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Case Study of San Francisco's Juvenile Probation Department's Community Service Program

Adrienne L. Blum

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Case Study of San Francisco's Juvenile Probation Department's
Community Service Program

A THESIS SUBMITTED

by

Adrienne L. Blum

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the degree of

Master of

Nonprofit Administration

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APPROVAL PAGE

Case Study of San Francisco's Juvenile Probation Department's
Community Service Program

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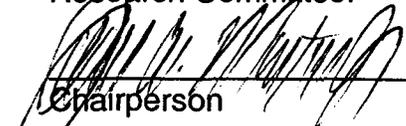
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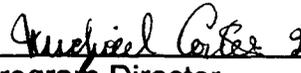
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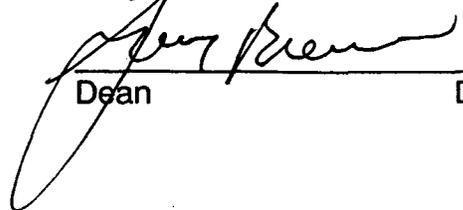
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ABSTRACT

The following cost/benefit case study researches the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department's alternative sentencing Community Service Program. The CSP offers nonviolent, criminally charged youth the opportunity to perform community service at various nonprofit organizations in lieu of incarceration in juvenile hall. This study highlights the benefits received as well as the associated costs incurred by juvenile offenders and nonprofit organizations as a result of their participation in the Community Service Program. Suggestions for further research and possible improvements to the program are discussed after the case study findings and results are presented.

For the case study, current participants or recent graduates of the program received correspondence inviting them to participate in a one-on-one interview to discuss their experience in the Community Service Program. The San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department provided names and contact information of qualified juvenile offenders. The department also extended information regarding the nonprofit organizations eligible for participation and willing to accommodate the juvenile offenders with their imposed community service sentence.

Interviews with the nonprofit organizations determined various benefits the juvenile offenders could gain by completing their sentenced community service hours. The staff and administrators explained the goals of the organization, the different services the youth could perform, and ways the organization aimed to

help educate the youth with job skills and social maturation. Associated costs the nonprofit organizations experienced with program administration and participation were also discussed during the interviews.

The individual interviews with the juvenile offenders addressed the assigned tasks the youth performed and the perceptions they had regarding the nonprofit organizations and how they benefited from participation in the Community Service Program. The youth were also encouraged to describe areas in which they had the opportunity to learn and grow.

Information from all the interviews was compiled and reported, offering statistical information on the case study participants, as well as qualitative interpretation of the data. Analysis of this case study information along with the information provided by the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department suggests areas for program improvement and further research.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Issue/Problem

In the United States, the three sectors of the economy (government, nonprofit, and for-profit) have frequently collaborated to address a whole range of societal ills. Currently, juvenile justice problems are addressed cooperatively by nonprofit organizations and government agencies. One example of this type of collaboration in San Francisco is the Juvenile Probation Department's Community Service Program. Similar programs exist nationwide aiming to both emphasize rehabilitation of juvenile offenders and limit the number of criminal youth being incarcerated.

Individual states, counties, and cities are finding new ways of dealing with juvenile justice issues. One of the largest facing all jurisdictions is the increasing number of juvenile offenders being held at juvenile hall. Although there are many reports and books written about juvenile justice issues, no one has come up with a solution that fits every city and county. There are no current reports written about San Francisco's Community Service Program within the Juvenile Probation Department.

Over the years, states have set up a system of juvenile courts intended to protect youth by keeping their records private and separating them from adult courts and probation departments. In 1974, Congress passed the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. This legislation was designed to develop community-based alternatives to juvenile hall. It started as a way to deinstitutionalize large juvenile facilities and to separate adult and juvenile

prisons. It also provided a method for nonprofit organizations to step in and assist local governments by providing community service alternatives for juvenile offenders.

Working with juvenile offenders is very controversial in the City and County of San Francisco. Many people believe the best way to deal with juvenile offenders is to "scare them straight" by locking them in the Youth Guidance Center, so they learn how it feels to be incarcerated. At the very least, this incarceration of youth temporarily removes the offenders from the streets of San Francisco.

Nonviolent juvenile offenders, or those who have been deemed salvageable, have alternatives to a juvenile hall commitment. Probation officers and judges have the discretion to give juvenile offenders the opportunity to participate in several diversion programs. There are six diversion programs in San Francisco: Community Service Program, Street Law, California Offender Program Services (COPS), MUNI Graffiti Prevention, Youth Court, and Theft Awareness. The Probation Department will soon be adding a mediation program and a drug court. There are other community-based organizations that contract with the Probation Department and provide intensive home-based supervision. Although some of these programs also offer places for juvenile offenders to perform their community service, this case study specifically addresses the Community Service Program where community service is performed at nonprofit organizations.

The San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) is the only nonprofit organization that has a formal agreement with the city for juvenile offenders to perform community service. Juveniles, along with SLUG supervisors, plant trees and garden in different locations throughout San Francisco. Juvenile offenders may contact other nonprofit organizations in order to complete their community service requirement, a practice acceptable to the Community Service Program. However, due to city insurance liability issues, the Juvenile Probation Department does not make these placements.

San Francisco's Juvenile Probation Department has undergone changes over the years as different political parties have come into power and different commissioners have been appointed to authority. With each new commissioner there are new policies implemented to deal with juvenile offenders. Today, there are five diversion programs administered by three people to handle the growing number of juvenile offenders. The Community Service Program is now coordinated, monitored, and developed by a staff in a constant state of flux. Unfortunately, political pressures have reduced the amount of available funding for these programs even as the number of juvenile offenders has increased. The actual supervision of the juvenile offenders, while they are performing community service, is managed by each of the diversion programs: SLUG, San Francisco Unified School District, California Offender Program Services, MUNI, Pacific Seminars, and University of San Francisco Street Law.

Statement of the Issue/Problem

In the United States two of the economic sectors, government and nonprofit, often collaborate to address societal ills. At an increasing rate juvenile justice systems are administering court-ordered sentences through nonprofit organizations. In doing so, juvenile programs utilize and benefit community services that help dissipate the increasing number of juvenile offenders. Cooperative efforts such as San Francisco's Community Service Program work toward the rehabilitation of criminal youth. Joint programs throughout the nation are developing to steer juvenile offenders out of the juvenile justice system. By incorporating community service into the sentencing of juvenile offenders, established nonprofit organizations can assist the government in dealing with criminal youth.

San Francisco's Juvenile Probation Department has recently been embattled in the face of many press exposés. From the Probation Department's building design and upkeep, to financial management, to methods of punishment — all have been scrutinized by the press, the people, and other constituents.

Ideally, San Francisco needs to find ways to decrease the rate of delinquency by improving the rates of literacy, employability, and responsibility among its criminally active youth. Mayor Willie Brown Jr. has convened a commission to develop a Juvenile Justice Action Plan which includes community restitution (community service). The Action Plan's recommendations will not be used for this project but compiled statistics are cited. "From July through December 1996, 283 youths were referred for community service and 130 youth

completed their assigned hours (46%). This reduction was down from a 65% completion rate in the previous six month period" (Delancey Street Foundation, 1997, p. 8).

One sector of the Juvenile Probation Department is the Community Service Program. Juvenile offenders are given an opportunity to perform community service rather than be sent to juvenile hall, to avoid a formal court case, or to work off a traffic fine. If juvenile offenders are ordered to perform community service, they may either contact the Community Service Program for placement or find a place to do their community service on their own.

This study examines the impact the Community Service Program has on nonprofit organizations, the probation department, and the juvenile offenders. It addresses problems in the current system and suggests a more effective program management. This study explains the mechanisms of the San Francisco Community Service Program and shows how nonprofit organizations can assist in making the program more beneficial for all.

Even with the onslaught of public attacks on San Francisco's juvenile justice system, there is a lack of current or historical research available. Unfortunately, poor funding, inadequate staffing, and the absence of consistent program development and administration contribute to a lack of information and statistics. Furthermore, no cost/benefit analysis exists to help improve programs or uncover weaknesses. Although there are a number of diversion programs, rarely are they used to capacity, particularly the Community Service Program.

More specifically, there has been no research targeting the costs and benefits of different diversion and/or alternative programs within the juvenile justice system. Lack of statistical data prevents any quantitative analysis of the program's effectiveness; and because there is no case study research, there are no qualitative findings on how diversion alternatives such as the Community Service Program directly affect the difficulties and problems within the San Francisco juvenile justice system.

Normative Definitions of Relevant Concepts

Due to the case study methodology of this research, few relevant variables exist. The interview structure of data collection focuses on qualitative information and results, limiting the use of specific variables in need of definition.

For the purposes of this study the following terms are defined as follows:

- Community service alternative is a program through which a person performs court-mandated volunteer hours at an approved nonprofit organization.
- Diversion is defined as the channeling of cases that would normally be heard by a court to noncourt institutions.
- Traffic court is defined as a municipal court branch for juveniles under the age of 18 convicted of traffic violations.
- Community-based organization is defined as a nonprofit organization that works in a specific community to assist and empower the occupants of that community.

Specification of the Research Questions and Hypotheses

There are three parts to this case study. The first part concerns the supervision by nonprofit organizations of juvenile offenders sentenced to community service, and the impact of this experience on participating nonprofit organizations. Discovery was accomplished by interviewing volunteer managers at nonprofit organizations. Interview questions focused on the type of work the juvenile offenders performed, whether nonprofit organizations provided job training, and what the nonprofit organization gained by participating in the Community Service Program. The scope of these results demonstrated the overall benefits nonprofit organizations can receive through participation in the CSP. Also, this initial part of the study illustrated what positive effects the juvenile offenders have on the nonprofit organizations.

The second area of study targeted how juvenile offenders are impacted while performing community service. Interviews were conducted with juvenile offenders who are currently in the community service program or are recent graduates to determine how this form of diversion affected them. Interview participants were asked at which nonprofit organization their community service was performed, what their tasks were, whether community service made a difference in their lives, and if they felt they gained any skills from participating in the Community Service Program. These questions are intended to illustrate the positive results the juvenile offenders gained from CSP participation, in contrast the alternative of incarceration.

By focusing on what positive effects involvement in the CSP has on both the juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organizations, broader questions were answered. The benefits and gains that were discovered can help determine how community service alternatives and diversion programs can aid the rehabilitation of criminal youth. Learning what good comes out of these programs can show how to strengthen current and future juvenile justice systems.

The third part of the study illustrated the structure and administration of the Community Service Program. Interviews were conducted with staff at the Community Service Program. Findings from the interviews were discussed with volunteer managers at the nonprofit organizations and with juvenile offenders. The questions included what programs are available, how much involvement exists between the juvenile offender, the nonprofit organization, and the Community Service Program, and what all parties feel are the benefits of court-mandated community service hours.

Understanding the structure and administration of the CSP helped determine how improvements may be made to direct the program in the future. Also, gaining a comprehensive understanding of program administration helped determine what costs, if any, are imposed on the participating nonprofit organizations, and what value they derive from participating in the Community Service Program.

Importance of the Study

No study exists on the effects nonprofit organization diversion programs have on juvenile offenders in San Francisco, or on ways to make diversion programs more effective. More nonprofit organizations may be willing to include juvenile offenders in their volunteer or community service programs if the organizations develop a better sense of how to utilize the CSP. This kind of information could be useful in other counties as well.

The entire San Francisco juvenile justice system has been under attack from the media, the public, and the office of Mayor Willie Brown. Meanwhile, there are many excellent volunteer opportunities at supportive nonprofit organizations that could help rehabilitate criminal juveniles. Many nonprofit organizations do not know what they can offer or gain by having juvenile offenders in their volunteer or community service programs. However, these community organizations are anxious and willing to help to the full extent of their ability.

Limitations of the Study

This study focused on juvenile offenders from traffic court and others ordered to participate in the San Francisco Community Service Program as a condition of their probation. These offenders were ordered to complete a set number of hours to finish the community service portion of their probation. These juveniles are not first-time offenders. In fact, many are offenders who have previously participated in the Community Service Program.

Because the following programs do not have a component requiring juvenile offenders to perform community service, they have not been included in this study: MUNI Graffiti Prevention, Theft Awareness Program, Street Law, and COPS. The Log Cabin Ranch School, Hidden Valley Ranch, drug and alcohol treatment centers, and restitution programs may contain a community service component but they are not included in this project due to their residential structure.

Limitations of this study range from the subject matter juvenile offenders were willing to discuss, to language barriers, to relocation of the subjects, to inadequate or inaccessible data. The San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department has very limited computer capabilities; therefore most of the Community Service Program's record-keeping is still done manually. Due to limited record keeping by the City of San Francisco, recidivism rates were not used in this study. Inadequate tracking makes it difficult to gain access to a specific juvenile's records.

The attitudes of the juvenile offenders may also present a research limitation. Many of the juvenile offenders had their own agendas or self-interest in mind, and these considerations influenced how they answered questions. Every effort was made to clearly explain the purpose of the study prior to conducting interviews. However, some of the younger, less sophisticated juvenile offenders were not prepared to answer in a mature and helpful manner. Subsequent research analysis extracted useful information and commentary, but not all responses from the young interviewees bore relevance to this study.

Data gathered from nonprofit organizations also had its limitations. For instance, there were difficulties in identifying which nonprofit programs utilize juvenile offenders for community service. San Francisco does not track where juvenile offenders do their community service. Therefore the ability of the researcher to find nonprofit organizations that accept juvenile offenders from the Community Service Program was limited. By phoning nonprofit organizations in the Bay Area and checking through old time sheets at the Community Service Program office, every attempt was made to include the nonprofit organizations where juvenile offenders have done or are doing their community service hours.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Method For Literature Search

This chapter discusses and summarizes juvenile justice literature relevant to this study. Analysis of the literature demonstrates benefits of nonprofit organizations dealing with juvenile offenders in comparison to government agencies. The sections of this chapter address government-nonprofit relations, the history of juvenile justice, volunteering and community service, the literature of juvenile programs in other cities, and San Francisco juvenile probation information. These sections examine how nonprofit organizations are involved in the lives of juvenile offenders and the level of nonprofit organization involvement in the City of San Francisco.

For literature pertaining to the San Francisco Community Service Program, traditional, manual, and computer searches were conducted. Although juvenile justice issues receive substantial amounts of local news coverage, juvenile court-mandated community service does not receive sustained academic study in San Francisco. Much of the information found is general, addressing juvenile justice issues as a whole.

One valuable source of relevant literature with a national focus is the United States Department of Justice's Justice Statistics Clearinghouse/National Crime Justice Referral Service, which records information regarding all national crime statistics for all United States criminal departments. Specific information on juvenile justice systems nationwide can be researched through this clearinghouse and referral service.

Also, states other than California have articles and books written about their juvenile probation departments. This information provides an understanding of the methods other states use to deal with their juvenile justice problems, and gives a perspective on the size of the problem nationwide. Information is general however, with a lack of literature found that specifically addresses the benefits nonprofit and community service organizations offer and receive through programs serving criminally charged youth.

A thorough search made evident San Francisco's lack of a clearinghouse for citywide statistics and government research journals. There are no recent books or academic research articles written on the topic of juvenile justice. The San Francisco Chronicle, Examiner, and Bay Guardian have all written articles concerning the Juvenile Probation Department, but these offer little or no qualitative or quantitative data analysis and interpretation. Although none of the articles are written specifically about the Community Service Program, the program is mentioned briefly. Even the annual report for the entire Juvenile Probation Department contains only one sentence mentioning the collaboration between the Community Service Program (SLUG in particular) and the Juvenile Probation Department. This lack of specific literature related to this study meant more emphasis was placed on interpretation of the general literature available.

General literature helps clarify the theory and research behind this case study. The framework for an academic rationale has been built through research on topics such as: government-nonprofit relations, the history of juvenile justice, volunteering and community service, and research literature on juvenile

offenders in community service programs in other jurisdictions. This information supports the theory behind this case study that nonprofit agencies involved in the juvenile justice system offer benefits for participating youth.

Government-Nonprofit Relations

Some juvenile justice problems are being dealt with in cooperation between nonprofit organizations and government agencies. The three sectors of the economy — government, nonprofit, and for-profit — have collaborated many times to solve societal problems. One example of this collaboration in San Francisco is the Community Service Program, a component of the Juvenile Probation Department.

In Government and the Third Sector, Gidron, Kramer, and Salamon (1992) described four different models to explain relationships between government and nonprofit organizations: the government-dominant, third-sector-dominant, dual, and collaborative models. The dual and collaborative models are important for this study. Some community service programs in areas other than San Francisco fit the collaborative model of alliance between government agencies and nonprofit organizations. The dual model, however, outlines the relationship between the City and County of San Francisco's Community Service Program and participating nonprofit organizations.

In the dual model, "both government and the nonprofit sector are extensively involved in both financing and delivering human services, but each in its own separately defined sphere" (Gidron, Kramer, & Salamon, 1992, p. 19).

The San Francisco juvenile justice system uses the government to finance, administer court sentencing, and provide the human services necessary in the justice system. The nonprofit organizations participating in the CSP are similarly responsible for their own financing, administration, and delivery of community-based services.

The collaborative model is close to the dual model, but in the collaborative model the government and nonprofit organization have to work together. One of the sectors provides financing and the other provides services. This model describes other partnerships between the Juvenile Probation Department and some community-based nonprofit organizations, but not the CSP.

The literature reviewed reflects the models described above. Nonprofit organizations, such as those participating in CSP, fill needs not met by government activity (Gidron, Kramer, & Salamon, 1992, p. 19) by providing community service alternatives for juvenile offenders.

In the past, the three economic sectors have worked together to address community needs. A good example is the willingness of nonprofit organizations in San Francisco to participate in the Community Service Program. The nonprofit organizations are invested in the rehabilitation of criminal youth. Government is interested in society and business is interested in the bottom-line. Nonprofit organizations are used by the government to fill a gap when there is a societal need. Nonprofit organizations are given the finances to fill the need, without any competition from governmental agencies. Money from government agencies

assists nonprofit organizations by funding programs the government does not wish to handle or embrace.

At times, the nonprofit organizations are used as a scapegoat for problems. In other situations, their vital roles may be overlooked. As O'Neill (1989) has observed, "Government increases its role and influence, gets part of the credit when things go right, and can quickly disassociate itself from programs when things go wrong" (p. 18). In the case of the Community Service Program in San Francisco, the participating nonprofit organizations are already established with the mission of helping the community. They can do this by rehabilitating juvenile offenders that the government does not wish to deal with.

In San Francisco and other areas, many nonprofit organizations rarely issue more than a signed piece of paper stating that juveniles have finished their community service hours. There is rarely any interaction between the nonprofit organizations and the Community Service Program administrators, except between the Community Service Program and SLUG, where at least half of the offenders volunteer.

In an article in the San Francisco Chronicle, Dietz (1996) states, "As many as half the youths in [community rehabilitation] programs for repeat violators are arrested again or never finish" (p. A1). Because community rehabilitation programs lack tracking systems, there is no distinct method of sentence enforcement. Although many of the juvenile offenders do finish their community service hours, some never finish their court-mandated community service hours, and other juveniles end up getting arrested again.

History of Juvenile Justice

Many people agree that incarceration is an ineffective method of reform. Not only in the City and County of San Francisco, but historically around the globe, rehabilitation and education programs have at times been favored over jail and prison sentences. As Spiegler (1996) wrote, "History has shown that there should be a three-pronged response to crime: imprison those who are 'truly unfit to move among us'; use well-developed social services to help people before crime becomes part of their lives; and employ alternatives to incarceration for nonviolent offenders" (p. A17). The Community Service Program in San Francisco utilizes the social services of nonprofit organizations in lieu of imprisoning offenders. Simultaneously, the Program aims to lead juvenile offenders away from criminal life.

During the Elizabethan era, juveniles who got in trouble were put to work in apprenticeships, more as an act of charity to keep the young boys and girls out of trouble, than as a way to teach them a trade. Unfortunately, since many of the children were too unruly and abandoned these apprenticeships, American society decided to begin putting juvenile offenders in prison alongside adult offenders. (Haskell & Yablonsky, 1970).

During the 19th century important changes in attitudes about juvenile offenders were taking place. More and more charity workers and theorists were suggesting that society was the cause of delinquency and that criminals should be given the chance to rehabilitate. Delinquency was seen not as a sin, but as a result of poverty. The National Prison Congress stated in 1870: "Punishment is

suffering inflicted on the criminal for the wrongdoing done by him, with a special view to secure his reform" (cited in O'Neill, 1989, p. 102).

New York City's House of Refuge, established in 1825, was one of the first institutions offering correctional facilities exclusively for juveniles. In 1841 John Augustus, a Boston shoemaker, was the first person to attempt probation for juveniles with the permission of the local court system. Up until 1899, juveniles were tried in adult courts and could be sentenced to prison or death. During that year the State of Illinois created a juvenile court system along with separate correctional facilities and probation as an accepted method of treatment. By 1945, every state had passed laws providing for the differential treatment of juvenile delinquents (Haskell & Yablonsky, 1970).

President John F. Kennedy pressed Congress into enacting the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act in 1961. Under this Act, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) provided funds to state, local, and private nonprofit agencies to conduct demonstration projects on improved methods of preventing and controlling juvenile crime (Raley, 1995). This was the beginning of the federal government's provision of financial assistance to local jurisdictions for preventing and controlling juvenile crime.

President Johnson established the Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice in 1966 to come up with strategies to reduce juvenile crime. In 1968 HEW Secretary John Gardner testified before Congress that "youth teetering on the brink of delinquency" were too often placed in the correctional system. Gardner contended that youth, once exposed to the juvenile

justice system, were likely to return. In 1971, a consensus had emerged that federal juvenile justice programs were unfocused, underfunded, and, as a result, ineffective (Raley, 1995, p. 11).

At this time juvenile crime was seen as a national problem. Since Congress was dissatisfied with then current federal laws designed to assist state and local juvenile justice agencies, Congress passed the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (JJDP). Three goals for federal involvement emerged: reducing juvenile crime; decreasing the proportion of crime committed by juveniles; and improving methods for handling juveniles (Raley, 1995, p. 12).

The JJDP Act included using federal funds to redirect juvenile offenders to restitution programs, neighborhood courts, and community programs. "To encourage diversification of services, the Act required that States dedicate 75 percent of the federal funds they received to community-based programs, including nonprofit programs" (Raley, 1995, p. 12).

Since the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 was signed into law, there have been reductions, renovations, and recommitments put into law as well as many recommendations on how to reform the JJDP Act. The emphasis at the time the JJDP was established was on prevention, as it is with alternative or diversion programs such as the Community Service Program that exist today.

Reform and rehabilitation programs within the juvenile justice system have demonstrated recognizable levels of effectiveness. The juvenile justice system benefits from nonprofit organizations intervening to reform juveniles.

Volunteering and Community Service

There are many reasons why people volunteer, but not all people volunteer out of innate goodness. There are people who volunteer because they have been sentenced by the legal system to perform community service. This case study looks at such juveniles in the justice system of San Francisco.

In some areas of the country, including San Francisco, people can work off the cost to the community for their traffic tickets or minor offenses by performing community service hours, also called 'diversion.' For traffic court administration, this is a popular method of collecting some payment and of stopping that person from continuing to gather parking tickets. Some people performing community service think of the experience simply as a chore they have to perform to avoid traffic court penalties, while other people find that community service is enjoyable and even educational. For youth offenders, community service can be an opportunity to learn job skills and get involved with their community.

In some states, courts are allowing juvenile offenders the chance to work off their juvenile offenses by performing community service. Palmer and Lewis wrote, "The main objectives of juvenile diversion [are] 1) avoid labeling; 2) reduce unnecessary detention and incarceration; 3) reduce repeat offenses; 4) provide counseling and other services; and 5) lower justice system costs" (cited in Roberts, 1989, p. 86). With community service programs, juvenile offenders can

avoid being incarcerated and labeled as lifelong criminals. Instead, they can gain job skills and self-esteem.

According to the book, American Voluntary Spirit, an impact of volunteering is "its ability to liberate the individual and permit him or her the fullest possible measure of expression of personal capabilities and potentialities within an otherwise constraining environment" (O'Connell, 1983, p. 337).

Performing community service in lieu of incarceration provides juvenile offenders with meaningful opportunities to gain skills while paying off their debt to society. Technically, this is not the same as volunteering, but many of the benefits of community service are similar.

Community service projects can sometimes be very innovative and interesting. Examples include: assisting with urban gardening (as part of San Francisco's *Community Service Program*), performing community service announcements on television and radio, working on an AIDS ward in a local hospital, and assisting with mailings at nonprofit organizations. These diverse projects can yield positive results for youth volunteers and nonprofit organizations. Youth placed in diversion programs can reap these benefits as well.

Having youth volunteers at a nonprofit organization involves special challenges. Ellis, Weisbord and Noyes (1999) propose five procedures to follow when deciding to place youth volunteers in a nonprofit organization: 1) Recruit the help of adult volunteers for ideas in creating projects for youth; 2) Develop jobs that build on motivations such as learning something new, feeling important,

and being of real help; 3) Make sure the desire to help the youth does not overshadow the responsibilities to clients or real work that needs to get done; 4) Encourage adult supervisors to think and act as teachers when supervising young volunteers; 5) Notice the work that youth can accomplish when they are motivated and given innovative projects.

Youth volunteers are capable of performing some of the work at nonprofit organizations. Hence, diversion alternatives such as the Community Service Program can be beneficial for the nonprofit organizations and youth. At an increasing rate youth volunteers are more computer literate for activities such as web design, are more willing to get dirty while doing projects like planting trees, and sometimes are happier doing simple projects like stapling documents, than many adults would be. By combining work and fun, the nonprofit organization can become a place where youth volunteers are empowered to realize their own strengths, work on their weaknesses, and take responsibility for their actions.

Literature of Juvenile Community Service Programs in Other Jurisdictions

In the 1970s, much to the dismay of many residents, the State of Massachusetts closed down all of its reform schools. Department of Youth Services Commissioner Jerry Miller changed the system to a community-based strategy that decreased the need for incarceration of juveniles. Vanneman writing in Youth Today (February 1995) commented that, "in place of the training schools eventually came a network of small, community-based treatment programs and a dramatically decreased reliance on secure confinement" (p. 1).

The feared surge of juvenile crime expected after the suspension of incarceration, never occurred.

In Carver County, Minnesota, juvenile offenders are not spending time incarcerated in detention centers. Instead, Carver County Court Services, the Minnesota Department of Corrections, Carver-Scott Educational Co-op, and the Minnesota Department of Children, Family and Learning have come together to create an alternative to incarceration called Sentenced to Serve (STS-PLUS). STS-PLUS combines community service, intensive case management, and an individualized educational plan. Juvenile offenders are able to participate in an incentive-based program in which they can earn credit toward their sentence by performing community service work and achieving academic goals. Each participant creates personalized vocational and academic goals with the help of an STS-PLUS coordinator and the school (Hamrick, 1996, p. 2).

Youth crews perform work requested by nonprofit and government agencies and listed at the STS-PLUS office. It is labor-intensive work, but punctuality and quality are the most important aspects of the program. "The goal of the work crews is to instill a work ethic and achieve restorative justice by allowing the youth to give back to the community that they adversely affected" (Hamrick, 1996, p. 2).

Some of the participants have worked on specialized projects that have become entrepreneurial, such as raising and selling vegetables and operating a concession stand. This allows the participants to work off community service hours, become knowledgeable in a business venture, and gain job skills.

Hamrick (1996) reports that a "one-year evaluation of the program found that it has reduced recidivism for serious offenders to a noteworthy 4% and motivates youth to achieve educational, vocational, and individual goals" (p. 3). The evaluation also found a significant savings for taxpayers is realized when juvenile offenders are sent to this program rather than to other treatment centers.

Since the 1980s, nonfelonious youth offenders arrested in Philadelphia have been able to avoid prosecution and a criminal record by participating in a community-oriented juvenile monitoring program called the Youth Aid Panel (YAP). The panel consists of local citizens who hand out punishment in response to each juvenile offender's criminal behavior. The YAP helps reduce the congestion of an overloaded juvenile court system and lower the recidivism rate among first-time offenders (The Manhattan Institute, 1997, p. 12). The panel is composed of 10 adult volunteers trained by the assistant district attorney and the Good Shepherd Neighborhood House, a church-based mediation and crisis resolution program. "In order to qualify, the youth must have committed his first misdemeanor offense; must admit his guilt; must be able to appear with a parent or other connected, supervising adult; and must be enrolled in school" (The Manhattan Institute, 1997, p. 12).

The offenders must agree to be diverted from Family Court, and be accompanied by a parent or other adult. They are allowed to have a lawyer present, as long as the lawyer does not participate. Victims are also encouraged to attend the proceedings. The panel reviews the charges, interviews the offender, their parents, the victim, and any other people involved. "After a brief

discussion, the panelists inform the offender of his punishment, which typically includes a combination of community service, restitution, curfew, essay-writing, counseling, letters of apology, a research project, or other tasks" (ibid, p. 12).

The terms of the agreement are written up in contract form, signed by the offender, and monitored by an assigned panelist for the three months allowed in the contract. When the contract is completed, the offender's record is cleared, but if the offender does not complete the contract, the file is sent back to Family Court.

Success in these and many other alternative diversion and community service programs can prevent youth offenders from being booked as criminals. As previous programs in Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts have shown, juvenile offenders are less likely to return to criminal behavior than those punished with incarceration or jail.

San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department

Unlike all the aforementioned programs, the San Francisco Probation Department does not maintain any well-developed programs for juveniles to perform community service with nonprofit organizations. Attitudes toward juvenile crime in San Francisco have followed the national trend, with support for incarceration prevailing. And yet, Moore and King (1996) write that "instead of making San Franciscans feel safer or keeping troubled kids from graduating to more serious offenses, Juvenile Hall is often no more than a recycling center for young offenders who travel through the system a dozen times or more" (p. A1).

If the district attorney will not charge, or the courts will not detain a juvenile offender, the probation department has no choice but to let the young offender go free. Due to the limited capacity of Juvenile Hall, only violent felons are booked overnight. The mayor, who leans more toward community-based alternatives than incarceration, wants changes made quickly in the decaying juvenile system (Dietz, 1996; Moore & King, 1996). Examples of community-based programs in other jurisdictions demonstrate the benefits community service performance can offer.

In San Francisco, the alternatives to incarceration are scarce, leading to overcrowding of the juvenile justice system. According to one article in the San Francisco Chronicle, "There are few alternatives to incarceration for all but the mildest of juvenile offenders and the programs that do exist are rarely audited, so it is hard to tell which are making good use of the city contracts and which are wasting money and losing track of kids" (Moore & King, 1996, p. A1). This article refers primarily to other probation programs but does include the Community Service Program, where SLUG, because it receives grant money from other sources, is internally audited.

Thus far, the Community Service Program has not been audited independently. This is a primary reason why specific reports are scarce. The research and theory behind this case study relied on general subject literature, or literature generated outside of the City and County of San Francisco. Review and consideration of diversion programs and alternative sentencing throughout history and in jurisdictions other than San Francisco informs this case study.

Conclusion

Very little has been written relevant to San Francisco's Juvenile Probation Department Community Service Program and the effects on nonprofit organizations. This absence of specific information about the Community Service Program underscores the importance and necessity of research in this area. Other cities and states have attempted to make changes in their juvenile justice system to create more community-based programs. Many professionals in the juvenile justice field have stated that incarceration does not stem the tide of juvenile offenders and Juvenile Hall is consistently overwhelmed with too many offenders. A study of San Francisco's Community Service Program as an alternative to incarceration is timely, and ultimately of extreme value. Further research and development in this area can lessen the crowding of Juvenile Hall as juvenile offenders are steered away from a life of crime through community service programs.

Literature reviews detailing the roles of government and nonprofit organizations in alternative juvenile sentencing have established a framework for this study. A review of historical research guided the rationale for this study and described the evolution of juvenile justice systems. This general research and literature review formed the framework for this case study of the Community Service Program in the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department. The minimal amount of statistical data and qualitative analysis available on the Community Service Program in San Francisco justifies further exploration and study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Subject/Respondents

This case study of San Francisco's Community Service Program considers interview responses generated from nonprofit organizations and juvenile offender participants. Data was also gathered from discussions held with employees of the Community Service Program at the Juvenile Probation Department. Interviews at the nonprofit organizations with volunteer managers or individuals that supervise the Community Service Program volunteers provided the most relevant information and data for this case study. Juvenile offenders currently in the program, as well as recent graduates, were interviewed individually to provide youth-based data.

Nonprofit organizations that currently have, or previously had, juvenile offenders performing community service hours with the CSP were chosen for research and were contacted by letter [see Appendix A: 1]. Volunteer managers at the following organizations were interviewed: San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners, Bay View-Hunters Point Foundation, Potrero Hill Neighborhood Center, Columbia Park Boys and Girls Club, Sunset Youth Agency, and Oceanview, Park Merced, and Ingleside-Pilgrim (OMI) Community Center.

The office of the Juvenile Probation Community Service Program authorized access to the names and contact information for more than 20 juveniles eligible to participate in the program. Before contact was initiated, the parents or guardians of the juvenile offenders and the juvenile offenders themselves were contacted by letter [see appendices A: 2 and A: 3]. The first 20

juvenile offenders to be successfully contacted were interviewed. After each interview the juvenile offenders were sent a thank-you letter [see Appendix A: 4] containing a \$10.00 gift certificate for Tower Records. Additionally, each interviewee had their name placed in a drawing for two free movie tickets.

Data was gathered from Juvenile Probation Department records regarding each juvenile offender's age, gender, and which court was responsible for sentencing.

Research Design

Data for this case study were collected from juvenile offenders and nonprofit organizations. Personal interview responses were combined with on-site observation analysis. The interviews were conducted with English-speaking nonprofit organization administrators and juvenile offenders participating in the Community Service Program through the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department.

Case Study Methods

There are five steps used to develop a case study research design: purpose, process, data collection, data analysis, and communicating findings. A case study approach to research allows qualitative data analysis, which tends to be primarily an inductive process of organizing data into categories of responses and identifying patterns (relationships) among the categories (McMillan &

Schumacher, 1993, p. 479). The summation of all information gathered, categorized, and analyzed produces conclusive findings for the case study.

The first step in performing a case study is to state the purpose. "A case study is conducted to shed light on a phenomenon, be it a process, event, person, or object of interest to the researcher" (Leedy, 1997, p. 157). In this case study, the purpose is to establish and understand the benefits the CSP offers juvenile offenders and participating nonprofit organizations. How the program helps the nonprofit organizations fulfill their stated mission is also considered.

After defining the purpose, interviews and on-site observations were scheduled with the participants. "After defining a specific focus for their studies, case study researchers typically spend an extended period of time on-site with their research participants" (Leedy, 1997, p. 157). The research consisted of many hours of interviewing the juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organizations while observing the worksites and work being accomplished.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected during these interviews. "Fieldwork is typically a part of the data collection effort because it enables the researcher to engage in informal conversations with the participants and to observe and understand the phenomenon as it is experienced by them" (Leedy, 1997, p. 158). Questions and interview discussion topics were formulated. However, actual interviews followed an open format, enabling participants to guide the conversation and generate interview topics.

Data analysis is broken into three approaches: interpretational, structural, and reflective analyses. For this case study the structural approach "refers to

searching the data for patterns inherent in discourse, text, events, or other phenomena, with little or no inference made as to the meaning of the patterns" (Leedy, 1997, p. 158). The juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organization representatives were accompanied in the field by the researcher. Data collection included personal observations and verbal responses.

Stake (1995) notes that when writing a case study, it is important that "researchers use the method of specimens as their primary method to come to know extensively and intensively about the single case" (p. 36). A collective case study uses a small percentage of participants to gain information pertaining to the group. With this case study, a group of 20 juvenile offenders and six nonprofit organizations were interviewed to gain insight into the Juvenile Probation Department's Community Service Program.

The research communicates the findings in the form of interpretational analysis. Leedy (1997) writes that "a case study final report often takes the form of a rich, descriptive narrative that attempts to reconstruct the participants' reality" (p. 158). This research study of CSP benefits is presented through data analysis and interpretation. A summary and conclusions are formulated from this process and presented with suggestions for future research.

The last of the five steps, communicating findings, is to report the reality of the participants in an "objective writing style" (Leedy, 1997, p. 158). The findings of this case study are presented in the summary and conclusion.

Instrumentation

The researcher asked questions in an unstructured style in order to elicit unbiased opinions from each juvenile offender and respondent from the nonprofit organizations. The questions were formulated to discover how the participants felt about the community service alternative in the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department. Specifically, interviews aimed to establish what benefits were realized by the nonprofit organizations and juvenile offenders as a result of their participation in the program, and how this type of alternative sentencing can be rehabilitative for the juvenile offenders while simultaneously helping to strengthen communities. The interviewees were allowed to tell their stories without interruption to explain and reflect on their own experience.

Procedures

The Probation Department of San Francisco provided information including names, addresses, and phone numbers for the juvenile offenders who performed community service hours as alternative sentencing during the past year. For this case study, 20 juveniles were interviewed face-to-face at various public locations convenient for them.

Juvenile offenders under direction of the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department perform community service hours at a limited number of nonprofit organizations. Juvenile offenders' completed community service timesheets were used to generate a list of nonprofit organizations participating in the CSP. Administrators and staff in six of these participating nonprofit organizations were

interviewed after the volunteer manager (or person in charge of the juvenile offender volunteers) was contacted and a face-to-face interview was arranged to gather data.

Operational Definitions of Relevant Variables

For the purposes of this study, key terms are defined as follows:

- Juvenile, in the City of San Francisco, is defined as anyone who is under the age of 18 when a crime is committed. This is also known as a 602 offense.
- Impact is the cost and benefits to juvenile offenders, nonprofit organizations, and the Juvenile Justice Program.
- Benefits for the nonprofit organization are defined as, but not limited to, free labor, fulfillment of the nonprofit organization's mission, employee's self-efficacy, goodwill with the community, and filling needs not met by the government.
- Benefits for the juvenile are defined as, but not limited to, job training, education, avoiding jail, receiving mentoring by the nonprofit organization's employees, and avoiding the psychological damage and social stigma of being incarcerated in the juvenile justice system.
- Benefits for the criminal justice system are defined as, but not limited to, fewer juvenile offenders in jail, fewer administrative costs, and a feeling of discharged duty.

- Costs for the nonprofit organization are defined as, but not limited to, the percentage of staff time spent supervising the juvenile offenders instead of performing normally assigned job duties, pursuant to the organization's mission statement.
- Costs for the juvenile are defined as, but not limited to, monetary cost associated with program participation (e.g., bus fare), emotional stress, and the juvenile offender's time and energy.
- Costs for the criminal justice system are defined as, but not limited to, a portion of the salary of the Community Service Program director and one day's salary for a Juvenile Hall counselor.

Treatment of Data

Qualitative analysis of interviews along with on-site observation of the Community Service Program for juvenile offenders in San Francisco provided data for this case study. Interviews were recorded, then accurately transcribed and supplemented with written notes based on observations of the respondents and the interview process. Notes were casually taken during the interview to minimize distraction of the interviewee. Immediately following interviews, written observations were complemented with inferential analysis and expanded with more detail where necessary.

Each interview was coded using Strauss' (1987) paradigm items. The coding paradigm strategy categories are:

Conditions: cues like the use of words such as "because," "since," "as," or phrases like "on account of"

Interaction among actors: those interactions occurring between and among actors

Strategies and tactics: specific tactics associated with strategies

Consequences: actions can be pointed to by phrases like "as a result," "because of that," "the result was," "the consequence was," and "in consequence" (p. 28).

The analysis used in this case study was "open" or unrestricted coding of the data. This open coding was done by scrutinizing the fieldnote, interview, or other document very closely, line by line, or even word by word (Strauss, 1987). The juvenile offender and nonprofit organization responses suggested three topics early on: the impact of having juvenile offenders performing community service at participating nonprofit organizations, the impact on juvenile offenders performing community service, and the overall structure and administration of the Community Service Program.

The Impact on Nonprofit Organizations

The following are methods for determining the successful realization of the Community Service Program for rehabilitating juvenile offenders according to Strauss' paradigm.

Conditions: By rehabilitating, training, and educating the juvenile offenders, the nonprofit organizations are accomplishing their mission and strengthening the community.

Interaction among actors: The interactions among actors were determined by observing the treatment of juvenile offenders by the nonprofit organization staff; reactions of the juvenile offender to the staff working with them; and interactions between the juvenile offenders and nonprofit staff administering the Community Service Program.

Strategies and tactics: What the nonprofit organization is doing to help the juvenile offenders; procedures for dealing with disruptive and nonengagable juveniles; and whether or not the nonprofit advertises for juvenile volunteers. What methods the participating nonprofit organizations use to engage juveniles in different forms of community.

Consequences: As a direct result of Community Service Program participation, nonprofit organizations experienced certain benefits and costs.

The Impact on Juvenile Offenders

Conditions: Juvenile offenders may receive training, education, or rehabilitation as a direct result of their Community Service Program participation. Juvenile offenders have an opportunity to learn about volunteering and nonprofit organizations.

Interaction among actors: The interactions were determined by observing the community service staff at the nonprofit organization; involvement with

individuals the juveniles worked with during their community service; and interactions between juvenile offenders and administrators in the juvenile justice system.

Strategies and Tactics: Juvenile offenders are participating in the Community Service Program to finish their community service hours and to further their educations.

Consequences: As a result of their participation in the Community Service Program, juveniles have the opportunity to further their educations, learn job skills, become more responsible, and rehabilitate themselves.

The Structure of the Community Service Program

Conditions: It is important to understand who is involved, what programs are available, how much manpower is available for assisting juvenile offenders, and the limitations of the Probation Department building, such as record keeping and equipment.

Interaction among actors: The interaction among actors was determined by observing the extent of involvement and the different methods of involvement between the nonprofit organization, the juvenile justice system, and the juvenile offenders.

Strategies and Tactics: By assisting juvenile offenders in finding community service work, the Community Service Program fulfills its directive from the Juvenile Probation Department. The participants in the program are able to state

the rationale of the program, thereby demonstrating a meaningful internalization of the purpose.

Consequences: Because juvenile offenders perform their court-mandated community service hours through the Community Service Program, the number of juveniles incarcerated may decrease, while the number of juveniles being rehabilitated may increase.

After the interviewing process a spreadsheet was used to keep track of the specific areas discussed according to Strauss' paradigm. Each area had a correlating code. For example: If an interviewee spoke about nonprofit information the sentence in the interview would receive a code of 100 but if the interviewee spoke about benefits gained, the sentence received a 404. Each interview was transcribed and coded with the appropriate numbers. This was beneficial in the process because the information relating to each topic was readily accessible.

Conclusion

This case study of San Francisco's Community Service Program involves contacting and interviewing juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organizations who participate in the CSP. This information was combined with on-site observation analysis. Five steps were used including: discovering and researching the purpose; process; data collection; data analysis; and communicating findings. The San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department provided the necessary information needed for contacting program participants

and details regarding program administration. Relevant variables are defined to establish the focal points of this case study. The data was coded using Strauss' paradigm items to explain the conditions, interaction among actors, strategies and tactics, and consequences. The data accrued revealed the impact on nonprofit organizations and the participating juvenile offenders, and defined the structure of the Community Service Program.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS/FINDINGS

The results of this study provide insights into the relationships between the participants of the Community Service Program and the participating nonprofit organizations. Benefits experienced by juvenile offenders and the community-based organizations they served at are discussed and costs to both parties are evaluated.

The following chapter delineates the findings resulting from interviews with and on-site observations of participants in the Community Service Program at the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department. As stated previously, the three main areas studied are the structure of the Community Service Program, the impact on the participating nonprofit organizations having juvenile offenders performing community service, and the impact on juvenile offenders performing community service.

The findings are presented in seven topic areas. First, the structure of the Community Service Program and how the system operates are explored. The second and third topics present juvenile offender and nonprofit organization demographics. The fourth topic addresses the juvenile offenders' knowledge of nonprofit organizations. The fifth and sixth topics detail the interactions between participants and organizations along with the differing perceptions of the juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organizations by all participants. The seventh topic explains the benefits and costs of participating in the Community Service Program.

The Structure of the Community Service Program

The San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department has two major offices: Probation Services and Juvenile Hall. The Community Service Program (CSP) is a function of the Special Services division of Probation Services, located in the antiquated Youth Guidance Center. The three employees who run the program do not have separate computer terminals, but share an ancient Wang terminal and an IBM computer terminal housing all the juvenile court information. These two systems do not interface, so much of the work in this department is still paper-based. This may explain why information and statistics are not available.

There are five diversion programs with a staff consisting of the director, who spends one-third of the time on the programs and the rest of the time on various other administrative tasks, and two counselors who assist on Saturday mornings. Due to budget shortages, the staff is more likely to place juvenile offenders with community-based organizations, rather than refer them to more costly diversion programs. Some of the juvenile offenders participate in the Community Service Program because they have committed traffic court offenses, misdemeanors, and nonviolent offenses, such as being a passenger in a stolen car, shoplifting, vandalism, and being involved in school fights in which there are no serious injuries.

Once a juvenile offender is given a community service appointment, there is very little communication between the probation department and the assigned nonprofit organizations. Although the CSP tracks hours assigned and completed, there is no quantitative method of measuring the impact the juvenile

offenders have on the nonprofit organizations or vice-versa. Currently there is no method of finding out what benefits the nonprofit organizations receive from having juvenile offenders performing community service through their organizations. The city has no method for reporting how many juvenile offenders return to criminal behavior, or the attrition rate of the Community Service Program. The city also has no method for reporting how many juvenile offenders do not show up to perform community service hours or have Juvenile Hall sentencing reinstated. Although individual records (including name, contact information, name of guardian, and criminal charges) are kept, there is no universal compilation of data. Furthermore, there is no method to ensure that juvenile offenders perform their service hours unless they offend again and are given a stricter sentence. There is no method for recording whether juvenile offenders participating in diversion programs with nonprofit organizations receive any form of rehabilitation, job training, or education, or experience increased self-esteem, or whether any change occurs in their patterns of illegal activity.

Juvenile offenders are ordered to report to the Youth Guidance Center on Saturday morning no later than 8:15 A.M. Most offenders are bussed to San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) worksites where they perform their community service hours. They must follow all rules [see Appendix B] given to them or risk expulsion from the program. If expelled, the juvenile offender then might spend the weekend in Juvenile Hall. A SLUG representative said, "When they get there the supervisors really lay it out, and you do not get your hours if you do not participate. The supervisor sends kids home even if they have

worked three hours and there is only one more hour left. If you are putting up an attitude, you may get zero hours." At the end of the work time the SLUG worksite supervisor notifies the Community Service Program director if anyone has been problematic, left the worksite early, or is not welcome back. The workday lasts until between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. If only one female shows up to do community service, she is not sent on the bus with the males for safety reasons. Instead she is put to work at the Youth Guidance Center or sent home with credit for the day.

Occasionally, a juvenile offender is associated with a community-based organization and a representative of the organization will accompany the juvenile and any family members to court to ask that the juvenile offender be given community service at their organization. "I think they should have enough trust in some of the base agencies to let those kids just go out in the community. That's why it is called community service hours; do your hours in the community," stated Organization A. Occasionally, such requests are granted and juvenile offenders are allowed to perform community service at organizations other than SLUG.

Juvenile offenders performing community service at community-based organizations were asked to perform various tasks such as clerical work, supervising, maintenance, gardening, or tutoring. Clerical work includes running copies, answering phones, filing, and keeping track of sign-in sheets. Supervising other juveniles includes monitoring the game room, directing pool and Ping-Pong tournaments, and supervising field trips for younger youth. Maintenance work includes working on cars, wiping down windows, cleaning

toilets, sweeping floors, and other forms of physical labor. Other types of work include community graffiti paint-outs, landscaping, tutoring younger youth, and kitchen duty.

Juvenile Offender Demographics

The objective of the interviews was to obtain information from a diverse group of juvenile offenders [see Appendix C]. The average age of the juveniles interviewed was 15.8 years old, and 75 percent were males. Thirty percent were Caucasian, 25 percent were African-American, 35 percent were Latino, and 10 percent were Asian. They reside in San Francisco area neighborhoods such as Bayview-Hunter's Point, Bernal Heights, Daly City, Eureka Valley, Excelsior, Ingleside, Mission, Nob Hill, Oakland, Pacifica, Pacific Heights, Portola, Richmond, South of Market, and the Sunset district.

Nonprofit Organization Demographics

All the nonprofit organizations interviewed in this study accept juvenile offender referrals from the Community Service Program. The community-based organizations are Bayview-Hunter's Point Youth Services Program, Columbia Park Boys and Girls Club, OMI-Pilgrim Community Center, Potrero Hill Neighborhood Center, and Sunset Youth Services. These organizations serve various San Francisco neighborhoods including Bayview-Hunter's Point, the Mission, Oceanview, Park Merced, Ingleside, Potrero Hill, and the Sunset. The nonprofit organization San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) is a

participant of the CSP but is not a community-based organization. SLUG works with people and community groups in all areas of the city, not one specific neighborhood.

There were also organizations that previously allowed juvenile offenders from the CSP to perform community service, and others which do not understand the function of the Community Service Program. A short list of these participating community-based organizations includes: Chinatown Youth Center, Glide Memorial, Horizons Unlimited, Morrisana West, and RAP. Although the interviewer had been told these organizations accepted juvenile offenders to perform community service hours, the organizations denied this. They stated that they either no longer participated in this program or they were involved in other juvenile probation programs, but not the Community Service Program. Therefore these organizations were not interviewed.

Complete mission statements from the nonprofit organizations that participate in the Community Service Program are presented in Appendix D. All of the nonprofit organizations interviewed have mission statements pertaining to community empowerment and neighborhood improvement.

All of these organizations enable juvenile offenders to work off their community service hours and gain work-related skills at the same time. A staff person at Organization C said the purpose of the organization's involvement in CSP "is to help keep the kids off the street, to provide them with employment, give them training, teach them how to fill out job applications, and that kind of stuff, so that is part of the mission." In their own separate ways, the

organizations meet their missions and help make the community a better place through their work with juvenile offenders.

Knowledge of Nonprofit Organizations

When asked the definition of a nonprofit organization, 25 percent of the juvenile offenders interviewed stated they did not know what a nonprofit organization was or what it did. A small percentage of the remaining juveniles interviewed answered that nonprofit organizations were designed to not make a profit. "That means they don't make any commercial profit from their business," said #18. This juvenile offender knew the organization was funded by methods other than commercial profit.

Interviewee #39 showed better understanding, stating "A nonprofit organization is a group of people that do things for free for the better [sic] of the community, and they do things to find certain things out, and they do it out of the kindness of their heart without having other people pay them to motivate them."

Two-thirds of the juvenile offenders knew very little or nothing about the mission or work of the nonprofit organization where they were doing community service. Of the 17 juvenile offenders who performed their community service at SLUG, 47 percent said they did not know what SLUG did. The juvenile offenders who did answer the question had varying responses. Interviewee #4 stated "All I know is that they help out with the community. One of those beautification projects."

Other comments about the mission or work of community-based organizations included the following: "They want to see everybody, everybody doing well. So basically it is for the youth, troubled youth," responded #45.

Forty percent of the juveniles interviewed stated the nonprofit organization was working to make the neighborhood a better place. Interviewee #44 said, "They do a lot of stuff, good stuff, like help you get your license back and stuff. They do a lot for the community." When asked for specific examples the majority of the juvenile offenders could not give any.

Some community-based organizations are better suited than others for juvenile offenders to gain work skills and possibly find a job. As Organization F states, "You know it is easier when you already know a kid and have known him for a while to see what they need, than when they are just involved in a big system and are just a number." When the organization is community-based, there is a chance that the juvenile may have been involved with the organization before being sent to the Juvenile Probation Department. Since community-based organizations are local, there is a possibility the juvenile or other members of his/her family may have utilized the services of the organization through clubs, church services, Scouts, or after-school programs. This familiarity allows community-based organizations to be more responsive to the needs of juvenile offenders.

Interactions Between Juvenile Offenders and Nonprofit Organizations

One aspect of performing community service is the interaction among juvenile offenders. Sometimes the juvenile offenders end up working alongside other juveniles with whom they are unfamiliar or unfriendly. "[Being] alongside other kids first of all, who they may not want to be next to or work with, is challenging," said Organization E. Since the juvenile offenders have to complete their community service hours, they are forced to deal with this situation, improve interpersonal relationship skills, and occasionally make new friends.

People who work with juvenile offenders believe that community service fosters in them a keener awareness of their community and a sense of belonging that results from having done work to improve the community. A representative from Organizations E described the satisfaction s/he derives from "working with other kids to do something really positive for the city's environment...in terms of their consciousness of how we live in the city, and how we use our green spaces." This emphasizes that community service can be an experience through which juvenile offenders learn about their community and other people.

Interactions between the juvenile offenders and other members of the community were cause for amusement among most people interviewed. One interviewee spoke about a group of juvenile offenders going into the community to clean up a vacant lot. A neighborhood resident immediately expressed concern about having these offenders in the neighborhood. When the cleanup proved successful, the irate resident had a change of heart and is now a contributor to that nonprofit organization. Another interviewee spoke about

mixing the senior population with the juvenile offenders. Organization D noted, "Seniors are afraid of kids, especially black kids, or anyone of color, but once they start coming up here and eating lunch, they interact." Once the two populations saw each other as people instead of "those kids" or "those old people," amiable relations followed.

The majority of community-based organizations seem to be equipped to handle the countless difficult situations that arise. Some of the difficulties included in this informal crisis management are drug and alcohol addiction, anger management, issues with school and family, underage pregnancy, gang problems, and medical concerns. "Every one of us here can drop everything we are doing at a moment's notice and go talk to a kid or help out other ways as needed," added Organization D.

Many of the community-based organizations have the ability to coordinate services for juvenile offenders such as drug and alcohol rehabilitation, homework tutoring, medical assistance, and prenatal assistance. "I also try to coordinate some services for the kids who are in our programs. We get involved in other things in their lives, like if they're not doing well in school and things like that, and try to connect them up with services," explained Organization E.

If the nonprofit organization is not able to handle a given situation, it is likely to refer the juvenile offender to another appropriate agency. "If we have a problem we can't handle, like dealing with some kid's medical needs, we have a clinic over here. We work closely with them and can call someone there and say, 'Do you know this kid?' It's a community and we all know each other," said

Organization D. Assisting juvenile offenders with more than just a place to complete community service hours sets community-based organizations apart from other nonprofit organizations.

All of the nonprofit organizations interviewed noted that staff use their time with the juvenile offenders to make good impressions on them. "What we try to do is encourage them to think about their futures," stated Organization D. Providing the opportunity for juvenile offenders to think about their actions that led to their sentences to perform community service hours is as valuable as teaching them job skills. "Most of the time when we get into the work, I get into discussions about how come they are there or how did that happen or how could it have been prevented," said a representative from Organization E. Especially in the community-based organizations, every staff person is there to teach, mentor, or support the youth. Organization D added that "whoever can help them learn and gain something from being here" is welcome to work with the juvenile offenders.

None of the nonprofit organizations interviewed reported any problems or conflicts dealing directly with the juvenile offenders performing community service. The most important point made was that the juvenile offenders are just teenagers. The problems that most teenagers have are compounded when they are forced to participate in community service; especially early on Saturday mornings. "You know most of the kids come [and] they have a little attitude because they have to get up early in the morning," said Organization E.

A majority of the juvenile offenders performing community service hours felt their supervisors were nice and fair, including interviewee #12 who stated, "They were pretty cool. They told us what to do, they told us all the conditions. They told us that if we were not going to do it, they were not going to count the hours." Some supervisors even got around to talking about other topics such as school and relationships.

Interviewee #36 stated, "They respect me and they are not mean or anything. They got the respect for themselves and for other people." Forty percent of the juvenile offenders discussed respect and whether they were giving it to or receiving it from the supervisors. For many, "respect" seemed to signify that someone was willing to listen to their problems and give them advice.

Nine of the 20 juvenile offenders felt negatively about their relationships with nonprofit supervisors. When asked if juvenile offenders felt they could go to supervisors with their problems, the most common dissenting retort was that the supervisors do not care and are just there to do their job. As #37 said, "We are just here to do what we have to do and get it over with."

Interactions between juveniles and the supervisors are a very important aspect of the community service experience. Prior to participating in the Community Service Program the juvenile offenders thought the supervisors would be like prison guards, whereas the supervisors assumed that the juvenile offenders would be difficult to handle.

Perceptions of Juvenile Offenders and Nonprofit Organizations

Organization F stated, "Most people have the idea that when someone does community service, they need to be doing a menial task for the benefit of the organization." To the contrary, the majority of the representatives from nonprofit organizations feel juvenile offenders should not be treated as workhorses. Rather, they want the juvenile offenders to gain skills from the experience that will help them in the future. These representatives feel if the juvenile offender is not learning any skills, the time spent at the organization is wasted.

According to nonprofit organizations interviewed, some of the juvenile offenders have a negative idea of performing community service. As Organization A stated: "A lot of them expect to really work, work, work. I don't want you to feel that you have to come over here and start emptying our garbage." The representatives from these organizations feel that treating the juvenile offenders with respect is the way to have a mutually cooperative relationship that will lead to the juvenile offenders finishing their hours, gaining useful job skills, and retaining a relationship with the community-based organization. At many of the community-based organizations the experience is the significant part of the community service hours, not the work.

The main theme that emerged concerning the structure of the Community Service Program was nonutilization of community-based organizations. Organization A criticized the CSP, saying, "I don't think, personally, that they utilize the [community] based agencies enough." When juvenile offenders

perform community service hours at Juvenile Hall (working with SLUG and SFUSDLD), they are not always working in their own local community. Since the juvenile offenders are mostly sent to perform their hours with SLUG, there aren't many juveniles performing their hours at community-based organizations in their local communities. Organization A also stated that "the Juvenile Probation Department has the list of all the community-based organizations; it is easy to get. They can give a kid that list and it is just like when an adult does community service hours. They provide them a list of areas and places where you can do it." According to the staff at the Community Service Program, most of the time when juvenile offenders are given a list of community-based organizations, they show up to perform community service at Juvenile Hall because it is easier than contacting the community-based organizations on their own initiative.

The representative from Organization A, as well as others, felt that by giving the juvenile offenders the choice about where to perform their community service, opportunities to gain educational and job skills would be enhanced. The nonprofit organizations interviewed stated the juvenile offenders should perform their work hours in the juvenile's residential area, either with a community-based organization or at a nonprofit organization in their community and not in a governmental organization. Working in their local residential areas teaches juvenile offenders such things as responsibility for their community.

Juvenile offenders should be given a choice where to perform community service. If they do not express a preference as to which nonprofit organization to serve, they should be assigned to an organization. Giving juvenile offenders a

choice of where to perform community service may facilitate getting work assignments that would teach them skills to enhance their employment possibilities. "I think you should have community service that teaches you stuff," said #21. Other interviewees also expressed a preference for performing community service hours at organizations that can educate, teach job skills, and provide support. Interviewee #21 added, "but if [someone] beats up somebody then they should have to work in a hospital." This juvenile offender feels criminals should spend their community service hours working to make it right or work somewhere that would make an impact on their life and deter them from committing illegal acts again. Expressing a desire for options other than working on gardening or landscaping, Interviewee #21 said, "We should have to do [community service] where we gain something out of it."

One issue that was a concern at the participating nonprofit organizations was sexism. At all the nonprofit organizations interviewed, the supervisors mentioned the issue of sexism. "Females come in who want to do community service hours, we connect them up, they can answer phones, they can take the messages, they can get some office experience. Fellas on the other hand, we have those guys upstairs manning our game room," stated Organization A.

It became clear that many of the supervisors at the organizations interviewed treated the male and female community service workers in a different manner. "If I get a girl, for instance, who wants to work with me in the office, or to do other office work type stuff, I will have them do something that I feel they can do," said Organization D. Supervisors assumed that female community service

workers would want to work in an office and male community service workers would not. "I have never found a boy that liked office work, but that is not saying there aren't any out there," said Organization D.

As Interviewee #12 reported, "There were lots of people, so they put girls on one side. For example, girls were doing easier jobs, like picking up the grass and putting it somewhere. The boys had to cut the grass and put it in one pile and crush up the earth." Females who were sent as a pair with a whole group of males to do community service projects, consistently stated that the experience made them feel uncomfortable.

Issues of racism that mirror problems in the juvenile justice system nationwide surfaced as well. At one worksite a juvenile offender pointed out the difference in treatment between ethnic groups. Many of this juvenile offender's Caucasian classmates had been found guilty of the same offenses as many of the juvenile offenders at community service, but had been given lighter sentences or reprimanded and sent home. The juvenile offender was shocked to hear the types of offenses the non-Caucasian youth at the worksite had committed and the sentences they were given. Interviewee #39 stated, "It is just surprising to me that there aren't that many white people [performing community service] because I know the white people at my old school do the same stuff that people here do. It is kind of funny that they didn't get in trouble."

A recent report conducted by the National Council of Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) entitled And Justice for Some reports that "minority youths are more likely than their white counterparts to be arrested, held in jail, sent to

juvenile or adult court for trial, convicted and given longer prison terms" (cited in Butterfield, 2000). This report demonstrates that these discrepancies are also present in San Francisco's juvenile justice system.

Benefits and Costs of Participating in the Community Service Program

Due to a lack of available literature and an inadequate tracking system, benefits and costs of the Community Service Program are difficult to analyze. However, maturation of the juvenile offenders and development of skills are some of the program benefits highlighted in interviews with the nonprofit organizations. "If our kids stay out of the [juvenile justice] system, that's what we gain," said Organization F. Keeping youth out of the juvenile justice system is the personal mission of most of the staff at the community-based organizations, even though it may not be the stated mission of the nonprofit organization.

Organization D stated, "The benefits are the changes that you see." Many intangible skills that juvenile offenders learn by performing jobs such as office assistant and landscaper, and qualities such as leadership and cooperation, can be gained through community service work.

Organization E said, "There are certain things that they will learn about pruning or the proper way to use tools, working together, [and] getting something done." Most of the community-based organizations interviewed stated that if the juvenile offender gains, then the nonprofit organization gains.

Two-thirds of the juvenile offenders interviewed said they received some sort of training, including: gardening skills, refereeing, manual labor skills, and

landscaping experience. Juvenile offenders also received intangible benefits from performing community service such as understanding, recognition, and a sense of belonging. Interviewee #45 said, " I am learning responsibility, and I am learning discipline." Three juvenile offenders responded that they had learned to work with others, and six said they learned not to behave badly in the future. "Leadership teaches you respect for other people, how to work as a team," stated #4.

Half of the juvenile offenders interviewed wanted to obtain employment as soon as they were old enough or when they finished their community service hours. Many of the juvenile offenders expressed gratitude for the job skills they gained through community service.

Some juvenile offenders felt the greatest benefit gained from performing community service was the possibility of future employment. Organization E stated, "We saw the need for more steady employment programs for these kids." Even after the juvenile offenders are finished with their community service hours, they are welcome to use the employment services the nonprofit organizations offer, such as job readiness training. This training may include resume writing and interviewing skills. Some of the nonprofit organizations interviewed even offer employment to the juvenile offenders. "We have a little grant that we pay our youths here. It's an incentive program if they are attending school regularly," said Organization A.

Some of the nonprofit organizations in the study fulfill their mission statements by assisting youth in finding employment in their respective

communities, while others offer future employment through their own job programs. "Maybe they might be working real hard for this right now and this is community service, but how would you like to get paid for it?" asks Organization E. Planting a seed in the minds of juvenile offenders about their future employment opportunities is important for many of the nonprofit organizations.

Juvenile offenders performing community service hours at a community-based organization gain job readiness skills. At SLUG the benefits were more intangible (such as learning to work with others, enjoying the fruits of physical labor). An intangible benefit includes "a sense of belonging, a sense of usefulness, a sense of just feeling that s/he is special," stated Organization B. Another intangible benefit is the satisfaction in finishing some hard work.

Organization E emphasized working together as a team to get something done. Seeing the results at the end of the day was rewarding for everyone involved. The benefits the juvenile offenders get out of community service easily outweigh the hours they are obliged to perform. Many of the community-based organizations and SLUG consider such intangible benefits as a measure of their success in working with the juveniles in the CSP. Providing a place for juvenile offenders to receive guidance was a common goal for all the organizations interviewed. "Since we are youth oriented and obviously want to keep our kids off the streets, we need to help them through their problems," Organization D said.

Many of the juvenile offenders performing community service have other problems in addition to being involved in illegal activity. Organizational

interviewees spoke about juvenile offenders being illiterate, and having emotional, family, or health problems in addition to being embroiled in the juvenile justice system. All of the organizational respondents talked about how they attempt to assist juveniles in resolving these school, family, emotional, and health problems by referring them to other agencies who work specifically with the issues at hand.

Fifteen percent of the juvenile offenders said they derived educational benefits by performing community service hours. "I need a lot of help with my grades. My grades are coming up a little bit; I am seeing some improvement," stated #45, a juvenile offender who was being assisted with homework at the nonprofit organization where s/he was performing community service. Another juvenile realized that after her/his community service hours s/he wants to study to be a lawyer. This youth's educational outlook is more hopeful.

Personal support from the nonprofit organization staff is an important aspect of the Community Service Program. Forty-five percent of the juvenile offenders interviewed felt they received no personal support from the nonprofit organization staff where they were performing community service. "No, they don't care. They are just here to do their job," said #39.

However, slightly more than half of the juvenile offenders interviewed felt they could go to the employees of the nonprofit organization with personal concerns. Interviewee #45 said organizational staff were ready to offer help with "any kind of problem; if anybody was pressuring me to have sex, smoke weed,

drink alcohol, steal a car, rob, anything.” Organizational employees appear willing to offer support to offenders who choose to request assistance.

There are some differences between what the nonprofit organizations and the juvenile offenders perceive as benefits to be gained while performing community service hours. The missions and structures of the organizations foster attainment of life skills and job skills for future employment. While performing community service, the youth develop vocationally and socially as their interpersonal relationship skills improve. However, one-third of the juvenile offenders said they felt they did not learn anything from performing community service work. In general, these juvenile offenders felt their time was wasted.

Some of the juvenile offenders interviewed after they completed their community service hours offered some reflective answers. "It made me look back to what happened. It made me think 'don't hang with the wrong crowd' and it wouldn't have even happened," answered #29. Other juvenile offenders realized they were able to learn things they might not have otherwise.

As interviewee #39 said, "[Community service] taught me how to do certain things, how to work with other people." At least two juvenile offenders learned about volunteer work and that getting a paycheck was not always the most important aspect of doing a good job. One juvenile interviewed learned the community service experience could be applied to future work. Interviewee #37 said, "I guess if I was to take a position in a job like this [community service job], I would probably know what to do now."

Only a few nonprofit organizations interviewed mentioned benefits to the community. Organization A specifically spoke about how juvenile offenders' perceptions of their environment may change. "They are more conscientious of [littering] because these are the kids who have to go out in our area and basically clean up." Having juvenile offenders clean up their neighborhoods makes them realize that littering and trashing their neighborhood affects others as well as themselves.

For as many benefits as there are for nonprofit organizations, there are also organizational costs. The majority of the organizational interviewees said the benefits definitely outweigh the costs.

The main organizational cost for a nonprofit organization is the time staff spends assisting kids rather than doing their normally assigned work. Many of the community-based organization staff believe their organization works this expense into their operational costs. "Unofficially, [our job] is just working with kids and meeting needs on a case by case basis," stated Organization F.

Most of the organizational respondents said that the juvenile offenders take up very little of their time. At least three of the organizational employees stated they were always available for the juvenile offenders. Most people interviewed agreed with a statement by Organization B, who said, "On an average six hour day [I] spend 15 to 20 minutes with [each] kid."

For the juvenile offenders, the costs of participation were insignificant. The most frequent complaint they expressed was having to wake up at 7:00 a.m. in order to arrive at the Youth Guidance Center at 8:15 a.m. Every single

juvenile offender that performed his or her community service with the Saturday morning SLUG program indicated that waking up at an early hour was a hardship. "It is not worth it to come all the way out here every Saturday and wake up early," stated #39.

As previously stated, the more the juvenile offender gains, the more the nonprofit organization gains. Whether the benefits gained are quantitative job readiness skills and future employment opportunities, or more qualitative skills such as leadership, responsibility, and discipline, all are instrumental to the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders.

Conclusion

The results of this study provide some insight into relationships between the participants of the Community Service Program and the participating nonprofit organizations. These insights fall into four general categories: juvenile offenders' knowledge of nonprofit organizations; interactions between the juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organizations; perceptions of the juvenile offenders and the nonprofit organizations; and benefits and costs of participating in the Community Service Program.

As the literature review showed, there is very little written about the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department's Community Service Program. This study identified some areas that were lacking in the previously written literature review. No previous articles on the San Francisco Community Service Program

addressed the issues of possible future employment, sexism within the program, and modifications that may strengthen the Community Service Program.

Unlike the informal crisis management of the community-based organizations in San Francisco, other cities mentioned in the literature review have more formal and advanced community service programs which include education, counseling, and a more integrated community service network.

The literature did not address three topics discussed in this study, which are: the structure of the Community Service Program, the impact of having juvenile offenders performing community service at participating nonprofit organizations, and the impact that performing community service has on juvenile offenders.

This study documents that although many of the juvenile offenders were not happy with getting up early, two-thirds of them said they had learned something from performing their service hours. It also showed that juvenile offenders are concerned with gaining tangible and intangible job readiness skills and finding future employment. The nonprofit organizations believed they were providing job skills and vocational education by instructing and monitoring the youth assigned to their supervision.

Without a proper tracking or analysis system for the Community Service Program, it is difficult to obtain quantitative information that reveals the benefits (or lack thereof) the program can offer. More thorough and effective administration of the CSP would provide statistical data on participants, thus enabling quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Assessment to determine whether and to what extent nonprofit organizations fulfill their mission statements by participating in the Community Service Program would also help establish and track effectiveness of the Community Service Program. The above information could also shed light on the intangible benefits juvenile offenders gain from the Community Service Program experience. Overall, results are mixed, although there appear to be considerable benefits to the juvenile offenders who choose to use this opportunity to grow, mature, and learn.

The nonprofit organizations convey an honest desire to be of service to the juvenile offenders and help keep the juvenile offenders out of the criminal justice system. Employees, staff, and counselors at the worksites are available to support the youth in work assignments and in other personal problems as well.

The willingness and desire of the nonprofit organizations to be of service to juvenile offenders runs strong and deep. Juvenile offenders benefit from the Community Service Program by acquiring job readiness skills and learning about employment opportunities. Additionally, some report gaining a greater sense of self-worth through developing leadership skills, responsibility, and discipline.

The nonprofit organizations also stated that they derive benefits from the Community Service Program. Nonprofit organization employees believe that keeping youth out of prison serves the community at large. The employees also take pride in the improved skills of the juvenile offenders.

As the interviews with juvenile offenders indicated, many do not understand what the nonprofit organizations can provide for them or how the

nonprofit organizations can offer support. Some of the juvenile offenders view the Community Service Program solely as punishment. However, if the juvenile offenders complete the program with a positive attitude, then the juvenile offenders may realize certain benefits, such as growth, education, and job readiness skills.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter five begins with a review of the problem and continues with a discussion of the findings in the case study project. Conclusions were drawn from those findings and recommendations for future action and research are presented. The case study includes results for the 20 juvenile offenders and six nonprofit organizations interviewed and not the whole juvenile justice system.

Review of the Problem

In the Community Service Program, a division of the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department, juvenile offenders receive court orders to participate in community service as part of their probation, in lieu of incarceration at Juvenile Hall. Many San Francisco nonprofit organizations are willing to be part of the Community Service Program. Too many juvenile offenders are not informed of alternatives to the Probation Department's Saturday morning program, such as working for community-based organizations. Therefore, they do not use the community-based organizations for community service.

The San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) is the only nonprofit organization having liability insurance with the City of San Francisco. Therefore, it is the only nonprofit organization juvenile offenders can be directed to by the probation department or courts. A juvenile offender can request to be sent to another nonprofit organization (including community-based organizations) if they desire, but this option is not disclosed to the juvenile offenders unless they ask for the information because San Francisco's liability insurance does not allow

the CSP to send juveniles to any other organization but SLUG. Because other options are not disclosed, only a very small percentage of juvenile offenders perform their community service hours at nonprofit organizations other than SLUG.

Due to budget constraints, the Juvenile Probation Department has a small staff and an inefficient computer system. The two computer systems are old and incompatible, making it impossible to track juvenile offenders performing community service or compile statistics. There is no way to tell if the program is being managed and administered efficiently and effectively. In addition, the number of staff has shrunk over the years through attrition. This is a direct result of budget constraints, a primary factor in program ineffectiveness. This combination of circumstances has prevented thorough research within the Juvenile Probation Department. Related literature documenting community service programs in cities other than San Francisco exists, but without any standard format, varying according to the details of each specific program.

Discussion of the Findings

Twenty interviews with juvenile offenders and six interviews with nonprofit organizations were conducted in this study. An enormous amount of information was unearthed pertaining to the interactions, perceptions, benefits, and costs of working within the Community Service Program. The discussion and review of these findings explains and summarizes the interviews and presents the evidence for the results and conclusions of this study.

A majority of the juvenile offenders could not explain to the interviewer the mission of the nonprofit organization that had supervised their community service. One-quarter of the juvenile offenders did not know the definition of a nonprofit organization. These findings show the lack of knowledge surrounding nonprofit organizations and their mission statements directly correlates to the work of nonprofit organizations. Since the mission of nonprofit organizations is to increase community empowerment and neighborhood improvement, when a juvenile offender does not know what the nonprofit organization's mission is, the organization is not completing its mission. Therefore, the goal of the nonprofit organization is not being fulfilled.

Most of the juvenile offenders in this study were supervised by SLUG, yet most of them did not know SLUG's mission. Juvenile offenders assigned to community-based organizations generally knew more about those organizations' missions. Nonprofit organizations need to spend more time teaching juvenile offenders about the nature and goals of nonprofit organizations. Through greater understanding of a nonprofit organization's mission, the juvenile offenders can utilize the resources and staff of the organization to enhance their lives.

Community-based organizations are frequently prepared to handle crisis situations internally. When a juvenile comes in with a problem, the staff at community-based organizations are able to assist, often providing guidance and counseling while the juvenile offender is performing their community service hours.

A majority of the juvenile offenders were concerned about being respected by the nonprofit organization staff. Demeaning them, belittling them, or treating them as if they are stupid is ineffective in dealing with juvenile offenders, as it is for most people. To the juvenile offenders, being given respect was nearly as important as getting job skills, which was the most important gain the juveniles hoped to derive from their community service. Although this issue of respect was a concern expressed by the juvenile offenders, it did not prove to be a problem. They were treated with respect as young adults being given another chance to get out of the juvenile justice system.

Everybody wants to be respected. For juvenile offenders, this is vital because respect breeds self-confidence and self-assurance. These juvenile offenders benefit from being told they are doing a good job. Positive feedback helps juvenile offenders feel good about themselves and about the work they have completed, and this helps rehabilitate them as they learn they can make a positive contribution to the community.

The perceptions of all involved parties regarding the definition of community service led to an interesting discussion. The juvenile justice system utilizes community service hours as a punitive measure. Community-based organizations conceive their role as community service, assisting juvenile offenders in becoming better community members by developing their educational and interpersonal skills in a supportive atmosphere. These differing points of view are incongruous and can be problematic. All the community-based organizations aim to help young offenders find a better, more constructive

identity in the community. Community-based organizations believe the juvenile justice system in San Francisco does not utilize their services adequately for Community Service Program purposes.

Juvenile offenders and nonprofit organizations generally agreed that it is important that community service hours contribute to the acquisition of job skills. Also, being able to perform community service hours at a nonprofit organization of one's choosing, or one that bears some relation to the crime committed, could prove to be more educational. At least one juvenile offender expressed a desire to do community service at a nonprofit organization with a mission that is of personal interest. Another idea was to use community service hours to perform some sort of restitution, such as making a juvenile offender caught spraypainting graffiti paint over old graffiti, or paint the walls of a community building. Placement at a variety of nonprofit organizations in this manner can be effective in satisfying the punishment requirements of the juvenile justice system, while integrating the missions of the nonprofit organizations.

In the literature on community service programs, sexism was not an issue. However, while speaking to the juvenile offenders and nonprofit organizations signs of sexism were apparent. Many of the nonprofit organizations treated female juvenile offenders differently than males in the work they assigned. Females were often given secretarial duties while their male counterparts were asked to monitor the game room. Many times females were given the easiest tasks, even at the SLUG worksites.

Racism was also a topic of concern for the juvenile offenders. Unfair and unequal sentencing on the basis of race appears to be widespread nationally. As the juvenile offenders noted, Caucasians are committing the same crimes as minorities, yet are under-represented in the CSP.

Performing community service hours in the local community of the juvenile offender breaks down social barriers. As the study showed, initial perceptions of the juvenile offenders by the senior population at the community-based organizations changed after continued contact. The senior population realized the juvenile offenders were not a threat. They came to realize these were troubled kids who could benefit from being at the community-based organizations.

Juvenile offenders and nonprofit organizations both benefit from participating in the Community Service Program. For nonprofit organizations, participation in this program helps to fulfill part of their mission statement. They contribute to the betterment of the community by fostering education, growth, and development in the juvenile offenders while providing a safe work environment for the youth. In this way, community service is far more constructive than spending time in Juvenile Hall.

Juvenile offenders learned tangible and intangible job skills while performing community service hours at the participating organizations. While many juveniles learned tangible skills like filing, gardening, and refereeing, the intangible skills seem to be the most important because they can be applied in

any type of situation. One interviewee said he could use skills such as leadership and responsibility in any work environment.

Juvenile offenders tended to focus more on obtaining job skills that could help them gain employment. Half of the juveniles interviewed are currently seeking compensated employment and thought that the CSP experience could possibly assist them in their job search. Most of the nonprofit organizations have employment programs and were using the Community Service Program to assist them in finding paid employment for local juveniles. The Community Service Program provides a structured work program that satisfies a criminal punishment sentence, while providing an opportunity for juvenile offenders to develop social and labor skills needed to obtain future employment.

There seemed to be few costs of participation for the nonprofit organizations or the juvenile offenders. The biggest cost to the nonprofit organizations was staff time diverted from normal work assignments to the supervision or counseling of juveniles performing service hours. But since all of the community-based organizations' mission statements include making the community a better place, providing social services for juvenile offenders actually furthers the organizational mission.

Costs to the juvenile offenders seem limited to slight inconvenience, but many juveniles voiced major complaints. Many of them seemed to forget their community service was in part intended as punishment, even as they complained that early wake-up routines were punitive. Because some of the juvenile offenders had never experienced incarceration, they were unable to appreciate

the freedom and opportunity the Community Service Program provides, in contrast to locked custody in Juvenile Hall or other correctional facilities.

Conclusions

This study concludes that juvenile offenders and nonprofit organizations participating in the San Francisco Probation Department's Community Service Program generally feel the experience is positive and valuable. It is not necessarily how many hours are performed or how much work is accomplished that matters. Rather, the skills learned and maturity gained through the process prove to be the most important results for all parties involved.

The nonprofit organizations strive to provide a fulfilling and educational experience. Similarly, the study shows that most of the juvenile offenders want their community service experience to advance their job skills and prospects for future employment. At the same time, many juvenile offenders acknowledge that the social, interpersonal, and responsibility skills they acquire during their service will help them further down the road in life and in their search for employment.

Juvenile offenders who learn skills from performing community service can apply them to being good citizens and making a better future. Rather than regarding their court-mandated hours as punishment, those juvenile offenders who perform their community service with the attitude that they are bettering themselves and gaining job skills to obtain future employment, are effectively rehabilitating themselves.

Since the juvenile justice system wants to deter juvenile offenders from offending again, and the community-based organizations want to make the service experience more appealing so the youth will seek further education and avoid the criminal life, there is a common purpose between the two. Sentencing juvenile offenders to perform service hours at community-based organizations has been shown to have positive results. Positive experiences resulting from court-assigned community service hours may prove to lower recidivism rates in the juvenile justice system.

Nonprofit organization staffers and juvenile offenders in this study shared their perceptions about many issues including sexism, seniors, and ethnic groups. Sexism is pervasive in our society. Limiting the types of work assigned to juvenile offenders by their gender reinforces sexist categories. Maybe the female offender wanted to help out in the game room or maybe the male offender wanted to answer phones. By not allowing the youth to make these choices on their own, they are getting a message that females do one type of work while males do another.

Watching a young mind try to grasp the reality of racism in the juvenile justice system was like watching someone peel away the layers of an onion. Racism is everywhere but it should have no place in the Community Service Program. This program was designed to curb the recidivism rate for juvenile offenders, not to give the nonwhite youth a means to work off their court-mandated hours. By witnessing racism in sentencing, the youth are being shown

that discrimination is acceptable and prevalent in the justice system. This only leads to further segregation of ethnic groups.

This study found that a majority of the juvenile offenders participating in the Community Service Program feel that they have benefited from the program. The literature review shows that similar programs in other cities also have high approval ratings. With better direction and a small increase in investment, the San Francisco Community Service Program could be improved to a program that other cities could look to as a model. Over fifty percent of the juvenile offenders interviewed felt they benefited from performing community service hours at a nonprofit organization. By allowing the program to grow and increase opportunities for the juvenile offenders, the program could return enormous dividends to the community and possibly keep the youth from re-offending.

Another focus of the Community Service Program is to teach youth they have the power to make choices. Juvenile offenders can continue to re-offend, or they can grasp the positive opportunities offered to them. By participating in the CSP, they can gain job skills, learn about nonprofit organizations, and work toward the betterment of their community. They are also being given an opportunity to see what types of jobs there are at nonprofit organizations for later in life. Instead of being a corporate employee, the youth could choose to work at a nonprofit organization to help support their community.

Working at nonprofit organizations makes life more meaningful and is an alternative to a dead-end job. The work performed is rewarding and therefore employees tend to work harder and stay employed longer. Nonprofit

organizations work to make the world a better place and the value of their work is seen on a daily basis.

When juvenile offenders complete their community service, the community-based organizations hope to keep them coming to use the services the organizations offer. The ultimate goal is to keep the juveniles out of trouble, healthy, attending school, and finally, to gain employment. As the former juvenile offenders grow up, they may remember the nonprofit organizations that helped them straighten their lives out. Some of these former offenders may become supporters of the nonprofit organizations that sponsored their community service. Like role models Mark McGwire and Shaquille O'Neal, they may volunteer to help other at-risk youth or become donors in the future.

Nonprofit organizations serve the needs of the community, and juvenile offenders are a part of that community. By performing their hours at a nonprofit organization, juvenile offenders are helping out their community and therefore helping themselves. Juvenile offenders can use nonprofit organizations in many ways. They can learn job readiness skills and work one-on-one with a mentor, in a safe, supportive environment. They can become part of the community-based organization instead of getting involved in street life and criminal activity, and can use the opportunity as a stepping stone to greater positive involvement in their community.

Recommendations for Action and Future Research

This qualitative study looked at the perceptions and attitudes of participants in the Community Service Program for juvenile offenders in the San Francisco Bay Area: those juveniles who performed community and representatives of the nonprofit organizations that accept the juvenile offenders into their programs. Recommendations for further research to determine the effectiveness of sentencing juvenile offenders to the Community Service Program at nonprofit organizations include:

- Restructuring the administration of the Community Service Program would strengthen the program's effectiveness.
- Providing juvenile offenders involved in the Community Service Program with more employment opportunities.
- Juvenile offenders that serve in programs in their communities are more likely to gain from the experience and continue contact with the nonprofit organization after their time is served.
- Juvenile offenders are less likely to re-offend when they are given a more personalized program.
- Creating mentoring programs at nonprofit organizations will reduce recidivism rates of juvenile offenders.
- Having reciprocal experiences reforms negative preconceptions about juvenile offenders and seniors.
- Eliminating gender divided work assignments alters nonprofit organization supervisors' gender biases.

- Initiating a study on racial discrimination in San Francisco juvenile justice system could catalyze a reform of the system.

The Community Service Program administration needs to undergo restructuring to strengthen the program's effectiveness. Probation Department computers need to be updated so they can interact with each other, and make quantitative measurements available. Systems need to be set in place to show that the program is effective. There needs to be a way to gauge recidivism rates of the juvenile offenders and track other statistics and data. Also, putting into effect a method to quantify the impact of the juvenile offenders on the nonprofit organizations would help assess the overall value of the CSP.

The development of a systematically designed infrastructure in the CSP could utilize the nonprofit organizations of the community while rehabilitating juvenile offenders. Developing an administrative team to work directly with the courts and juvenile justice system can help place, track, refer, and implement sentencing for juvenile offenders. This type of system provides an alternative to incarceration for youth. Through the CSP, juvenile offenders are given the chance to rehabilitate, to integrate more with their community, and to obtain support that steers them away from criminal behavior.

Since half of the juvenile offenders were looking for employment, it would be in the best interest of the juveniles for more community service organizations to offer job readiness skills. Creating better prepared juvenile workers will help these juvenile offenders turn away from crime and stay out of the juvenile justice

system. Offering job placement and employment assistance allows the CSP participants to turn punishment into a fruitful, future-minded experience.

The program could be strengthened in many ways, for example by increasing the types of skills being taught; tailoring each juvenile offender's program to his/her individual needs and interests; offering juvenile offenders some choice about where they can perform community service; assigning juvenile offenders crime-specific placements; and developing a case management system administered by each sponsoring nonprofit organization. Changes such as these, and others, emphasizing the individual, could create a more personal experience and help prevent youth from slipping through the cracks.

In a case management type system, nonprofit organizations can increase the variety of vocational training available and provide staff to mentor juvenile offenders as they facilitate work programs designed to match the employment interests of each participant. One-on-one counseling integrated with job skills training could greatly reduce attrition rates while supporting the juvenile offenders with their individual needs and problems. Frequently, juvenile offenders lack proper support and guidance at home. The CSP and nonprofit organizations can help alleviate this and steer the youth toward a better future outside of the juvenile justice system.

The juvenile offenders who reported getting the most out of their community service hours were those who received more one-on-one attention from the nonprofit organization's staff. A mentoring component in a restructured

Community Service Program could be beneficial. It would also allow the mentors and nonprofit organization employees to discuss ways to shape the futures of the juvenile offenders. Showing them their future is important. Teaching the juvenile offenders how to be responsible and successful may help them refrain from criminal behavior.

Overcoming obstacles to social harmony such as gender, age, and race prejudices, can be great learning experiences. Nonprofit organizations and the CSP can work together to correct these discriminatory attitudes. Mixing seniors and youth is a great way to inspire learning and respect for each other. The senior population has so much to teach the youth, while the seniors stated it was the other way around.

Giving male and female offenders choices about what types of work they will do to work off their community service hours will eliminate the need for others to make the decision for them based on their gender. They can decide whether they want to landscape or answer phones with no gender bias from the nonprofit organizations.

Racial discrimination in the Community Service Program is an issue relevant to the entire juvenile justice system in San Francisco. Future research should be initiated on the issue of racial discrimination and the juvenile justice system.

As the literature indicates, community service programs in cities and counties throughout the United States have been successful at helping juvenile offenders get out and stay out of the juvenile justice. With the collaboration of

the courts, the probation department, and nonprofit organizations, a more effective Community Service Program could be further implemented in San Francisco. The Community Service Program has not reached its full potential. The juvenile offenders interviewed expressed a strong desire to improve their lives, gain employment, and learn responsibility. By pursuing and reaching these goals they can work their way out of the juvenile justice system.

Alternative sentencing such as the San Francisco Community Service Program can rehabilitate criminal youth and keep them out of Juvenile Hall. The youth and the nonprofit organizations involved mutually benefit by helping each other. The juvenile offenders provide labor and assistance for the community service programs, while programs teach the juvenile offenders job skills as they gain valuable work experience. The juvenile justice system, working together with nonprofit organizations, can help criminal youth off the streets and reduce the overcrowding of Juvenile Hall. This collaboration benefits an overcrowded juvenile justice system, underutilized nonprofit organizations, and juvenile offenders who can be directed into a productive course by effective nonprofit organizations.

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APPENDIX A: 1

LETTER TO ORGANIZATIONS

December 19, 2000

«Contact»
«Organization»
«Address»

Dear «Contact»:

As a student at the University of San Francisco's Master's of Nonprofit Administration program, I am doing a study on juvenile offenders and the Community Service Program. I am hoping to interview 20 juveniles and 10 nonprofit organizations for this study. I will be looking at the attitudes of juveniles who are made to perform community service and the attitudes of the nonprofit organizations working with the youth.

Please be assured I will not be asking any questions about what the juveniles have done to receive community service and any names I use will be changed in my final project. Although I will ask you specific questions, my final report will not use any distinguishing characteristics but will look at a group of juveniles performing community service through the juvenile probation department or traffic court.

The interview will take approximately 1/2 hour and when the study is completed you will receive a complimentary copy. If you have not heard from me already, I will be calling you shortly. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at (415)398-4404 extension 329. Thank you in advance for your time and cooperation with this study.

Sincerely,

Adrienne L. Blum

APPENDIX A: 2

LETTER TO PARENT/GUARDIAN

December 19, 2000

Parent or Guardian of «Name»
«Address»

Dear Parent or Guardian of «Name»:

I am involved in a research project looking at juvenile offenders and the Community Service Program. I am a graduate student in the University of San Francisco's Master's of Nonprofit Administration program. My plan is to interview 20 juveniles and nonprofit organizations concerning the community service work the juveniles have performed, and their attitudes about their work.

Please be assured I will not be asking any questions about what the juveniles have done to receive community service and any names I use will be changed in my final project. Although I will listen to each juvenile's response, my report will not use any distinguishing characteristics but will look at a group of juveniles performing community service through the juvenile probation department or traffic court. My meeting with your child will be at a public place to discuss their community service work. The interview should take approximately 1/2 hour and I will be asking questions about experiences at the community service work site. This will allow the youth to voice opinions and give feedback about the Community Service Program and the nonprofit organizations.

With in a week, I plan to send a letter to your child informing him/her that I will soon call to set up an appointment. If you feel you do not want your child to participate in this study, please call me at (415)398-4404 extension 329. I appreciate your cooperation and assistance with this project. I look forward to speaking with your child soon.

Sincerely,

Adrienne L. Blum

APPENDIX A: 3

LETTER TO JUVENILE OFFENDER

December 19, 2000

«Name»

«Address»

Dear «Name»:

My name is Adrienne and I am a graduate student at the University of San Francisco. I am working on a project where I have to interview 20 youth who have been given community service from either the juvenile probation department or traffic court. They have to be kids who have worked with a nonprofit organization (such as SLUG) and are either currently working on or have recently finished their community service hours. With your help I can finish my project and have your views heard by nonprofit organizations around the city.

This is your chance to let nonprofit organizations know what you want. Your answers will let nonprofit organizations offer you more options and serve you better. I need your help to finish my project. You will be given a small gift as a token for your help with this project and your name will be entered into a raffle to win two free movie passes.

Since I am looking at the Community Service Program and all the youth as a group, I will not be asking how you got into this program or use your name in this project. I will also be interviewing an equal number of nonprofit organizations for their feedback on having juveniles from the Community Service Program at their site. The interview should take approximately 1/2 hour and I will be asking you questions about your experiences at your community service work site.

I will be contacting you shortly, but if you have any questions about this project, please call (415)398-4404 extension 329. I would really appreciate your participation in this project.

Sincerely,

Adrienne L. Blum

APPENDIX A: 4

THANK-YOU LETTER

December 19, 2000

Thank you for giving me your insight into the Community Service Program. As promised, with my appreciation, you will find enclosed the Tower gift certificate. I will notify you, in a few weeks, if your name is drawn for the two free movie passes.

Thank you again,

Adrienne L. Blum

APPENDIX B

SAN FRANCISCO JUVENILE PROBATION
JUVENILE COMMUNITY SERVICE
RULES AND REGULATIONS
SATURDAY WORKSITE

1. You must report no later than 8:15 A.M. to the loading site at 375 Woodside Avenue, in front of the Admissions Office. If you report late, you may be sent home.
2. You are required to follow all reasonable directions given to you by Work Program supervisors.
3. You are never to leave the Work Program area or project site without permission.
4. Only emergency telephone calls authorized by Supervisors will be allowed.
5. You are not to bring items such as:
 - a) Alcohol/drugs/cigarettes
 - b) knives/deadly weapon
 - c) radios
 - d) tools
 - e) marking pens/spray paint
 - f) beepers/pagers
6. You may bring:
 - a) hats
 - b) gloves
7. Do not bring any pets, friends, or relatives to work site.
8. You are responsible for the care and safe return of any tool assigned to you. Damage, loss, or abuse of any tool may result in your being terminated from program.
9. Any vandalism will cause you to be terminated from program.
10. If you become a behavior problem, perform poorly, or refuse to obey directions, you will be terminated from program.

11. If you shout at, make obscene gesture [sic], or otherwise offend anyone, you will be terminated from program.
12. Cursing, swearing, or other objective language will not be tolerated.
13. If you leave work site before dismissed, you will not be given credit.

Breaking of above rule(s) will be reported to your Probation Officer.

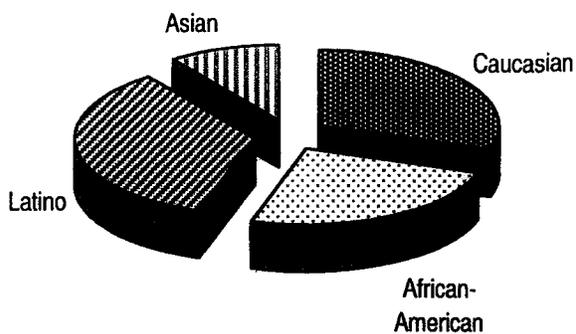
APPENDIX C: 1

Quantitative Statistics for the Juvenile Offenders Interviewed

Average Age of the Juvenile Offenders Interviewed 15.8

Race of the Juvenile Offenders Interviewed

Caucasian	30%
African-American	25%
Latino	35%
Asian	10%

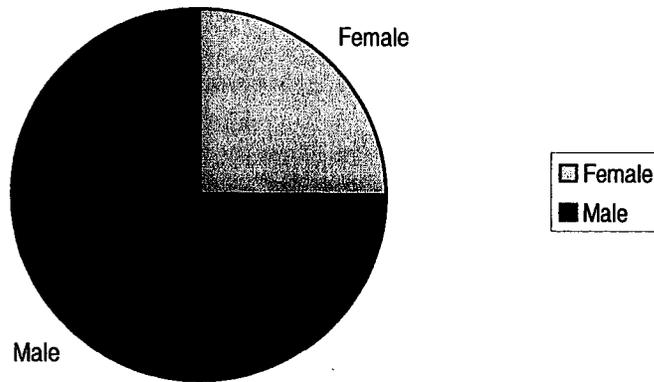


Note. Information gathered during the interviewing process February 1998 through August 1998.

APPENDIX C: 2

Gender of the Juvenile Offenders Interviewed

Female	25%
Male	75%

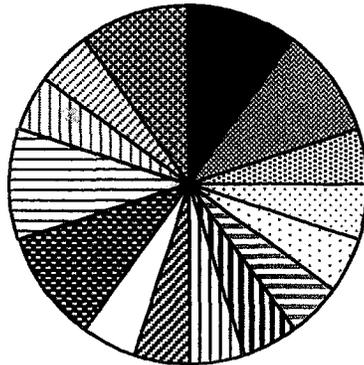
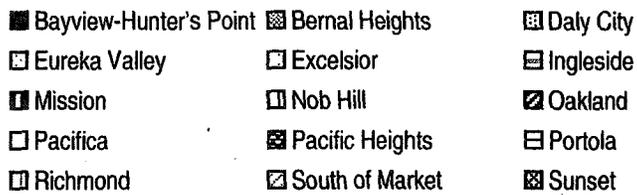


Note. Information gathered during the interviewing process February 1998 through August 1998.

APPENDIX C: 3

Residency of Juvenile Offenders Interviewed

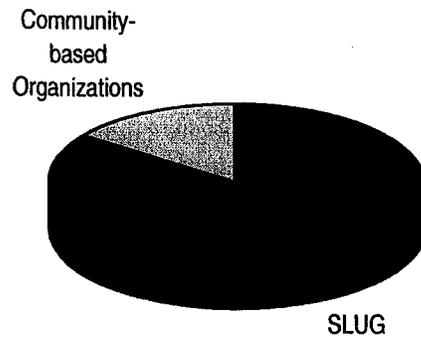
Bayview-Hunter's Point	2
Bernal Heights	2
Daly City	1
Eureka Valley	1
Excelsior	1
Ingleside	1
Mission	1
Nob Hill	1
Oakland	1
Pacifica	1
Pacific Heights	2
Portola	2
Richmond	1
South of Market	1
Sunset	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	20



Note. Information gathered during the interviewing process February 1998 through August 1998.

APPENDIX C: 4

Community Service Work Assignments by Organizations



N	=	20
SLUG	=	17
Community-based organizations	=	3

Note. Information gathered during the interviewing process February 1998 through August 1998.

APPENDIX D

MISSION STATEMENTS FOR THE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAM

Bayview-Hunter's Point Foundation (BVHPF) - The Foundation was created to address the needs of a predominantly African-American, isolated community where essential social services such as legal assistance, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, and mental health care were unavailable.

Columbia Park Boys and Girls Club (CP) - Columbia Park is a multi-cultural youth development agency working with children of all backgrounds to help them develop the qualities needed to become responsible citizens and leaders.

OMI-Pilgrim Community Center (OMI) - Currently, OMI does not have a mission statement.

Potrero Hill Neighborhood House (PHNH) - The primary goal is to improve the quality of life in our community. To provide service to those most in need without bias.

San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) - The San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners is a grassroots organization that empowers communities and individuals with education and

employment. Our gardening and greening projects sow the seeds of social justice, community, economic development, and ecological sustainability.

Sunset Youth Services (SYS) - Draft copy of SYS's new mission statement: Sunset District Community Development, Inc. d.b.a. Sunset Youth Services is a faith based organization which seeks to facilitate positive transformation in the lives of the youth in the Sunset. We place a high value on humanity and believe, given the right supports and opportunities, anyone has the ability to realize their potential. Sunset Youth Services strives for justice and equity and we will add our strength to those we stand with. We accomplish this by: building relationships with youth, providing unconditional love and necessary supports for each youth we serve, providing safe places in which youth may learn and grow, providing recreational opportunities, celebrating their victories with them, helping youth redefine healthy boundaries in relationships, and providing opportunities for spiritual reflection.