astarte, a group home for girls that also had to be ended. Almost two years later, it shifted to the local Department of Mental Health and has operated as a coed facility ever since. Throughout the

decade uncertainty surrounded the operations of short- and long-term residential facilities in Pittsfield. Providing sufficient referrals, timely funding and satisfactory operational supervision simultaneously seemed to have eluded both state and local human services officials.

Youth Resources Bureau's delinquency prevention grant ends. The emergency shelter, Contact House, and the Youth Resources Bureau were each beset with fiscal problems in 1976. In addition to the problems of reopening the closed emergency shelter and trying to stabilize the staff and clients of Contact House came an announcement from the Department of Youth Services that it was cutting out the Youth Resources Bureau's funding in the new fiscal year beginning July 1, 1976. Governor Dukakis had discontinued DYS's delinquency prevention programs throughout the state.

When the Youth Resources Bureau received notice of the ending of the DYS delinquency program, it first went to the City of Pittsfield to urge that the city set up a youth commission which would be a permanent public services planning and coordination organization, like the Youth Resources Bureau had been. In some intense negotiations during the summer of 1976 between the President of the United Way, the Executive Director of the Youth Resources Bureau, and the Executive Director of United Way, Mayor Dobbelle finally agreed to propose a joint funding of the Youth Resources Bureau to the City

Council. The Board of Directors of the Youth Resources Bureau played an important role at this juncture and at one point marched en mass with youths and other interested citizens on City Hall to protest the lagging decision-making process of the Mayor. Particularly frustrating was that an informal poll of the City Council members already agreed to the funds, and the Mayor was simply stalled in implementing the Council's favorable vote.

At the same time, the United Way Board of Directors wanted to convert the Youth Resources Bureau to a public organization. The United Way board had spent its community projects funds for the Youth Resources Bureau for five consecutive years. The board now felt it was time for the public sector (City of Pittsfield) to take over the permanent funding of YRB. At the end of the summer of negotiations, the Mayor and the United Way both compromised and agreed to finance the Youth Resources Bureau for another year on a fifty-fifty basis, but the concept of the public youth commission failed.

In July 1976, the second Executive Director, James A. Cuillo,* announced that he would be leaving in September to become the Associate Director for the area office of the Department of Mental Health (for services to the retarded).

By the end of 1976, activities the Youth Resources Bureau had previously performed, such as writing grant applications, designing

* James A. Cuillo, Executive Director of YRB from April 1974 to September 1976, has been Associate Area Director for the State Area Office of Mental Health in Berkshire County since then.

programs, coordinating services, and trouble shooting, were merged with ReServe's responsibilities to oversee Contact House and the emergency shelters. Throughout 1976 United Way continued to function as banker and administrative coordinator and provided management and clerical services for ReServe and YRB. In the end (summer 1977) the Youth Resources Bureau faded away. It was eventually absorbed by the ReServe organization, and even the ReServe organization had dwindled in its responsibility within the community with the former Contact House (group home) eventually (1979) turned over to the Department of Mental Health and the emergency shelter under a contract with a new vendor, Marathon House from Providence, Rhode Island.

The Boys' Club links up with the Department of Youth Services in 1978. The history of the Youth Resources Bureau does not end entirely with the loss of its grantmanship role, the closing of Contact House, and the withdrawal of DYS from Delinquency Prevention grants. In 1978, the DYS made one other attempt to link up with a local human service component from the voluntary sector, the Boys' Club.

What began in the Boys' Club in 1972 and 1973 as a modest takeover of the Big Brother program and a part-time counseling program had by 1978 emerged as a Counseling and Human Services Department that provided six different programs for adolescent youths and ser-

viced 362 youths.* The Department's programs and service levels in 1978 were:

Family Life Education Counseling	107 clients
Youth Raps for Moderation	117 clients
Peer Counselor Training Workshops	13 participants
Juvenile Jobs for Justice	60 clients
Department of Youth Services Casework	30 clients
Big Brother Program	<u>35 clients</u>
Total	362

In 1978 the Department of Youth Services signed a contract with the Boys' Club to have them provide casework services to Berkshire County youths under the jurisdiction of the DYS, thus making the Boys' Club the home base and liaison for the Department of Youth Service's staff and Berkshire County youthful offenders committed to DYS. The presence of the Department of Youth Services area office in the Boys' Club provided an opportunity for access and flow of information and referrals between the two organizations. It combined the diversion and parole responsibility into one facility.

There is another important historical dimension to the developments with the Boys' Club. The Boys' Club programs were operated in a recreational-based service center and were structured similarly to the direct service model for a youth resources bureau originally

* Much credit to these developments must be given to the foresight of Boys' Club Executor Director, James Mooney, who demonstrated great capacity for innovation and adaptation when he incorporated these new programs in the Club.

advocated by the President's Commission in 1967. The Commission pointed out that

many organizations already exist that have one of their aims -- if not the major one -- the provisional programs for young people. (stressing) "Boys' Clubs, Scouting, Camp-fire groups, fraternal organizations, Y's, Settlement Houses ... have served over the years as refuge and rescuers of young people. Too frequently, however, limited resources and restrictive policies have forced such organizations to exclude difficult delinquents and older, alienated adolescents. The groups have a vital role in making available the diversified activities and sources youth need; it is essential to expand their work in this field and seek ways of extending it to all young people [Task Force Report, 1967, p. 48].

In contrast to the Boys' Club operations, the Pittsfield Youth Resources Bureau deliberately did not provide direct services. Its role was to establish alternatives and to make systemwide changes. A planning and coordination model, the Pittsfield Youth Resources Bureau, helped to develop most of the new adolescent services, including those which are now included in the Boys' Club Counseling and Human Services Department.

Pittsfield thus began the decade with one type of youth resources bureau -- a planning and coordinating organization -- and ended the decade with another -- the direct service provider in the Counseling and Human Services Department of the Boys' Club. These are two distinctly different youth resources models. The presence of

the Department of Youth Services program within the Boys' Club linked the public and private sectors together. It also linked the court diversion program for offenders into a network that now includes youths who have been paroled by the DYS following a period of adjudication, which sometimes includes commitments and recommitments to the DYS's regional residential placement programs. Although probably unique in the United States juvenile justice operations, the organizational link between the DYS and the Boys' Club is quite consistent with the DYS commitment to the community-based service system.

Summary. In September 1970, as a result of the combined efforts of the League of Women Voters of Central Berkshire, the Pittsfield Urban Coalition, the local Junior League and the Central Berkshire United Way, a Youth Resources Bureau was established in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. This newly formed planning and coordinating organization began to create new services for adolescents that would enable the local juvenile justice system to divert youthful offenders into community-based services. The local efforts had the blessing and participation of a wide range of local human service organizations and the local juvenile justice system.

Initially, the Youth Resources Bureau received funding from the voluntary sector through the United Way, the Urban Coalition, and the Junior League. From the public sector the Youth Resources Bureau received funds from the Massachusetts Departments of Youth Services,

of Mental Health, of Education, and of Public Welfare; the City and County Revenue Sharing Commissions; and the local State Title XX Program. The Department of Youth Services had used its Delinquency Prevention Grant funds to serve as a stimulus to established local community-based services throughout Massachusetts.

During the next seven years, the Youth Resources Bureau would found, fund, and stimulate a variety of alternative services for youthful offenders and troubled youths that had previously been unavailable in the community.* These new services included counseling programs at numerous locations, an alternative school, foster care, an emergency shelter, a group home, and employment opportunities for delinquents and non-delinquents. Many community agencies were involved, including a neighborhood settlement house, the Girls Club, and the Boys' Club. The counseling services focused on specific needs of youths, like alcoholism, parent/child relationships, psychiatric services, parent-surrogates in the Big Brother/Big Sister programs, and peer counseling.

The formation of these programs provided both alternatives for the youths involved in the local juvenile justice system and a network of community-based services which were fundamental to the Department of Youth Services' deinstitutionalization program. By

* By 1975 the YRB had helped to develop fourteen different community-based services and helped arrange financing for them through fifteen different services including its own granting of DYS delinquency prevention funds. (See Table 4)

closing its training schools, the Department of Youth Services ended its correctional responsibility and returned to the primary responsibility for the care and treatment of youths to the local community.

The growth and development of the local services were marked by high turnover of professional staff, numerous changes in the location of services, and the starting and ending of programs throughout the decade. Keeping residential services operating became the most nagging problem for the Youth Resources Bureau. The emergency shelter changed locations and sponsorship throughout the period and at one point was closed down for seven months. The group home, originally established for boys, also had a high turnover of directors and supervision. Closed from January 1977 until the summer of that year, it reopened as a program for girls. As such, it lasted only one year. The discontinuances of the short- and long-term residential programs were brought about largely by the Department of Youth Services' and the Department of Public Welfare's delays in reimbursement payments and by the low number of referrals from the local justice system, the DYS regional office, and the Department of Social Services. Only these public sector departments had the legal power to place youths in the group homes.

The Department of Youth Services delinquency prevention grants ended after five years, in large part causing the demise of the Youth Resources Bureau in 1978. The newly formed local service, whose network made up the community-based service system, nevertheless sur-

vived the 1970s by annual allocations from United Way and by grants of federal revenue sharing dollars from the City of Pittsfield and the County Commissioners.

The decade began with the formation of a Youth Resources Bureau that performed a planning, coordination, and development function for seven years. It ended with Boys' Club establishing a Counseling and Human Services Department that has coupled its programs with those of the Department of Youth Services into a unique arrangement between the public and private sector to handle youthful offenders and troubled youths judicially and non-judicially.

In a real sense the Boys' Club Human Services Department's programs came closer than the YRB to the 1967 President's Commission concept of a "youth resources bureau." It is an independent direct service agency that receives referrals from all sources of the community, including the local police and probation department for court diversion and restitution programs. The original efforts of Pittsfield's Youth Resources Bureau in alternative education have been assumed by the Pittsfield public school system and its involvement in emergency care for youths were turned over to ReServe, Inc. and the United Way.

Within the decade, starting from the social environment of having no specific services for adolescents, Pittsfield had grown to a full range of fifteen different services. The accumulation of these developments provided for a community-based service system which met

the objectives of the local community by providing the juvenile justice system the opportunity to handle youthful offenders judicially and non-judicially. The community-based services were structured in such a way that diversion of delinquents could be accomplished, and youths who were in trouble had the opportunity to be referred or to seek out a wide range of services that assisted them in their adolescent years.

When the Youth Resources Bureau ended in 1977, it had made three important systemwide changes for adolescents. It had founded, funded, and inserted into the local human service system an emergency shelter which was new to the child welfare field; an alternative school which was new for public education; and numerous counseling services at easy access centers which were new for adolescents. Furthermore, it had paved the way for its successor, the Boys' Club Human Services Department, when YRB was the original funding source for the programs within the Human Services Department.

The Boy's Club, which had started out with one alternative service, Big Brothers, expanded its operations to include six different programs and also became the host organization for the Department of Youth Services local area probation and parole program for youths committed to it. This DYS area office has been housed in the Boys' Club on a continuous basis since 1978. It was originally funded through a purchase of service arrangement with DYS's regional office.

The linkage between the Department of Youth Services' office and the Boys' Club was further evidence of the continuous philosophical commitment by the community and the Department of Youth Services to the community-based service systems. Other Massachusetts state area offices, such as education and public health, have separate offices located away from the premises of the provider organizations. For example, the area office of education is not in a public school, and the area office of public health is not in a hospital.

What began as a new ideology of deinstitutionalization and provisions for a community-based services system for delinquents became a public policy reality during the 1970s in Massachusetts. For Pittsfield's human service system, the 1970s were a decade of program experimentation, changes in leadership, and relocation of resources. A new network of alternative schools, counseling programs, foster care, and work opportunities had survived changes in funding sources, leadership, location, structure, and concept. The establishment of community-based services gave Pittsfield's juvenile justice system the capacity to handle its delinquent population within a wider range of judicial and non-judicial alternatives than had been possible in the past. For adolescents the decade of the 1970s was the dawn of a new era of recognition.

CHAPTER V
CLASSIFICATION AND DISPOSITION OF YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS
BY THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Once a juvenile is apprehended by the police and referred to the Juvenile Court, the community has already failed; subsequent rehabilitative services, no matter how skilled, have far less potential for success than if they had been applied before the youth's overt defiance of the law.

Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, 1966.

It is one thing to build a community-based service apparatus for youthful offenders; it is another to get the formal juvenile justice system -- the police, the courts, and the youth services -- to use these community-based services. The purpose of building the components of the community-based system -- the shelter, the alternative school, the counseling programs -- was to acknowledge that youthful offenders are adolescents with human service needs. Programs like Volunteers in Probation, "work it off" and others also give the formal juvenile justice system an opportunity to handle cases non-judicially and to minimize the eventual number of formal commitments of youth to DYS. Even within the DYS's regional set-up there are different placement choices: local foster care and work programs,

group homes, and, if necessary, secure detention and secure treatment facilities.

This chapter specifically probes the demands placed by Pittsfield's delinquent youths' behavior on the Pittsfield police, the local courts, and the local-regional DYS. It further examines the utilization by the police, the courts, and DYS of a network of alternative services provided for the care and treatment of youthful offenders.

An analysis of the Pittsfield Police Department's violations/arrests records (1976-1980). Since its establishment in 1976 as a separate unit of the Pittsfield Police Department, the Juvenile Bureau has been keeping records of the number of juvenile offenders and their offenses. (See Appendix M for a sample report.) Each year from 1976 through 1980 the police have reported between 679 and 1,108 Pittsfield youth whose parent/child conflicts, delinquency behavior, motor vehicle violations, and serious crimes have been recorded by the Pittsfield Police Department. One way the data from the past five years has been classified is by the number of violations (crimes and delinquent acts) committed and the number of youths involved.

Table 5
 VIOLATIONS REPORTED AND NUMBER OF YOUTH INVOLVED
 1976-1980
 PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number Delinquent Acts Reported*</u>	<u>Number Youth Involved</u>
1976	688	679
1977	724	763
1978	916	1,108
1979	911	1,054
1980	825	866

A closer examination of the arrest (violations) data shows that the Pittsfield Police Department must contend with a wide range of adolescent and parent/child behavior. The police are crime investigators, traffic patrolmen, social workers, guardians of children and locators of missing persons. Less than 15 percent of their work involves serious crimes by youths such as robbery and assault. (See Table 6.) When grouped together, delinquent acts -- including disturbing the peace, vandalism, disorderly conduct and the possession of alcoholic beverages and drugs -- represent about 25 percent of the total cases. Operating a missing persons bureau, handling traffic

* This data does not record the age of the youthful offender; the frequency or repetition of their delinquency; and whether or not their behavior was an individual act or part of a group response. It is estimated that between 60 and 90 percent of all delinquent acts are committed with companions [Task Force' Report, 1967, p. 47]. Therefore, duplication of offenses by the same individuals has not been removed from these records. The primary focus of the reporting procedure by the Pittsfield Police is on the number and type of violations.

violations, and responding to parent/child conflicts are the most numerous activities in the department.

Classification of offenses by categories (1978 only). For example, an indepth analysis of the 1978 records, the year of the highest recorded offenders in the five-year period, shows that almost 40 percent of the behavior problems handled by the Pittsfield police had to do with family matters -- parent/child conflicts and missing persons, a much greater proportion than other offenses. Serious crimes -- such as assault and battery, breaking and entering, robbery, rape and arson -- were reported at a 14 percent level, while a range of other offenses -- including motor vehicle violations, property damage, disturbing the peace, and possession of alcoholic beverages and drugs -- fell within a range of more than 7 but less than 11 percent for each of these types of offenses.

Table 6

CATEGORIES OF OFFENSES
 NUMBER OF YOUTH INVOLVED
 1978 - JUVENILE BUREAU
PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT

<u>Categories of Offenses</u>	<u># Youth</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Parent/Child Conflicts	243	21.9
Missing Persons	197	17.8
Serious Crimes	151	13.6
Property Damage, Vandalism	121	10.9
Motor Vehicle Violations	106	9.6
Possession of Alcoholic Beverages and Drugs	88	7.9
Disturbing the Peace, Disorderly Conduct	83	7.5
Miscellaneous Minor Offenses	<u>119</u>	<u>10.8</u>
	<u>1,108</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Serious offenses trends (1976-1980). One of the overriding issues in the Massachusetts experiment was the fear expressed by many justice officials and citizens alike that there would be a much greater incidence of crime if youth knew they would not be locked up for their misdeeds for a significant amount of time usually in secure institutions.

The number of violent crimes reported by Pittsfield's Police Department from 1976 through 1980 show a range of 8 to 20 offenses, and the number of property crimes show a higher range of 69 to 85. The two categories combine to show a serious crime rate by juvenile offenses between 83 and 103 as the high and low rates during the five year period.

Table 7

RECORD OF SERIOUS CRIMES
JUVENILE BUREAU
PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT
1976-1980

<u>Types of Offenses</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>Number of Offenses</u>			<u>1980</u>
		<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	
Murder	0	0	0	0	0
Rape	1	0	0	4	3
Aggravated Assault	7	8	10	12	13
Robbery	5	0	7	4	1
Arson	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
Subtotal	14	8	20	18	19
<u>Property Offenses</u>					
Burglary	58	46	56	43	37
Larceny-Theft	10	19	22	41	20
Theft of Motor Vehicle	1	1	0	1	2
Subtotal	<u>69</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>59</u>
TOTAL SERIOUS OFFENSES	<u>83</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>98</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>78</u>

The FBI Uniform Crime Report defines "violent crimes" (those against persons) to be murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault and arson. See Appendix E for national trends in violent crimes by youth under 18. It includes burglary, larceny-theft and motor vehicle theft as "property crimes." The combination of these six violent crimes and the three property crimes are clustered together and defined as "serious crimes" by FBI standards.

Classification of Juvenile Bureau cases (1976 only). Each year since 1976 there have been between 264 and 392 Juvenile Bureau cases involving between 331 and 551 youth that the Juvenile Bureau has chosen to handle within the department -- sometimes sending the records to the Probation Office and sometimes referring the youth to other community resources. For the most part these youth were either identified as having parent/child adjustment problems or were involved in status offenses rather than in serious crimes. For example of the 264 cases handled by the Juvenile Bureau in 1976, there were 153 missing persons reports filed, 37 complaints of child neglect and abuse, 2 runaways, and 3 stubborn child complaints; this makes a total of 195 cases of parent/child adjustment problems out of the 264 cases handled. There were another 16 cases of disturbing the peace, drunkenness, and minor in possession of alcoholic beverages. Only 22 of the Juvenile Bureau cases -- 7 assaults, 5 breaking and entering, and 10 larcenies -- actually involved criminal activity.

1976 was a typical year* when almost 74 percent of the Juvenile Bureau cases handled within the bureau itself included parent/child adjustment problems such as missing persons or child neglect, another 6 percent were status offenses, 8 percent were serious offenses involved in cases of assault, breaking and entering and larceny, and only the remaining 12 percent were involved in a variety

* See Appendix N Table 18 for the same Juvenile Bureau case information 1976 through 1980.

of offenses including vandalism, setting fires and damage to property.

The police department's three-part disposition program. In recognition of its multiple responsibilities, the Pittsfield Juvenile Bureau has established a three-part disposition program.

Upon encounter with a youth the police start to make a number of decisions about the disposition of the case. If arrested, the youths face an automatic referral to the courts. There were between 350 and 600 youth who were sent on this pathway.

A second group of youths whose behavior is less serious and frequently parent/child related are handled within the department. There were 331 and 551 youth who were classified as Juvenile Bureau cases and handled within the department.

The trend has been to send proportionately more youth to the courts and retain fewer within the department. (See Table 8.) The original stratification is as follows:

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
Court Referrals	348	416	557	616	514
Juvenile Bureau Cases	<u>331</u>	<u>347</u>	<u>551</u>	<u>438</u>	<u>352</u>
	<u>679</u>	<u>763</u>	<u>1,108</u>	<u>1,054</u>	<u>866</u>

Table 8

PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT
JUVENILE BUREAU
FORMAL REFERRALS 1976-1980

	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
<u>Juvenile Justice System</u>					
Juvenile Probation Officer	12	122	262	248	263
Adult Probation Officer		4	7	6	
DYS	1		3	6	1
Other Police					2
Court Clinic	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Subtotal	14	126	272	260	266
<u>Other City Departments</u>					
Fire			2		1
Parks				1	1
Building					1
Health		2	2	1	
Licensing	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Subtotal	0	2	11	2	3
<u>Public Schools</u>					
<u>Public Welfare</u>					
Social Services	31	47	84	75	74
Welfare					1
Mass. SPCC	6	2	3	4	4
Office of Children	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>1</u>
Subtotal	37	49	87	79	80
<u>Community-Based Service System</u>					
Berkshire Home Care			1	1	1
Berkshire Medical Ctr. - Psych. Unit		1			2
Emergency Shelter	1		1	2	4
Boys Club	31	13	4	4	8
Family and Children Services	1	1			
Neighborhood Youth Corps	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>—</u>
Subtotal	<u>34</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>
GRAND TOTAL	<u>85</u>	<u>195</u>	<u>379</u>	<u>352</u>	<u>364</u>

The department referrals to other organizations. In the previous table, the pattern of referral has been charted for the five year period. The Juvenile Bureau's start-up year, 1976, shows the most community-based referrals, 34; by 1980 the number was down to 15 with some lean years in between. During this same period, the referral to public welfare increased from 37 to 80. Only 99 of the 365 referrals in 1980 did not get referred to the Probation Office. The referral rate to the Probation Department has climbed from 13 in 1976 to over 260 for the next three years, while the total number of Juvenile Bureau cases during 1978, 1979 and 1980 has gone down from a high of 551 to 352, a 56 percent decline by 1980.

The Probation Department referral rate change by the police represents a change in practice. Juvenile Bureau cases are by design "second level" cases -- the less serious types. But by 1978 it had become the Juvenile Bureau's practice to send the names of two-thirds of its cases informally to the Probation Department for further review of these cases.

The third option chosen by the department is to draw from the court referrals and the Juvenile Bureau cases and refer some of these youth to other government departments, the probation officer and community services. From 1978 through 1980 however, the vast majority of the referrals were to another component of the juvenile justice system, the Probation Department, as an informal alert to that authority of the youth's involvement with the police. The data

does not reveal which type of cases were informally referred to the Probation Department. It simply shows the numerical shift from 13 referrals to probation in 1976 to 126 in 1977 which then jumped to over 260 for the next three years (1978, 1979 and 1980). (See Table 8.)

Summary. The Pittsfield Police Department reports three types of dispositions: serious violations, less serious cases handled within the department, and referrals. During four of the past five years there has been a steady increase in violations and youth involved in crime and delinquency in Pittsfield. All categories of offending increased annually until 1980 when the rates dropped to almost the same level as 1976.

During the past five years there have been between 679 and 1,108 youth known to the police. For example, in the highest year of youth involvement, 1978, motor vehicle violations, missing persons, child abuse and neglect cases top the list of categories of offenses; the three together represent 44 percent of the youth known to police.

The number of serious offenses ranged between 75 and 100 in the five years, with about 15 to 20 violent crimes and another 50 to 75 major property offenses. The 1978 profile showed about 150 youth or 14 percent of youth involved in serious crimes in Pittsfield.

It is the practice of the Pittsfield Police Department to refer all violators and almost two-thirds of the Juvenile Bureau cases

handled within the department to the next level of the juvenile justice system. The violators get sent to court, and the Juvenile Bureau "cases" usually get referred informally to the Probation Department. A review of the disposition practices of the Probation Department and the courts is presented in the next section.

In contrast to the growing referral network with the courts and the Probation Department, the number of referrals to community-based services by the police has gone down rather dramatically in the past five years from a high of 34 cases in 1976 to less than 15 cases in subsequent years. At either the 1976 or the 1980 level these community-based referrals by the police represent only one to two percent of the youthful offender population known to the police each year.

Berkshire County Probation Department's study of disposition. The investigator turned to the Probation Department to find out what their disposition was of the youth who are sent by the Pittsfield Police Department's Juvenile Bureau to the Probation Department on formal charges for a juvenile complaint: being delinquent by reason of a specific violation(s).

The Probation Department has chosen a variety of dispositions for the youthful offenders who have come through the courts. These choices include dismissal, informal probation, placement in programs and facilities for services, formal probation "waiting" trial, direct

formal commitment to DYS, and brief detention commitments to DYS for a 13-day "cooling off" period.

To trace the results of this flow of youthful offenders from one component of the juvenile justice system to the other the investigator designed a special questionnaire for the probation officers that requested a report on the first 50 cases from Pittsfield Police to come to the Probation Department in February 1981.* (See copy in Appendix H.) A summary of the case-by-case dispositions by the probation office follows.

Disposition choices by the courts.

Dismissal (7). There were 7 cases in the 50 that were immediately dismissed by the courts. These 7 were ordered to pay court costs of \$50, and one of those dismissed was also referred to the Big Sister program operated at the Girls Club.

Formal probation (11). Of the 11 cases placed on formal probation, 3 of these cases had been "set for trial." One of these was also sent to the Boys' Club Court Division program during this waiting period and to the alternative school while his case was "continued." Of the 8 remaining cases placed on formal probation, their community-based service disposition was as follows:

* This data only represents part of one month, in one year. It does not have the longitude the police data did, which spanned five years. However, follow-up interviews by the investigator with probation officers and DYS staff verify its general accuracy.

<u>Program Placements</u> (N = 8)	<u>Number of Youth Referred</u>
Restitution	5
Alternative School*	4
Court Division	1
Division of Social Services	1
Alcoholic Program (Boys Club)	1

Informal probation (19). There were 19 youths whose cases were continued on an "informal" probation status. Many of these followed the same community-based service referral path as the 11 who were on formal probation. Here is a summary of their disposition:

<u>Program Disposition</u> (N = 19)	<u>Number of Youth Referred</u>
Alternative School	8
Restitution	7
Big Sisters	2
Alcoholic Program (Boys Club)	1
Counseling (Girls Club)	1
School Referral	2
Private Counseling*	1
No Service Referral*	1

Placement in facilities (14). There were also 14 youths who ranged in the age from 11 to 16 and who were given a formal placement assignment by the Berkshire County Probation Department. These youthful offenders were placed in a range of primary facilities. Some were placed in multiple locations, while others were referred to

* One referral to the Alternative School was a dual referral along with the restitution program.

specific community-based services. The 14 primary placements were as follows:

<u>Placement Dispositions</u> (N = 14)	<u>Number of Youth Referred</u>
Emergency Shelter (Rubican West)	6
Mental Health (Public and Private Facilities)	3
Committed to DYS	1
13 Day Detention - DYS	4

Since the emergency shelter is usually only a temporary, 30-day placement, many of the 14 received multiple assignments including other community-based assignments to accompany their primary placements. Here is a listing of the additional assignments for these 14 youths to community-based services:

<u>Additional Assignments</u> (N-14)	
Foster Care	3
Alternative School	3
The VIP (Volunteers in Probation)	2
Court Diversion	1
Restitution	2
Division of Social Services	2
Tutoring	2
Family and Children Service	<u>1</u>
Total	16

To get a full picture of the Probation Department's utilization of community-based services, the youth on formal probation, informal probation, and those placed in community based residential programs are combined into one comprehensive overview:

Community Services Utilization Profile (N-43)*Public School Programs

Alternative School	16
Tutoring	2
Other Assignments	2

Boys Club Human Services Department

Court Diversion Counseling	3
Restitution (Jobs for Justice)	14
Peer Counseling-Alcoholic Program	2

Other Referrals

Girls Clubs (Counseling & Big Sisters)	3
Foster Care (local)	3
Volunteers in Probation	2
Family-Child Services	1
Division Social Services	<u>3</u>
	<u>51**</u>

The 50-case review profile prepared by the Berkshire County Probation Department in February 1981 thus shows disposition assignments that included 7 youths who were dismissed and 8 youths who were continued in the juvenile justice system -- 3 awaiting trial, 4 committed for a 10-day detention to DYS, and 1 committed for a longer duration. Of the remaining 35 youths, 14 received residential placements ranging from private schools, psychiatric observation, emergency shelters, and foster care. Within the 50 cases there were a

* Includes one "dismissal" also sent to Big Sisters at the Girls Clubs for counseling to the Alternative School.

** Total exceeds cohort of 43, since some youths were sent simultaneously to more than one assignment.

total of 18 different programs or placements to which the youthful offenders were referred, and there was a total of 51 community-based service assignments to this cohort of 50 youths handled by the probation office.

Historically, it should be pointed out that 11 of the 14 community-based service programs utilized by the Probation Department were founded and/or funded by the Pittsfield Youth Resources Bureau during the 1970s.*

Summary. These 50 cases chosen in February 1981 for documentation of their community-based utilization by the Probation Department showed a very high rate of assignment to services. Forty-three of the youth received 51 assignments to 13 different programs; 11 of the 13 programs were originally founded, funded and inserted into the human services system by the Youth Resources Bureau.

In great contrast to the limited use of community services reported by the Pittsfield Police Department, the Probation Department demonstrated a very extensive use of a wide range of community services.

* Here is a listing of those programs:

YRB founded and/or funded (11)

Restitution	Youth Advocacy Project
Alternative School	Foster Care (Echo)
Court Diversion	Tutoring
Alcohol Program (Boys Club)	Emergency Shelter
Counseling Girls Club	Big Brothers
Big Sisters Girls Club	

An analysis of Region I -- DYS placement decisions: 1979-1980. In the last section of this chapter an analysis of DYS disposition of Berkshire County youth is presented. The purpose of this information is to illustrate the group home utilization by DYS, its use of community services, and its overall restraining policy of youth placed in secure detention and treatment facilities.

There is a third and final component of the juvenile justice system. DYS's decisions require analysis to complete the continuum from arrest and arraignment by police to review by the courts and the Probation Department to commitment to DYS. This is an analysis of Region I DYS placement records for Berkshire County youth only. It includes Pittsfield youth and youth from other towns in Berkshire County. (For a map of the DYS regions, see Appendix B.)

This part of the investigation does not pretend to represent the same youth in each of the three studies: annual police reports, the 50 probation cases, the DYS disposition records. Because of confidentiality it is not possible to track the same youth all the way through the three different components of the juvenile justice system. It is, however, possible to represent the flow of youth from one component to another, which was done with the 50 Probation Department cases and is done again with the DYS cases from 1979 to 1980.

Focus of study. In an effort to learn what happens to youth from Berkshire County who are committed to DYS -- Region I, the Director of Region I agreed to provide the chronological placement records of the Department of Youth Services Parole Division for 1979 and 1980. Each of these case records show the date of birth, the movement of the youth from one placement to another, based on the decisions (votes) of at least two identified staff members, the date of commitment, the date of discharge, and the time of commitment. (A sample of these records is included in Appendix J.)

These are Berkshire County youth who appeared before one of three different districts (juvenile) courts -- in north, central, or southern Berkshire County.* There is a single Probation Department

* Adjudicated Offenses:

Here is the offense, at the time of commitment and recommitment, as identified by the DYS Regional Office Records for the Berkshire County youth only.

<u>Male 1979</u>	<u>Offense</u>	<u>Male 1980</u>
1	Attempted Murder	-
1	Assault (and battery)	1
1	Arson (burning a school house)	-
4	Burglary, "BNE" in nighttime and daytime with intent to commit a felony	8
3	Larceny	2
1	Receiving a stolen property	1
1	Use of motor vehicle	1
1	Destruction of property	-
2	Possession of Class D substance	2
2	Disturbing the peace	-
1	Attempt to commit a crime (unidentified)	1
<u>18</u>		<u>16</u>

which covers all three courts consisting of four juvenile probation officers. Only judges may commit a youth to the Department of Youth Services, but it is the Department of Youth Services staff that determines where the youth will be placed and for how long.

There were 23 different placements utilized by DYS for the 51 different males and females who were committed or recommitted from Berkshire County during this two year period, 1979 to 1980.

Description of resources. Four of the facilities utilized by the DYS Regional I Office are operated by the Center for Human Development (CHD) in Springfield, Massachusetts, under the purchase of service arrangements between DYS and CHD. Of the 51 different youth committed or recommitted during this two year period, all but two started through the DYS placement system at CHD in Springfield, which is 50 miles east of Berkshire County. The placement records show that most of these 51 youths are also returned to CHD from time to time during their transition from one placement to another, as a result of running away, apprehension for a new offense, or a change in placement, frequently after a period of time at home.

The DYS relies very heavily on purchase-of-services placements. To begin with, only four of the twenty-three placements utilized by the DYS for the Berkshire County youth are operated by DYS itself; all the others are by a purchase of service arrangement. In addition to the five different options available under CHD,* it also functions

as a reception and diagnostic center for the Department. The Department also uses three day-treatment programs in Berkshire County, three foster care programs, five different residential placements, home stays, and four DYS facilities referred to earlier, which include the Westfield (secure) Detention Center, Worcester (secure) Treatment Center, Danvers Treatment Center, and the Charleston YMCA.* Of all the twenty-three different facilities, only three are located in Berkshire County. These are S. 40 (North Adams), the Neighborhood Youth Corps' (Pittsfield) day care-work program, and Echo's foster care programs. Two of these three -- the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, which is both a work program and the opportunity for restitution, and the Echo foster care program -- where in part started and encouraged by Pittsfield's Youth Resources Bureau in the mid-1970s. The other placement facilities utilized by DYS outside of Berkshire County could be 25, 50 or even 75 miles from the hometown of the youth who was committed by DYS. Thus the youth from Berkshire County are being placed in regional facilities that are used not only by Berkshire County but Hampton, Hampshire and Franklin Counties which are the four counties that make up the DYS Region I Area.**

* One of the five of CHD's facilities does have all doors and windows locked with an alarm system, the other four do not.

** DYS operates 3 secured facilities, and the one of CHD's is secured. The other 19 placement sites are open unsecured residence.

Although the courts commit the youth, the placement decision following the commitment is up to DYS. The following tables and the accompanying analysis are based on the data provided by the Department of Youth Services from the chronological records of the youth's placements. In each case certain vital information was removed by the Department of Youth Services prior to turning the records over to the investigator to preserve the confidentiality of the records; for example, home addresses and identifying information that would enable the investigator to determine whether or not the youth were actually from Pittsfield had been removed by the regional office.

The placement profile presented in the next table shows a wide range of facilities used for the 18 youth committed in 1979.

Table 9

1979 Male Placements
By DYS Region I Office
Berkshire County (Only)
(N = 18)

<u>Programs</u>	<u>Number of Different Youths</u>	<u>Frequency of Placement</u>	<u>Number of Program Sites</u>
Day Care	9	12	3
Foster Care	8	18	6
Group Homes and Forestry Camp	12	17	3
DYS Secure Treatment	2	2	2
House of Corrections	2	2	2
Westfield Detention Center	4	3	1
Home Stays	16	32	16
Center for Human Development	13	32	3

For the most part the youth were placed and moved about the region in open facilities. There were 6 out of the 18 who spent some time in secure treatment or secure detention. Most youth sent to Westfield Detention Center were only there for one day. Here is a summary of the choices made by DYS for the 18 youth: 16 spent some time during the year at home; most of the youth, 12, were in open residential placements, 9 spent some time in day-care programs, 8 were in foster care, and 8 were in secure treatment or secure detention (3 of those for one day only). The use of the Berkshire House of Corrections (an adult jail), according to a DYS regional staff member, resulted from a pending decision on long-term placements with relatives and other case complications. The youth was not considered a major security risk.

The predominant use of open placements, 12 placements, and the low use, only 6 placements, of secured facilities is very consistent with DYS philosophy that few youthful offenders can benefit from a period of confinement.

The next table presents the same kind of data from the same source as the previous table, only this time it is 15 youth who were committed in 1980. In contrast to 1979's male committed population, these 15 youths used more residential placement, 10 out of the 15; less day care, 6 out of the 15; and about the same number of placements in DYS facilities, 3 out of 15.

Table 10

1980 Male Placements
By DYS Region I Office
Berkshire County (Only)
(N = 15)

<u>Programs</u>	<u>Number of Different Youths</u>	<u>Frequency of Placement</u>	<u>Number of Program Sites</u>
Day Care	6	11	3
Foster Care	11	29	4
Group Homes and Forestry Camp	10	11	3
DYS Secure Treatment	2	2	2
Home Stays	14	22	14
Center for Human Development	9	21	3
DYS Westfield Detention Center	2	3	1
Harford Detention Center	1	1	1

In the total male placements of 1979 and 1980 only 9 out of the 33 youth spent any time in secure placements and 3 of those 9 youth were in secure placements for one day. In contrast to the boys for the two years, the 3 girls for 1979 and 5 for 1980 were primarily placed in foster care and residential care, and only 1 girl spent any time in any secure facility.

Table 11

1979 Female Placements
By DYS Region I Office
Berkshire County (Only)
(N = 3)

<u>Programs</u>	<u>Number of Different Youths</u>	<u>Frequency of Placement</u>	<u>Number of Program Sites</u>
Day Care	1	2	1
Foster Care	3	7	3
Group Homes	2	2	2
Miami (FL) Juv.	1	1	1
Home Stays	1	1	1
Center for Human Development	2	4	1
Charles St. Y	1	2	1
Date Littleton	1	1	1

Table 12

1980 Female Placements
By DYS Region I Office
Berkshire County (Only)
(N = 5)

<u>Programs</u>	<u>Number of Different Youths</u>	<u>Frequency of Placement</u>	<u>Number of Program Sites</u>
Day Care	3	5	2
Foster Care	3	9	3
Group Homes	1	1	1
Home Stays	1	1	1
Center for Human Development	2	3	1
Charles St. Y	1	2	1
Hospital	2	3	1
Madonna Pellitier	1	1	1

The next table examines the recommitment records of 10 youth in the two years (1979-1980). The one girl spent time at Charlestown YMCA, 5 of the 9 boys spent at least some time in the Westfield (secure) Detention Center, and one was placed in the Worcester (secure) Treatment Center. The remaining three were sent to regional open placements. In addition, three of the five originally sent to Westfield were almost immediately replaced in open settings. Thus six of the recommitted ten spent most of their time in open placements.

Table 13

1979 Male* Recommitments
By DYS Region I Office
Berkshire County (Only)
(N = 4)

<u>Programs</u>	<u>Number of Different Youths</u>	<u>Frequency of Placement</u>	<u>Number of Program Sites</u>
Day Care	2	4	1
Foster Care	3	6	2
Group Homes	4	5	3
Westfield Detention Center	3	9	1
Center for Human Development	4	19	3
Home Stays	4	17	4

* In 1979, one recommitted female was placed in 5 different programs at 5 sites.

Table 14

1980 Male Recommitments
 By DYS Region I Office
 Berkshire County (Only)
 (N = 5)

<u>Programs</u>	<u>Number of Different Youths</u>	<u>Frequency of Placement</u>	<u>Number of Program Sites</u>
Day Care	3	4	2
Foster Care	3	7	2
Group Homes	5	8	4
Westfield Detention Center	2	4	1
Worcester Secure Treatment Center for Human Development	1	1	1
Home Stays	4	16	1
Hospital	4	11	4
	1	1	1

Summary. In this section, the investigation turned to the Department of Youth Services Placement Program for 51 Berkshire County youth during the period 1979 and 1980. It examines DYS's use of local and regional resources by tracing the youth from one type of placement to another. The predominant mode of care and treatment for committed and recommitted youthful offenders in the region is a group home placement program. There is a limited use (12) of resources within Berkshire County that were community based and there is an equally limited use (13) of regional secure detention and treatment for the 51 cases that have been followed in this two-year period.

Summary. This chapter has traced the disposition, referrals and placements of youthful offenders from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, through three levels of the juvenile justice system -- the police, the courts and the Department of Youth Services. Within each level, formal records produced by the component were made available to the investigator for analytical purposes. For the Pittsfield Police Department, annual statistical reports from 1976 to 1980 were used. For the courts and Probation Department, a special 50 case analysis conducted in February 1981 was employed. For the Department of Youth Services, the placement records of Berkshire County committed youth from 1979 to 1980 were traced. The data shows that the police are rarely crime investigators, and are mostly traffic patrolmen, missing persons investigators, and intervenors in parent/child conflicts. Although this is a wide range of responsibilities, by and large, the Pittsfield Police Department passes youth on to the next level, either because of the nature of the delinquent act or on an informal basis to the Probation Department to alert them to the youth's behavior. There was a very limited use, less than two percent of the cases known to the police, of community-based services.

In contrast to the limited disposition pattern which has been so closely maintained during the five year period by the Pittsfield Police Department, the Probation Department is a strong utilizer of community-based services. Many of the resources that the Probation

Department used for its 50 cases were community resources that had been founded and funded by the Youth Resources Bureau.

The Department of Youth Services is primarily an unsecured regional group home placement program which from time to time also relies on community-based services and (more rarely) on secure detention and treatment. It does seem possible to contain the youth committed to DYS in the extensive group home program. This program was unavailable prior to the closing of the state institutions. The combination of the group home regional program and the extensive community services -- both products of the deinstitutionalization era -- provides two components of the juvenile justice system with significant alternatives to incarceration. At each level -- the police, the courts and Department of Youth Services -- it is possible to make a community based or a largely non-judicial disposition of a case if the juvenile justice officials so desire. It was not possible because of confidentiality to trace the same youth from one component to another, but there was sufficient data to characterize the activities of each of the components. Within each juvenile justice system component, less than 15 percent of the youthful offenders were classified as serious. For example in 1978, the year of highest arrests in the five studied, only 155 youth out of 1,100 were arrested for serious crimes. In the 50 cases investigated that were reported by the Probation Department in February 1981, only 4 were committed to DYS for placement.

DYS itself only placed 12 of 51 Berkshire County youth during 1979 and 1980 in secure detention or secure treatment facilities, and these youth were drawn from the total Berkshire County population. DYS officials estimate the number of Pittsfield youth placed in these secure facilities to be 6 to 7 per year. DYS's activities also reflect their belief in community-based services. They referred 12 from their 51 cases in 1979 and 1980, and the Probation Department referred 43 out of 50 cases to one or more community services, while Pittsfield Police Department in the same years was referring only 23 to community services from 790 youth known to them.

C H A P T E R VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

If we can stay in community settings for a generation, then the beginning of a democratic process with corrections may guarantee some elements of enduring reform because the clientele, the residents, will be part of the body politic.

Dr. Jerome Miller, Director of
DYS 1969-1972

Deinstitutionalization in Massachusetts. Long-term dissatisfactions with the operation of its juvenile justice system led Massachusetts in the 1970s to launch an unprecedented experiment in deinstitutionalization. Massachusetts closed its training schools, opened regional group homes through purchase of service arrangements, and encouraged the creation of community-based services through delinquency prevention block grants to local communities. The combined effect of these policies allowed the Department of Youth Services to reduce the number of youth in secure treatment facilities from 1,500 at the beginning of the decade to 100 within a few years. This low profile of security placements was maintained throughout the decade. By deinstitutionalizing its facilities, the department was able to drop the obsession with security associated with traditional training schools and to establish new standards of rehabilitation services for youth. The focus of the department's activities thus shifted from

dealing with the severity of the youths' delinquency to helping them with their personal growth.

Much credit must be given to Dr. Jerome Miller, the first director of the Department of Youth Services, for reorganizing and closing down the institutions. Subsequent department directors' efforts throughout the decade sustained the Miller administration's accomplishments. Credit must also be given to other earlier coalitions of volunteers who worked to bring about removal of the Coughlin administration of eighteen years and appointed Miller and his administration. Principles like Governor Seargant and his wife, university support from Harvard, University of Massachusetts and American International College, voluntary organizations like the state and local League of Women Voters, Junior League and United Way were all pulling together with the new staff of the Department of Youth Services to help achieve deinstitutionalization. Another source of support vital to the Massachusetts conversion to deinstitutionalization was the encouragement from the media, particularly in the Boston area.

There were few examples for these reform-minded citizens and their organizational advocates to go on. Prior local efforts recorded in the social science literature showed some successes in handling youthful offenders at the local level rather than incarcerating them, but the experiments failed to become a permanent part of their respective community human service system. Their funding sources and their political constituencies were so narrow that the

programs ended at the close of their demonstration grants. One notable exception to these "ad hoc" developments was the Highfield project in New Jersey. However, this was a single dimensional program. What Massachusetts launched and what local communities like Pittsfield followed with was a wide spectrum of services. To the degree that the community-based service system succeeded, the local juvenile justice systems had the opportunity to handle youthful offenders judicially and non-judicially with awareness that there were resources present for the first time to help solve the youth's problems. To the degree that the regional group home program succeeded, the local juvenile justice system and DYS could place the youth in unsecured homes rather than secure facilities.

Federal legislation and subsequent appropriations, though sporadic, served as an important stimulus for reform of the juvenile justice system in Massachusetts. In 1967 the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice highlighted the problem of growing crime among the nation's youth and emphasized the limited capacity local communities and states had developed to provide alternatives to the traditional system.

Although the Commission's report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime did not specifically recommend the closing of state institutions, it did raise a question about their ability to handle the many problems which the youth presented. The Commission recommended a wide range of changes inside and outside the formal juvenile

justice system which would later become components for community-based service system. The President's Commission suggested the expansion of counseling and therapy, provisions for residential care, increased involvement of religious institutions and other private social agencies, and the increased contact between the school and the community. It specifically recommended the establishment of a youth service bureau to provide and coordinate programs for delinquents and non-delinquents alike. Police departments were urged to set up guidelines for handling juvenile delinquents pre-judicially by increasing referrals to community agencies.

The 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the 1968 Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act provided grants-in-aid to state and local government and private agencies to assist in the prevention and control of delinquency. Massachusetts used its political influence to capture a significant portion of these federal funds for its reorganization plans. One observer flatly stated that without the existence of the federal funds the Massachusetts experiment would never had gotten off the ground or been able to make the transition from the old to the new system.

Community-based services in Pittsfield. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the developments in Massachusetts and in Pittsfield is their durability. To maintain for a decade the social policy of deinstitutionalization and to establish and sustain a complementary

community-based service system is unprecedented in juvenile justice history. Most of the principal people who began the operations a decade ago are either out of public office, have moved out of state, or are no longer involved in the juvenile justice system or the community-based service system in Pittsfield. Pittsfield did not do anything that other communities could not do. It simply did something that other communities did not try to do. The people who labored for the decade must be given credit for their accomplishments.

These developments have not been without controversy, uncertainty, and unfortunate choices. What emerged was not the result of the efforts of a single organization or person. The staff person who worked long hours for low pay and stayed up overnight to counsel the youthful offender in a shelter; the volunteer who put at risk hundreds of thousands of dollars without any backup in order to salvage a program; and the housewife who cut short an evening with her family to go to one more meeting are the people who really helped make these developments possible. As one writer reminded us "most of the time, most people would prefer to forget about these youth people, especially as long as they are 'safely' locked up [Mann, 1976, p. 95]." The public is not known for its "clamoring to be of assistance to juveniles who have been found guilty of murder, armed robbery, rape, aggravated assault and arson [Mann, 1976, p. 95]." Before the Miller administration came along and before the people and

public officials in Pittsfield joined in, the correctional institutions and adolescents were near the bottom of the public's social welfare shopping list.

Beginning with the stimulus of the League of Women Voters' studies on the size of Pittsfield's delinquency problems and the inadequacy of the services, a coalition within Pittsfield's voluntary sector was created to focus on the treatment of youthful offenders. Four organizations (League of Women Voters of Central Berkshire, Urban Coalition, Junior League, and United Way) were successful in convincing the public sector to establish community-based programs. The fact that the local juvenile justice, public education, public welfare, and mental health officials were willing to experiment with new programs for adolescents was fundamental.

In 1970, a Youth Resources Bureau was created to marshal the community forces. The programs and services which followed were set up with voluntary funding, though they later received DYS funding and local public and private funds which came from the many sources. By the mid-1970s, fourteen different services with eleven different sponsors and eleven locations were functioning. There had been numerous changes in executive directors, in locations, and in sponsorship of the programs and services during the first five years of the operation. Most troublesome throughout this period was the inability to stabilize the operations of the shelter despite its high census and to keep the group home going despite its low census. By

the end of the decade, the group home had closed, reopened and closed again, but the shelter remained an operating entity within the community, despite a rocky period in the mid-1970s when it had to be closed and reorganized.

The local advocates of the programs and services were successful in getting public tax dollars (largely recycled state and federal revenue sharing funds) to sponsor and sustain the program elements of the community-based service system. The Youth Resources Bureau was not able to convert its voluntary support and its short-term juvenile delinquency grants (from the state) into a permanent political arrangement with the local elected leadership. In 1977, the Youth Resources Bureau finally closed, as did Contact Home, its major long-term group home facility. Within the year however, the Boys' Club was able to work out a unique public-private sector contract relationship with DYS. The Boys' Club became the local parole office for DYS. This new relationship was complementary to the multi-faceted Human Services Department the Boys' Club had developed in the mid-1970s and has enabled the Boys' Club to help delinquent and non-delinquent alike. In a very strong sense the Boys' Club has become a direct service type of youth resources bureau in contrast to the earlier local Youth Resources Bureau that was a planning and coordinating organization.

The community-based service system that emerged in Pittsfield developed in a pluralistic organizational arrangement. Some are

free-standing programs. Some have the linkage described earlier between the Boys' Club and the Department of Youth Services. There are also important programs that are appropriately lodged within other parent organizations. The alternative school, for example, became a part of the public schools. The job program for youth has been operated by the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The Department of Public Welfare operates a foster care program, and the Department of Mental Health has again established a group home for adolescents. Each of these community-based programs are resources for the juvenile justice system to turn to if it so chooses to do. The linkage between the disparate parts of the community-based services system is on a client-by-client basis.

The initial prediction by skeptics of an increase in juvenile crime with the coming of deinstitutionalization has not materialized. Serious crimes of violence and property loss have been reported by the police in Pittsfield throughout the decade, but they have remained low and have not even kept pace with the national growth of serious delinquency. For the most part the Pittsfield Police Department has been caught up in parent/child conflicts, traffic violations and missing persons reports; only infrequently does the department deal with serious youthful criminals.

It is one accomplishment to build a community-based service system; it is another achievement to have the juvenile justice to utilize the resources it provides. Although the police were a refer-

ral source to the community-based service system when the separate Juvenile Bureau was started in 1976, the department has shifted its organizational philosophy in the past five years. The Pittsfield Police Department now either handles the cases within the department by dismissing them, refers them to public welfare, or (the vast majority) refers them -- sometimes on a formal, but mostly on an informal basis -- to the courts and the Probation Department.

The Probation Department showed a continuous wide use of the community-based services that were available to it, acting in a sense almost independently from the earlier judgments of the police. In the fifty cases reviewed to profile the handling of youthful offenders by the Probation Department, less than ten youth were dismissed. The vast majority were referrals to local services. Only eight youth were caught up within DYS's network either for a short- or longer-term placement.

DYS disposition records showed heavy use of their regional group home program and rare use of secure treatment and secure detention. DYS has developed a wide range of placements throughout the four counties of Massachusetts which make up its western region. For the most part youth from Berkshire County who are committed to the department are placed in facilities away from their hometown, but there were periods of recycling the youth to their homes and through community services even while under DYS supervision. For the most part youth who go to the DYS with a formal commitment remain in the

regional group home network. However some youth were returned to Pittsfield for daytime community-based services.

There is a diversion process at each of the three levels of the juvenile justice system. The Pittsfield Police Department diverts a few youth from the system. The Probation Department diverts the largest portion of its population into community-based services. The Department of Youth Services continued to look for ways to divert the vast majority of its committed youth from the formal secure detention and treatment facilities. Based on the data in this investigation and the interview the investigator conducted with DYS placement officials, it is reasonable to estimate that, of the 750 to 1,000 youth who have annually been known to the Pittsfield Police Department, less than 2 percent would ever be committed to DYS and only a few of the remaining small portion would be committed or recommitted to either a secure detention or secure treatment facility.

Conclusions: Nature of community-based service system developed in Pittsfield. Pittsfield's response to delinquency in the past decade has been to no longer expect its police, courts and probation office to correct and control delinquency alone. The responsibility for delinquency in Pittsfield has become a shared responsibility: one in which other organizations and other entities within the human service system became active participants. The wide range of services that have been established, developed, and maintained during the past

decade in Pittsfield are a testimony to the shared responsibility concept.

Pittsfield's human service system in its aggregate throughout the decade has acknowledged that youthful offenders are also adolescents in trouble. Their troubles cannot always be resolved by the traditional methods of the juvenile justice system and are not necessarily within the bounds of the resources of the offenders' family and friends. Very briefly stated, the services are a local acknowledgement that youths may have reasons to run from home (a shelter has been established); that youths do have alcoholic problems (a teenage alcoholism program has been provided); and that surrogate parents are sometimes necessary (foster care, Big Brothers/Big Sisters programs and numerous counseling services have been made available in a variety of settings). Prior to the onset of the community-based service system, delinquent youths were largely ignored by the human service system.

In order to modify the community expectations of punishment and the control of delinquency, community acceptance of the efforts that would be required to build the community-based service system had to be created. The local juvenile justice officials, judges, police, probation officers, and district attorneys had to relinquish some control in order to develop the community-based services system. The citizens who pioneered this work had to take some personal risks.

The decade of development was not a smooth ever-ascending spiral of accomplishments. As recently as November 1980 local juvenile justice officials, other interested organizations, and citizens gathered at the local community college to once again urge DYS to set up a secure facility within Berkshire County that, in the minds of the juvenile justice officials, would help to control delinquency. DYS's regional director's response to this recommendation pointed out that the profile of sufficiently severe delinquency in Berkshire County was too low to require a new facility and furthermore that placement slots were still available at the regional level if the local officials needed more secure and unsecured placements.

To the best of this investigator's knowledge nothing has come of the conference and its recommendations. More importantly, the Pittsfield case is a successful one. It is a remarkable credit to the many individuals who labored throughout the decade to bring about these organizational efforts. It is a credit to the juvenile justice officials that they were willing to relax their controls and to consider alternatives.

Extent to which community-based services are functioning a decade later. Pittsfield has developed a wide range of community-based services that provide alternatives to incarcerations which were unavailable before the 1970s. It has built a wide-range, multi-funded, multi-sponsored, scattered-site network of services throughout the

community. With a few notable exceptions, its programs and services have survived a decade. Pittsfield has demonstrated that it is possible to build a community-based services system with a pluralistic provider base that includes numerous organizations and multiple funding sources including public tax dollars. Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic between Pittsfield's operations and those of earlier experiments like Provo and Essexfields was that Pittsfield achieved wide-spread political support from traditional agencies and thus an initial significant investment was made to help achieve the eventual positive outcome. Numerous traditional agencies set up alternative services. The other earlier national demonstration projects were very research oriented. They were administered by "outsiders" who were able to attract limited local support during the demonstration period. When it came time to convert the demonstration phase into a permanent arrangement, there was too narrow an organizational and citizen investment to sustain the project.

Disposition of youthful offenders. Youthful offenders were involved in a sorting out process by the police, the courts, probation officers and DYS. Each of the different levels of the juvenile justice system has the opportunity to dismiss, refer, divert, retain or detain the youth. Each level of the juvenile justice system thus focuses on a smaller population group. The Pittsfield Police Department arrests about 750 to 1,000 youth a year. When those youth are

funneled all the way through the juvenile justice system to the Department of Youth Services, the Pittsfield youth population committed to DYS is about ten, or about one percent of the original total. In marked contrast to the 1950s and 1960s, the human service options available for the juvenile justice system and the youthful offender are significantly greater. The 1970s produced a wide range of options, including emergency shelters, alternative school, job placement, foster care, counseling, surrogate parents, and group homes and longer term residences.

When the state and local community moved from an institutional to a deinstitutionalization policy then into a new non-institutional setting, the juvenile justice system lost the control of the programs which it possessed when youthful offenders were moved from the local probation system to incarceration in state training schools. Under this new system of deinstitutionalization, the juvenile justice system must do its referral and rehabilitation work through others. Since community-based services are not an integrated system like mental health and mental retardation (where the resources are largely commanded by those systems), the juvenile justice system must rely on a labyrinth of programs in scattered sites under multiple sponsorships. Despite these conditions, the juvenile justice system in Pittsfield has demonstrated its continued interest in using the programs and services designed for it. However, the police department's Juvenile Bureau has shown less interest in the community-based ser-

vice system with each succeeding year since its founding in 1976. The police now routinely refer youthful offenders on a formal or informal basis to the Probation Department.

Pittsfield's accomplishments. When DYS removed the choice of institutional care, local civic organizations, government departments and the juvenile justice system had to modify and experiment with their views of delinquency and what should happen to delinquents. A wide range of services was established for adolescents. These accomplishments followed closely the President's Commission concepts and recommendations. In fact Pittsfield's developments could be considered the prototype of the President's Commission Report developed from 1965 to 1967.

To sustain the programs and services, the juvenile justice system and the community-based service system had to struggle with key staff turnover, changes in location of programs, and changes in funding sources. They also had to struggle with the overnight care problems associated with the sustaining of the community's shelter and the illusiveness of the group home longer-care facility. It has always seemed unreasonable to this investigator that, out of a population base of 750-1,000 Pittsfield youth in the juvenile justice system, at least 10-15 a year would not have wanted the opportunity to live away from home.

In an informal investigation of his own, James Cuillo (former director of the YRB) learned after leaving the bureau that one of the powerful influences on the census problem at the group home was probably political considerations: the funds and the placement slots were sought by other parts of the state with higher levels of delinquency. Perhaps this is a partial explanation of the demise of the group home.

The community-based service system has survived a decade. In mid-point it lost its wheel horse, the Youth Resources Bureau, when the Department of Youth Services stopped its delinquency prevention grants and the United Way and YRB officials were unable to convince the local community to convert the planning and coordinating functions that YRB had carried so successfully into a public service component financed by the Mayor's Human Services Commission. A likely outcome of the demise of the Youth Resources Bureau would be that the advocacy function that it carried out would be lost. Historically what seems to have happened was that the combined efforts of the Pittsfield Boys' Club and the Department of Youth Services have picked up the advocacy role. In fairness to the Mayor's Human Services Commission, it has sustained the funding level of the components for the community-based service system -- even though the YRB is no longer functioning and DYS has not reinstated its delinquency prevention funds.

Twice during this decade DYS and the local community have linked together in important steps. The first linkage occurred in 1970 when DYS provided delinquency prevention funds to finance YRB, and other local sponsors provided matching funds to set up programs and services which have evolved from the community-based service system. The second linkage occurred in 1978 when the Human Services Department of the Boys' Club and DYS lodged the parole program in the Club and linked it with the Boys' Club casework services under one roof. Both of these link-ups are important steps in sustaining the deinstitutionalization policies of the state. One can hardly imagine judges and probation officers being satisfied not to tell youthful offenders to go somewhere -- be it an alternative school, a shelter, or a counseling program -- had the community-based services not materialized. The pressure certainly would have been greater on DYS to revert to its old practices or to come up with some other strategy had the community-based services not been developed.

The national implications for the developments in Massachusetts and Pittsfield are historic and organizationally profound. This has been a decade of durability. Provo, Essexfields, and other similar demonstration projects did not survive; Pittsfield did. This investigator and other participants have been asked many times why. Certainly one view of that answer is that the program caught on in the community at a time when people were looking for change. Community-based services offered a major opportunity in which the elected offi-

cials, juvenile justice officials, private citizens, and the youths themselves could participate. Everyone has come out a winner.

Recommendation: More pre-judicial handling. It is possible to modify further the involvement of youth in the juvenile justice system in Pittsfield. Early agreement at the beginning of the 1970s to a social policy of deinstitutionalization of youthful offenders followed by a build-up of community-based services to reinforce deinstitutionalization enabled Pittsfield's juvenile justice system and DYS to work cooperatively to contain youthful offenders at the local level. This social policy also recognizes that the former state institutions, among other things, did not have the resources to handle youthful offenders' problems. (If anything they accentuated them.)

At the beginning of the 1980s Pittsfield has another opportunity. It could significantly reduce the number of youth involved in the juvenile justice system by direct referral of parent/child conflicts and missing persons to community-based services, rather than referring these youth to the courts for assessment and disposition.

This recommendation is consistent with the concepts expressed by the President's Commission. It suggested that the police determine the cases suitable for prejudicial disposition and refer them to a youth service agency. The categories of cases that would be referred by the police directly to the juvenile courts would be restricted

to ... specific classes of cases, including those of more serious offenders, repeat offenders, for whom other and persistent re-directing efforts had failed, and certain parole and probation violations [President's Commission, 1967, p. 82].

The Commission went on to encourage the police to exercise their discretion by releasing outright those youth who are involved in

... minor offenses not apparently symptomatic of serious behavior problems so that they could be dismissed at the earliest stage of official handling and even more serious offenses could be adjusted by the referral to a YRB or another organization if in the judgment of the Police, they were no immediate threats to public safety [President's Commission, 1967, p. 82].

Based on the data presented in the annual police reports (76-80) and the fifty case probation study from this investigation, an implementation of the recommendation -- if focused only on parent/child conflicts and missing persons -- would reduce the referral rate to probation by at least 40 percent. While there is not sufficient information in these reports to predict the limited number of youthful offenders that would be passed on to probation, the reports show about one hundred serious offenders would be the primary base for the probation department to consider. The numbers of repeat offenders and probation and parole violators would have to be added to this base.

There are several alternative ways which Pittsfield police could implement the policy change suggested here. Direct referral to the

Boys' Club Human Service Department and immediate involvement by Public Welfare, Mental Health, and Child and Family Services voluntary agencies is another pathway. An expanded responsibility for the emergency shelter is yet another possibility, particularly since the staff now frequently get involved in more serious parent/child conflicts and are an outlet for runaways. These alternatives illustrate a further modification in the local juvenile justice system that could take place. Formal agreement by the police not to book these cases and by the courts and probation office not to process these cases would reinforce some of the new arrangements suggested here. Such agreements would also give the opportunity for the Boys' Club, the emergency shelter and other component parts of the human service system to respond favorably.

In its early days the Miller administration argued successfully that youths whose overriding problems were associated with family environment -- mental illness, drug and alcohol dependency, unemployment, and public welfare -- did not get the services they needed in institutions and simply belonged elsewhere. Obviously a hearing in court and a stopover in the probation office does not have the same harmful impact that living in a state institution did, but neither do the courts or the probation officers have the resources to resolve these conflicts. It is not certain that the community-based services have the resources or disposition to absorb these cases either, but until this new procedure is tried the resources will not be tested.

Certainly sticking to the present plans and policy does not resolve the problems.

There are two other modifications that could take place in the Pittsfield juvenile justice system to reduce further the involvement of youth in the system and to get the youth to appropriate resources more quickly. For example, traffic violations other than speeding could go directly to a traffic department. In those cases where serious bodily injury or the involvement of drugs and alcohol are absent, the youth need not be caught up in the juvenile justice system, particularly first time offenders. Those youth who are picked up for drunken and disorderly conduct or drug involvement not associated with traffic violations could be referred directly by the police to the Boys' Club Human Service Department, which already has a program for teenagers with a drinking problem. The assessment of the degree of drug and alcohol dependency is better made by a specialist in that department rather than continuing these cases in the juvenile justice system.

What has been recommended here are four major reductions in the flow of youth from one part of the juvenile justice system to the other. Parent/child conflicts, missing persons, selected traffic violations, and drug and alcohol involvement could be referred directly to other sources in the community-based system rather than the courts or probation office. These recommendations suggest a more appropriate role for the juvenile justice system is to limit its

concerns to serious and chronic offenders and/or probation and parole violators.

Recommendation: Allowing for "client" choice. Current practices at all levels of the juvenile justice system -- the police, courts and DYS -- suggest that public officials are making all the decisions about where to place the youths. Without being present at placement decisions, this investigator can only go on the data presented, which does not suggest any self-selection in youths' placement. The concept of client choice is not an easy one for juvenile justice officials or the community to accept. As the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention pointed out

For many people, the serious juvenile offender needs, even requires, treatment and should have it. By virtue of his or her crime, the juvenile has forfeited the privilege of choice. But here we have a nice question: Is the public's interest (and the juvenile's) served by the form or by the substance? It is certainly possible to require attendance and is sometimes possible to require participation. ... But they do not yield authentic behavior change. Thus it may be necessary to sacrifice (the ineffective) form for a better chance at the substance of change behavior [Mann, 1976, p. 76].

The institute goes on to stress that "juvenile offenders may have to be extended the opportunity to choose whether or not they will enter -- and continue -- in any treatment program [Mann, 1976, p. 76].

Some programs require that the juvenile assist in planning and agree

to the kind of program he/she would pursue. That is not simply a matter of asking each juvenile what he/she wants to do.

Client choice is never exercised in a vacuum
... the concept client choice is a simple one
... -- voluntary change is more practicable,
faster, more complete, and more permanent
than is coerced change [Mann, 1976, p. 77].

In making this recommendation, the investigator recognizes that this is a particularly difficult concept for juvenile justice officials and most communities to make. It need not be a wholesale change from one method to another. It is possible to gradually move into this type of conditioning by careful selection of youth and the circumstances. It is recommended not only because client choice might accelerate behavioral change, but because there is also the opportunity to lay out to the youthful offenders and their families (or significant other persons in their lives) what the choices are with some understanding of what the community does and does not offer.

At a minimum, client choice is worth an experimentation. For those youth who have grown up in families dependent upon the public sector, youth who have constantly been told what to do and what not to do by welfare workers, juvenile justice officials and school officials, the concept of personal choice will not be easy to grasp. But in the long run if the youth are to make lifestyle changes, realization that that change begins with themselves may be the

largest single contribution that community-based services and the juvenile justice system can offer the adolescent.

This recommendation for client choice is consistent with other fields of rehabilitation, including alcohol and drug dependency and emotional problems -- even the independent-living thrust for adult retarded citizens suggests a client choice. It has simply been difficult for society to give this "opportunity" to youthful offenders.

Recommendation: Measuring community-based services and the juvenile justice system's effectiveness. The long-term existence of the DYS's deinstitutionalization policy and the presence of community-based services throughout most of the decade for Pittsfield's youthful offenders places Pittsfield and DYS in a strong position to conduct further research into the effectiveness of their community-based services.

Just as there are few acceptable evaluations of delinquency prevention and rehabilitation programs by creditable research standards, there are also few reliable measurements of the long-term impact of the combined efforts of the juvenile justice system and the community-based service system. The traditional approach in measuring the impact of these efforts is to look at recidivism rates among delinquent youth for several months to several years after they have been involved in a community-based program. Repeated offending, accele-

rated involvement in crime, and moving from less serious to more serious delinquent acts are all familiar dimensions in the recidivism rate exploration. Whether or not a delinquent becomes a non-delinquent is but one measurement. There are so many forces at work in the adolescent's life that it is hard to isolate the variables in an effort to set up acceptable standards for reasonable measurements. Family, friends, school life and work opportunities, and personal growth and development all influence the outcome of the youth's involvement in crime and delinquency and frankly also influence the effectiveness of the community-based program. There is however a longer view that can be taken. One could try to determine whether youthful offenders, having gone through the Pittsfield system, are getting involved in the adult system as young adults (18 to 21). There is no data from this investigation that would shed any light on that question. This has been an organizational investigation; it has not tried to focus on the lives of the individual delinquent, or for that matter explore all the ramifications of delinquency. It has not included personal interviews with clients that would shed any light on the outcome of such a study. For a long-term evaluation, researchers will have to look beyond DYS to the adult system to measure whether or not youth who were originally caught up in the local juvenile justice system and its complimentary community-based services did become involved with the adult system. Face-to-face interviews with the adults who may have been with these juvenile offenders may

provide clues as to what types of alterations should be made in the local community-based service system. Such an analysis would also help to reinforce or dissuade local officials from giving more or less client choice and a sense of participation.

In order to do an effective longitudinal evaluation, obviously youth who passed through the Pittsfield community-based service system and who were not involved in adult crime should also be persons who are considered for research. Their personal experiences matched against those of the adult offenders could serve as an important new level of research findings in the field of juvenile justice.

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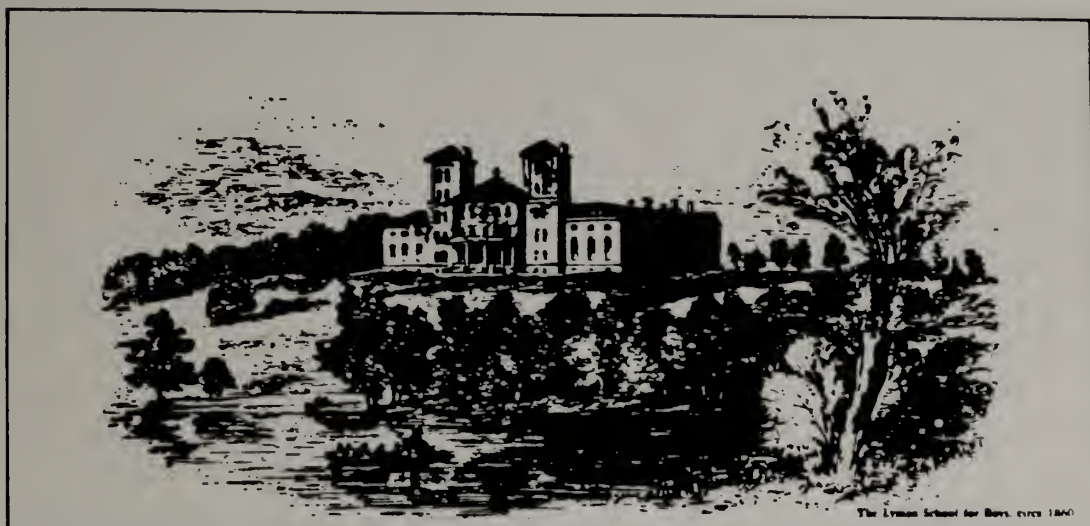
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A P P E N D I C E S

A P P E N D I X A

THE LYMAN SCHOOL FOR BOYS

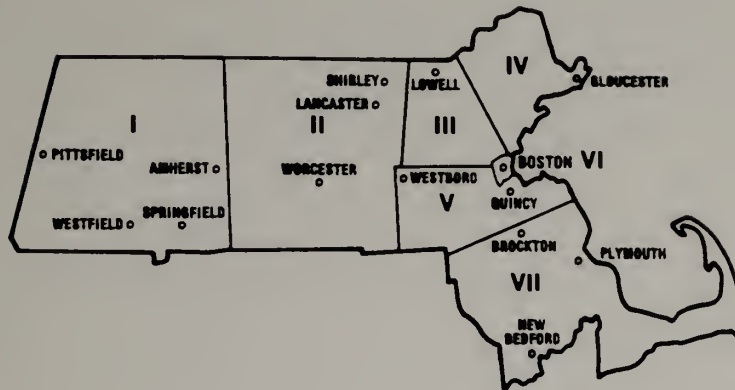
CIRCA 1860



The Lyman School for boys in Westboro, Massachusetts, was opened in 1946. On January 17, 1972, the Lyman School for Boys was closed forever. The closing of the Lyman School was hailed, like its opening, as a landmark in prison reform.

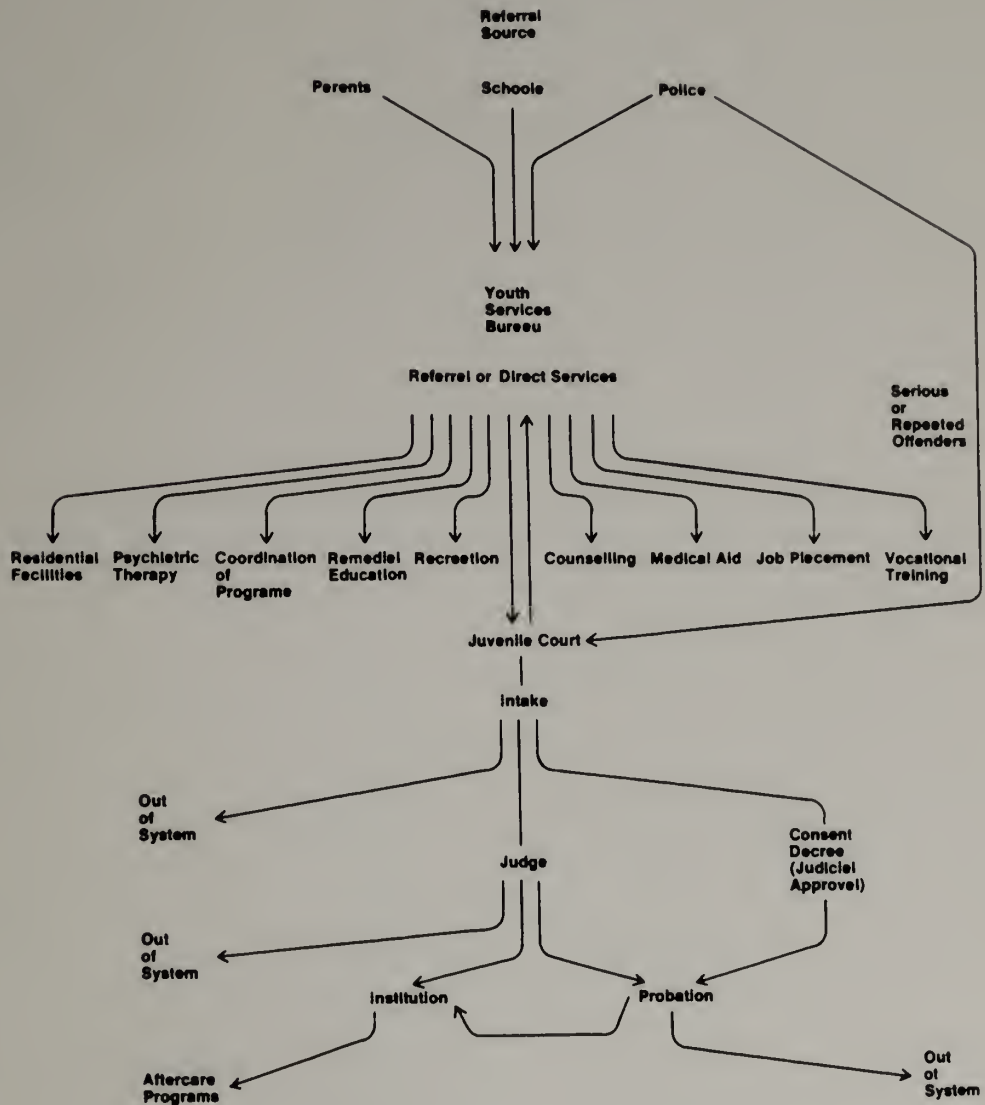
A P P E N D I X B

MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICES
REGIONAL BOUNDARIES



APPENDIX C

YOUTH SERVICE BUREAU PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION



SOURCE: The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice: The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 89.

A P P E N D I X D

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH CRIME

This table of recommendations is reprinted from the general report of the Commission, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society."

HOUSING AND RECREATION

Expand efforts to improve housing and recreation

FAMILIES

Develop methods to provide minimum income

Revise welfare regulations so they contribute to keeping family together

Insure availability of family planning assistance

Expand counseling and therapy

Provide assistance in problems of domestic management and child care

Develop activities that involve the whole family together

INVOLVING YOUTHS IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Involve youths in community activities

Employ young people as subprofessional aids

Establish Youth Services Bureaus to provide and coordinate programs
for delinquents and nondelinquents

Increase involvement of religious institutions, private social agencies,
other groups in youth programs

Provide residential centers

SCHOOLS

Provide financial support for needed personnel and facilities

Improve the quality of teachers and facilities

Reduce racial and economic segregation

Compensate for inadequate preschool preparation

Develop better means for dealing with behaviour problems

Use instructional material more relevant to inner city life

Encourage students capable of higher education to pursue their education

Revise programs for students not going to college

Expand job placement by schools

Increase contacts between the school and the community

EMPLOYMENT

- Prepare youth more adequately for employment
- Provide easily accessible employment information
- Eliminate irrational barriers to employment
- Create new job opportunities

THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

- Formulate police department guidelines for handling juveniles
- Train police officers in handling of adolescents
- Limit stationhouse adjustment of cases by police
- Provide alternatives to adjudication through youth services bureau
- Increase referrals to community agencies
- Employ voluntary preliminary conference at intake
- Adopt consent decree as alternative to adjudication
- Narrow juvenile court jurisdiction over noncriminal matters
- Restrict prehearing detention and provide separate detention facilities for juveniles
- Provide particularized notice in advance of hearings
- Provide counsel wherever coercive action is possible
- Divide court hearings into adjudicatory and dispositional proceedings

A P P E N D I X E

TABLE 15

NATIONAL GROWTH IN VIOLENT CRIMES

BY YOUTH UNDER 18

(REPORTED TO FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION 1970 and 1979)

(1970 and 1979)

<u>Offense Charges Reported by Law Enforcement Officials</u>	<u>1970 Under 18</u>	<u>1979 Under 18</u>
Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter	1,346	1,707
Forcible Rape	3,205	4,651
Robbery	29,289	41,157
Aggravated Assault	20,756	39,860
Arson	<u>5,594</u>	<u>9,012</u>
Total	60,190	96,387
Difference		+36,197
Percent Change		60.14

SOURCES: Federal Bureau of Investigation's Crime in the United States (Uniform Crime Reports for the U.S.) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1970 edition, p. 126; 1979 edition p. 198.

A P P E N D I X F

TABLE 16

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION RELATED
 TO POPULATION GROWTH
 (FOR COMPARISON WITH CHANGES
 IN YOUTH(S) VIOLENT CRIME RATE)
 (1970 AND 1979)

<u>Resident Population</u>	<u>1970</u> (in thousands)	<u>1979</u> (in thousands)
11 Years	4,129	3,416
12 Years	4,186	3,525
13 Years	4,105	3,632
14 Years	4,098	3,917
15 Years	4,032	4,080
16 Years	3,893	4,100
17 Years	3,828	4,179
Total	28,271	26,848
Difference		-1,423
Percent Change		-5.03

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Age, Race, and Sex: 1976 to 1979. (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 1980). p. 7, Table 1, p. 26, Table 4.

A P P E N D I X G

TABLE 17

GROWTH IN
ARRESTS NATIONWIDE
OF YOUTH UNDER 18
(REPORTED TO FEDERAL BUREAU
OF INVESTIGATION 1974 THROUGH 1979)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Arrests</u> (in thousands)	<u>Population Covered</u> (in thousands)	<u>Total Agencies</u> <u>Reporting</u>
1974	1,683.1	1,340.8	5,270
1975	2,078.5	1,791.2	8,051
1976	1,973.3	1,754.9	10,119
1977	2,170.2	1,984.0	10,904
1978	2,279.4	2,070.6	11,972
1979	2,143.4	2,046.2	11,758

SOURCE: This material was taken from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Crime in the United States (Uniform Crime Reports in U.S.) for 1974 through 1979. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office).

NOTE: Changes in levels of arrests may be as much a factor of increased reporting by law enforcement agencies as actual increase in arrests. For example between 1977 and 1978, 1,000 more agencies reported than did in 1977.

A P P E N D I X J

MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICES

PAROLE DIVISION

CHRONOLOGICAL VOTE RECORD OF PLACEMENT DECISIONS

(ACTUAL CASE)

**DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICES
PAROLE DIVISION**

77-9

CHRONOLOGICAL VOTE RECORD

NAME: <u>T</u>	No.	D. O. B.	Official Vote
Date		2.07.64	<u>Mike Murphy/Ton</u>
5.30.79	COMMITTED:	Placed - Center for Human Development 52 Maple Ct., Springfield	.1ds
6.21.79	TERMINATE:	C.H.D. - relocation/Springfield	..jlb
6.22.79	PLACED:	H.C.H.D. - Pittsfield, Mass.	..jlb
9.07.79	ENROLLED:	H.J.C. - Berkshire County - Summer Prog. Non-residential Program Pittsfield, Massachusetts	..jlb
9.29.79	TERMINATE:	H.J.C. - Berkshire Cty. Summer Prog. - Non-res. Pittsfield, Massachusetts	..jlb
2.27.81	TERMINATE:	SO. FORTY ALTERNATIVES No. Adams, Massachusetts (1047)	..jlb
3.10.81	TERMINATE:	E.C.H.O. - Pittsfield, Ma. ()	..jlb
3.11.81	PLACED:	Independent Living Situation ()	..jlb
5.25.81	<i>R. Linbarge</i>		<i>Lin</i>

A P P E N D I X K

INVESTIGATOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE SUBMITTED TO PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

PROVIDER ORGANIZATIONS

FEBRUARY 1975

The Delivery of CommunityPittsfield, Mass.
(United Way)Based Services

- I. Point of Origin
- II. Fiscal Operation
- III. The Staff
- IV. The Service Description
- V. Utilisation - Capacity - 1974 ONLY
- VI. Other Information

**The Delivery of Community
Based Services**

I Point of origin of organization or service -

A. 1. What was the date of filing for incorporation? _____

2. Who signed the papers of incorporation?

a. List the seven required signatures:

Name	Address

b. Any other names who also signed:

Name	Address

B. 1. On what date was the First Board of Directors meeting held after incorporation? _____
(mo./yr.)

2. On what date did the first executive director become employed? _____
(mo./yr.)

3. Name the first executive director

a. the starting salary \$ _____

b. the duration of his employment from _____ to _____
(mo./yr. (mo./yr.))

c. Salary at point of termination \$ _____

4. List each subsequent executive director

- a. 1. By Name _____
 2. Starting salary \$ _____
 3. Duration of Employment from _____ to _____
 (mo./yr.) (mo./yr.)
 4. Salary at point of termination \$ _____
 (mo./yr.)
- b. 1. By Name _____
 2. Starting salary \$ _____
 3. Duration of Employment from _____ to _____
 (mo./yr.) (mo./yr.)
 4. Salary at point of termination \$ _____
 (mo./yr.)
- c. 1. By Name _____
 2. Starting salary \$ _____
 3. Duration of Employment from _____ to _____
 (mo./yr.) (mo./yr.)
 4. Salary at point of termination \$ _____
 (mo./yr.)

(Use reverse side for more space)

5. If the resume submitted at the time of employment is available for each or anyone of the executive directors please attach.

6. At the point of termination

a. Did the executive director remain in Pittsfield? Yes _____ N _____

b. If not, to which new community did the executive director move?

_____ Town

_____ State

c. Approximate date of departure _____
 (mo./yr.)

d. In the next job if the title of the new position and the organization to which the executive director moved is known, please list.

1. Title _____

2. Organization _____

-4-

II. Fiscal Operations

Describe briefly - using a system of first year, second year, etc; from point of origin.

1. Total level of expenditures by year-

		<u>Fiscal Year or Calendar Year</u>	
\$ _____	Year 1	_____	_____
\$ _____	Year 2	_____	_____
\$ _____	Year 3	_____	_____
\$ _____	Year 4	_____	_____

etc. up to year 1974
if origin is before 1970 - show first year - skip to 1970-74 sequence.

2. The major source(s) of income-

Please list by type and amount (purchase of service, revenue sharing, IVA, fee, United Way, etc.)

Year 1. \$ _____ Source 1. _____
By Name

\$ _____ " 2. _____

\$ _____ " 3. _____

\$ _____ " 4. _____

Total _____

Year 2. \$ _____ Source 1. _____
By Name

\$ _____ " 2. _____

\$ _____ " 3. _____

\$ _____ " 4. _____

Total _____

Year 3. \$ _____ Source 1. _____
By Name

\$ _____ " 2. _____

\$ _____ " 3. _____

\$ _____ " 4. _____

Total _____

-5-

III. The Staff

- a. How many people are employed by the organization? _____
- full time _____
- part time (20 hrs. or less) _____
- b. Are any of the persons employed now the same persons that were employed in year 1

Please list:

name _____

address _____

- c. List the name and title and salary of all full time (more than 20 hours) persons employed during 1974 by W-2 forms. (Do not include clerical or custodial.)

_____	_____
Name	Title
_____	_____
Name	Title
_____	_____
Name	Title
_____	_____
Name	Title

- d. Using the symbols "B" and "E" "A" go back to "c" and place the correct symbol by each person's name showing those who were on the payroll
1. "B" At the beginning of 1974 - January 1.
 2. "E" at the close of the year Dec. 31
 3. "A" Added during the year.

Note: Persons can have a "B" and "E" or an "A" and "E", or just a "B" if the person left during the year prior to the last calendar day, December 31, 1974.



IV. The Service Description

- A. Attached is a written description of your organization's services as it appears in the Community Directory.
(Published - 1973)
- B. Does this statement fairly represent your activities? Should it be changed? Would you please do so below. Have any services been added or subtracted since this statement was prepared? If so also designate the changes in the space below:

-7-

V. Utilisation - Capacity - 1974 ONLY
 (Without using any names and addresses)

A. Service Consumer Roster

	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date of Entry</u>	<u>Duration in Services</u>	<u>Departure Date</u>
			<u>Day/Mo./Year</u>	<u>Days/Weeks</u>	<u>Day/Mo./Year</u>
PERSON # 1	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 2	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 3	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 4	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 5	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 6	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 7	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 8	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 9	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 10	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 11	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 12	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 13	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 14	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 15	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 16	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 17	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 18	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 19	---	---	_____	_____	_____
PERSON # 20	---	---	_____	_____	_____

-8-

V. B. How many different persons used the services that you provided in each year?

1974 _____

1973 _____

1971 _____

1970 _____

Year of
origin _____

-9-

V. C. During the year, what is your capacity?

1. a. The maximum number of youth that can be housed overnight _____
b. The minimum number of youth who were housed in one night _____

2. a. The maximum number of youth that could be counselled in one day _____
b. The minimum number of youth who were counselled in one day _____

3. a. The maximum number of youth that could be taught in one day _____
b. The minimum number of youth who were taught in one day _____

4. a. Other (specify) - _____
b. _____

5. a. Other (specify) - _____
b. _____

6. a. Other (specify) - _____
b. _____

-26-

- VI. Are there any other comments that you would like to make. Please do so here. It may be that the questionnaire does not fully represent some part of your operations. If so, for any reason, please elaborate below.

Date submitted _____

Name(s) of person(s) preparing
Report

Total Expenses - 5 largest categories of your expenses.

Name of Item:	\$ Expended
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

8. Per Person Costs

Total # of Clients, _____ ÷ _____
(students, cases) Total Expenses

Per Diem Costs

of days in operation _____ ÷ _____
Total Expenses

9. Who has to approve your budget? Please list names of reviewing organizations.

10. Does an outside organization or a funding source evaluate your program annually? Please list some reviewing organizations.

B. Sponsorship

1. Do you have a governing body? List names of officers.

2. Number of people on governing body _____

3. How often do they meet? _____

4. Please attached a copy of list of Board of Directors.

PLEASE FORWARD TO THOMAS McFALLS, UNITED WAY OF DELAWARE, 701 SHIPLEY STREET, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE 19801 BY APRIL 6.

Any questions, please call (302) 573-2431 during day, or 736-0216 at night.

Is your organization located at the same place as last year?

Has your Executive Director been the same person for the past five years?

THANK YOU.

A P P E N D I X M

PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT JUVENILE BUREAU
1976 ANNUAL REPORT
(SAMPLE YEAR)PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT

REPORT TO THE CHIEF

Date:

January 10, 1977

Subject:

1976 Annual Report-Juvenile Bureau

Violations	Number - 280	Male - 294	Female - 54
Extra Violations	Number - 144	Male - 154	Female - 4
Total Violations	Number - 424	Male - 294	Female - 54
Juvenile Bureau Cases	Number - 264	Male - 209	Female - 122
Juvenile Bureau Referrals ...	Number - 85		

Respectfully submitted,

Signed: 

Sgt. Frank P. Polidoro

(Use Reverse Side If Necessary)

PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT
REPORT TO THE CHIEF

Date:

January 10, 1977

Subject:

1976 Annual Report-Juvenile Bureau

Violations:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Accessory after the Fact-Armed Robbery	1	0	1
Assault & Battery	4	5	0
Assault & Battery by means Dangerous Weapon	1	1	0
Assault by means of a Dangerous Weapon	2	4	0
Armed Robbery	1	2	0
Armed Robbery while masked	1	2	0
Arson	1	2	0
Breaking & Entering	2	2	0
Breaking & Entering-Daytime	9	10	0
Breaking & Entering-Motor Vehicle	1	1	0
Breaking & Entering-Nighttime	24	19	3
Breaking & Entering w/int to commit a Felony	17	22	0
Burglary	5	5	0
Disturbing a School while in Session	1	1	0
Disturbing the Peace	27	23	5
Escapee-Department of Youth Services	2	2	0
Falsifying a Liquor Identification Card	1	1	0
Failure to use care at a Intersection-MV	1	1	0
Idle & Disorderly Conduct	12	11	4
Indecent Assault & Battery-Child under 14	1	1	0
Larceny from a Motor Vehicle	1	2	0
Larceny over \$100	9	14	0

Signed:

(continued)

(Use Reverse Side If Necessary)

Continued: Page 2

Violations:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Money under \$100	1	0	1
Minor-Possession of Alcoholic Beverage	11	19	3
Minor-Transporting Alcoholic Beverage	2	2	3
MV-Leaving Scene of Property Damage Accident	1	1	0
MV-Operating to Endanger	1	1	0
Neglected Children	16	24	12
Operating MC-No License	8	8	0
Operating MC-No Registration in possession	1	1	0
Operating MC-to Endanger	1	1	0
Operating MC-Uninsured	6	6	0
Operating MC-Unregistered	1	1	0
Operating MC-w/o eye protection	1	1	0
Operating MV-Following too closely	1	1	0
Operating MV-No License	10	10	0
Operating MV-No License in possession	1	1	0
Operating MV-Uninsured	1	1	0
Possession of a Dangerous Weapon	1	1	0
Possession of Burglary Tools	2	3	0
Possession of Marijuana	13	14	0
Possession of Marijuana w/int to Sell	1	1	0
Rape of a Child	1	1	0
Receiving Stolen Property	7	11	0
Red Light Violation	2	1	1
Runaway	31	14	19
Speeding	16	15	1

(continued)

Continued: Page 3

Violations:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Stop Sign Violation	1	1	0
Stubborn Child (CIMS)	2	2	0
Unarmed Bobbery	2	2	0
Using MW w/e Authority	10	11	0
Filtering	2	1	1
Wilful throwing or placing of Explosives	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
False Report of Bomb	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>279</u>	<u>288</u>	<u>54</u>
	<u>280</u>	<u>294</u>	<u>54</u>

Extra Violations:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Assault & Battery by means of a Dangerous Weapon	2	2	0
Assault by means of a Dangerous Weapon	1	1	0
Attempted Breaking & Entering-Nighttime	1	2	0
Breaking & Entering-Motor Vehicle	1	2	0
Breaking & Entering w/int to commit a Felony	2	2	0
Defective Equipment	1	1	0
Disturbing a School while in Session	2	2	0
Disturbing the Peace	4	4	0
Failure to keep to the Right	1	1	0
Failure to stop for a Police Officer	7	7	0
Failure to use care at a Intersection	1	1	0
Gaming in a Public Place	1	2	0
Illegal possession of a Firearm	3	3	0
Larceny	4	4	1
Larceny from a Building	11	12	1
Larceny in a Building	12	14	0
Larceny over \$100	7	10	0
Larceny under \$100	7	8	0

(continued)

Continued: Page 4:

Extra Violations:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Number Plate not properly displayed	1	1	0
Operating MC-No License	5	5	0
Operating MC-to Endanger	5	5	0
Operating MC-Uninspected	3	3	0
Operating MC-Unregistered	16	16	0
Operating MC-w/o eye protection	1	1	0
Operating MC-w/o protective headgear	1	1	0
Operating MV-Leaving Scene of Property Damage Acct	2	2	0
Operating MC-Uninsured	11	11	0
Operating MC-Unnecessary Noise	2	2	0
Operating MV-No License	6	6	0
Operating MV-No License in possession	1	0	1
Operating MV-No Registration in possession	1	1	0
Operating MV-to Endanger	1	1	0
Operating MV-Uninspected	1	1	0
Operating MV-Uninsured	2	2	0
Operating MV-Unregistered	3	3	0
Passing a stopped School Bus	1	1	0
Possession of Control Substance-Class C	1	1	0
Possession of Burglariou Tools	4	5	1
Possession of Marihuana	3	3	0
Receiving Stolen Property	1	1	0
Speeding	2	2	0
Stop Sign Violation	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
Total:	144	154	4

Continued: Page 1

<u>Cases:</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Protective Custody	1	0	1
Runaway	2	2	0
Setting a Fire	3	7	0
Stubborn Child	2	0	2
Throwing Missile at Train	1	4	0
Unlawfully removing a Parking Ticket	1	1	0
Vandalism	1	2	0
Trespassing	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
Total:	264	209	122

PITTSFIELD POLICE DEPARTMENT
REPORT TO THE CHIEF

Date:

January 10, 1976

Subject: 1976 Annual Report-Juvenile Bureau

Referrals:

<u>Referrals:</u>	<u>Number</u>
Big Brother Program-Boys Club.....	3
Boys Club Camperships	2
Childrens Protective Services-T. Duane	6
Childrens Protective Services-Welfare Department	31
Court Youth Advocate Program-Boys Club	5
Department of Youth Services	1
Education/preventive alcoholic abuse program-Boys Club	16
Emergency Shelter-West Street	1
Family & Children, Inc.-Berkshire Center	2
Juvenile Probation Office	12
Neighborhood Youth Corp	1
Parents Discussion Group	2
Youth Committee-Teenage Drinking-Boys Club	<u>3</u>
Total:	85

Signed:

(Use Reverse Side If Necessary)

A P P E N D I X N

TABLE 18
 PROFILE OF JUVENILE BUREAU CASES
 HANDLED WITHIN POLICE DEPARTMENT
 AND RELEASED
 (1976 THROUGH 1980)

<u>Type of Offenses</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>				
	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>
Reportable Crimes	8	7	10	6	6
Parent Child Relationships	74	81	78	76	75
Status Offenses	6	2	2	2	3
Other Offenses	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

SOURCE: Juvenile Bureau Pittsfield Police Department Annual Reports
 1976 through 1980.

