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**NOBODY WAS ON ME: DOSAGE OF CASE MANAGEMENT
SERVICES PRODUCES "EFFECTIVE OUTCOMES FOR JUVENILE
OFFENDERS IN SAN FRANCISCO**

Keith Choy

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NOBODY WAS ON ME: DOSAGE OF CASE MANAGEMENT SERVICES PRODUCES
EFFECTIVE OUTCOMES FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN SAN FRANCISCO

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ABSTRACT

In 1997, San Francisco initiated a series of community-based services to provide intensive support and supervision of youthful offenders as part of a comprehensive juvenile justice plan. Probation youth were assigned to community case managers. The existing literature describes successful outcomes for juvenile offenders who are engaged in a positive adult relationship. A community case manager's role includes mentoring, brokering social, educational, and vocational services, facilitating family sessions and community supervision. This study looks at the relationship of dosage in achieving effective outcomes; lowered recidivism rates and increased educational participation. Dosage is described as the frequency of case management contacts, and the length of a case management treatment period. Case managers from San Francisco's juvenile justice agencies will be surveyed on the intensity and frequency of their services. Case study analyses of four San Francisco juvenile justice initiatives are presented to document effective case management practices.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1997, San Francisco developed a comprehensive local action plan to reform its juvenile justice system. The plans called for an array of prevention, assessment, intervention, treatment, educational, supervision, and secure custody services to differing levels of youth and in their involvement at different points in the juvenile justice system. While some of the services were designed for in-custody use, many of the proposed services were to be delivered in the community.

The plan recognized that the national juvenile justice dialogue represented two public policy extremes. One policy called for the most restrictive forms of punishment, transferring youth accused of doing violent crimes to be tried/jailed in the adult criminal justice system. The other policy in which the least restrictive intervention was matched to various levels of offenses resulted in many youthful offenders who were infrequently monitored and supervised by general supervision probation officers with overloaded caseloads.

San Francisco's plan recommended that any intervention determined by a comprehensive assessment needed to be more immediate, more intense, and more sustained. Recently, at a dramatic presentation by youth that were participants in San Francisco's Youth Treatment and Education Court's Intensive Day Treatment School one of the young probation youth described her deepening involvement in crime.

In her dramatic monologue, she told of her experience in cutting school for a day. She noted that she had expected some call from some school official about her truancy. There was no response. She stayed out for a week. Still, there was no response. A month passed, and again no response. She did more drinking and drugs, hanging out with other friends who had dropped out, and they all did more fighting and stealing. Her analysis was simple: "nobody was on me." She compared her experiences with her current assignment by the court to the youth drug treatment

court program. She mockingly complained that the teacher, and case managers, the probation officers, the therapists, and the judge are always "on" her. Calls to get her up. Calls to get her to attend school. Calls to go to appointments. Calls after dinner to make sure her curfew is observed. The lesson for many young people is that in the initial criminal activity, nobody is really "on" them, and that in order to get services to rehabilitate, the idea is to escalate the level of crime or do more crimes more often and get caught. Then, at that point, one receives intensive, multiple services and supervision.

Youth program staff in non-profit organizations has carried out much of the execution of San Francisco's juvenile justice plan. Most function as community case managers, who work with youth on probation, or youth referred from schoolteachers, friends, or family members. The primary responsibility of being "on" to a youth falls to these case managers.

Defining Case Management

A community case manager in the context of San Francisco's juvenile justice system reform efforts will have several functions that define his/her role. Initially, each manager does some from of assessment and intake. Based on the assessment interviews, the manager becomes a broker of a wide range of supportive services. The manager also serves both as an advocate for the youth and family members and a translator of the juvenile justice system. The manager may initiate a team planning process to develop an individualized treatment plan. The manager may be required to do curfew and school checks as part of "community supervision" responsibilities. The manager might be the first person called by an offender if he/she is re-arrested. To some of the probation, the case manager might be the good person to talk to. The case manager serves as a mentor.

Research Questions and Hypothesis

The purpose of this research study is to identify common case management standards and practices that could be replicated in the forty-one community agencies that participate in San Francisco's juvenile justice action plan. These standards would improve an individual case manager's effectiveness in getting juvenile offenders to decrease their recidivism and improve behaviors. The research questions are: What are effective community-based agencies' case management services to youth involved in the juvenile justice system that improve behavior outcomes and reduce recidivism? Would juvenile justice systems produce more effective outcomes if interventions were more immediate, more intense, and more sustained? What is an effective duration of service between a community case manager and a juvenile offender? How does frequency of contact improve outcomes around reduced recidivism and improved school attendance and performance?

The hypothesis is that specific frequency of contact and the duration of case management services, in the context of a comprehensive plan of services, will improve behavior outcomes for juvenile justice offenders. The independent variable is the administration of individual case management services to juvenile offenders. The dependent variable is that juvenile justice offenders will reduce and decrease recidivism from the juvenile justice system.

Dosage is defined as the intensity, frequency, and duration of services. As in a medical/pharmaceutical model, dosage poses the question, how often is medication used, at what intervals and for what duration does the medicine (service-treatment) is needed to be declared healthy. Along with a decrease in recidivism rates, the range of behavior outcomes is defined as a reduction in criminal behavior, successful completion of the terms of probation, increased

attendance at school, completion of high school, finding work experience or part time employment, and improved communication and problem solving at home with family members. For the purpose of the study, survey questions will focus primarily on reductions in criminal behavior and school attendance.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are few studies that specifically address the effectiveness of community based case managers in achieving positive outcomes with juvenile justice offenders, let alone identify the "dosage" requirements to reach those outcomes. Case management may mean different functions in different areas, and there seems to be no universal definition of a case manager in a criminal justice setting. The literature search crossed disciplines to discover aspects of case management in mental health, juvenile justice, and mentoring programs. At the core of the definition of a community case manager is that of a caring adult in a high-risk youth's life. In 1993, the National Research Council's Panel on High Risk Youth concluded that "perhaps the most serious risk adolescents in high risk settings is isolation from the nurturance, safety, and guidance that comes from sustained relationships with adults". (Jones-Brown & Henriques, 1997,p.225). Dillulio (1997) cited research that children would be less likely to commit violent crimes, if there were responsible adults in their lives.

Mental health professionals look to intensive case managers to meet frequently with youth and family members with serious emotional disorders, brokering an array of support and therapeutic services and interventions. In San Francisco's initial evaluation of an intensive mental health case management program, the Family Mosaic Project, (Chan-sew, 2002) surveyed 61 youth with prior contact in the juvenile justice system a year following several years of intensive

mental health and case management services. 43% showed a decrease in sustained felonies, and 82% showed a decrease in sustained misdemeanors.

Most of the current evaluation literature that describes a caring adult relationship center on mentoring programs. While most "mentors" in these studies are volunteers and not case management "staff", many of the points and frequency of contact bear similar resemblance to juvenile justice case management. Jones-Brown and Henriques (1997) notes "juvenile justice mentoring involves the one-on-one interaction of law-abiding members of a community with delinquents...with the aim being to prevent or reduce the juveniles' involvement with law-violating behavior."(p.215) Their discussion on outcomes is helpful to this proposed study. They propose that common juvenile justice outcomes over-emphasize recidivism rates, i.e. did the youth re-offend? With high-risk youth, they argue for more definitions of incremental change, in which the offenders will engage in less frequent delinquent actions or de-escalate the level of offenses committed (p.224).

Dryfoos (1998) examined youth programs that helped young people emerge from childhood to become responsible adults. She described new kinds of institutions built around schools, with major partnerships with local city departments and community-based agencies. The goal of these organizations would be to provide long term and intensive support for you children and youth. She cites the Center for Youth Development and Policy Research of the Academy for Educational Development: What young people really need on a daily basis is a safe place, challenging experiences and caring people, (p.5) and calls for effective adults in lives of young people. Every child must be connected to a responsible adult if not a parent, then someone else. She cited a promising practice from the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse evaluation of three-year study on intensive and comprehensive delinquency prevention program. The program employed case managers to coordinate services be a primary relationship for youth. Participation

in this program and in a relationship with the case managers resulted in lowered drug use, fewer contacts with the law, even two years after program ended. The Dorchester Youth Collaborative in Boston trained a group of near peer young adults from the neighborhoods to do community outreach to get street youth involved in performing arts and community policing programs. These near peer workers served as mentors and advocate. The following year saw a 27% decrease in crime in the targeted neighborhoods. (Dryfoos, p.114)

Foster, Keating, and Tomishima (2001) surveyed existing mentoring program studies and concluded that without intense contact, mentoring is not effective (Foster, p.3). Many of the studies did not correlate the type of needs or seriousness of problems of the youth to the different qualities, experience and skills of the mentors. In also looking at resiliency studies, they noted, "children most likely to survive abusive and neglectful upbringings are those who seek healthier relationships outside the home" (Foster, p.2).

The most substantive work on mentoring programs for youth is Public Private Ventures' (Tierney, Grossman & Resch, 1995) study on over 1000 youth who received mentors through the Big Brother /Big Sisters Program. Part of this study tied the length of relationships to effective academic outcomes. With mentor relationships lasting three months or less, youth experienced lower self-esteem, and a lack of confidence in dealing with school performance. Interestingly, with the mentor relationship lasting between 3-6 months, there were no significant impacts. Relationships that lasted for 6-12 months showed a reduction in truancy. For mentors who maintained a relationship for over a year, truancy decreased, confidence about school was higher, and grades improved (Tierney, p.33-34).

Grossman and Rhodes (2002) built on the data from the large mentoring Big Brother Big sisters study. They surveyed adolescents who were randomly assigned to a treatment or control group. were given a baseline survey and a follow up survey eighteen months later. They

hypothesized that the longer the duration of the mentoring relationship, better outcomes would be produced. Their findings demonstrated that youth whose mentor relationship lasted more than a year showed improvement in academic, psychological and other behavior outcomes (Grossman, p 199) Two caveats were discussed in the findings. Older teens seemed to have shorter mentoring relationships than younger teens. Grossman and Rhodes attribute this in part to developmental changes, such as the need for independence and autonomy. Adolescents who had reported a history of emotional, sexual or physical abuse had a shorter duration periods with the mentors.

Public Private Ventures (Arebreton & McClanahan, 2002) evaluated a pilot project introduced through a partnership with the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Programs and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America in the late 1990's to demonstrate if a targeted outreach approach to at-risk and high risk youth, combined with comprehensive outreach services would reduce gang behavior among youth at 21 clubs across the country. The Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach and the Gang Intervention through Targeted Outreach programs included individualized case management as one of its major service components. Youth and case management staffs were surveyed at the start of the initiative and twelve months following the completion of the prevention and intervention programs. The evaluation showed some decrease in gang and delinquent behavior, and some positive changes in school attendance and achievement. Given the limitations of the study there was no evidence however that the youth sustained positive behavior over two more extended periods of time.

Unlike other studies that isolate case management, the targeted evaluation is helpful in that it sets case management in a multiple youth services framework, and as a catalyst to engage youth and families in other supportive services in their communities. The case management component was measured in a context of a full range of youth development activities; group work, club recreational and educational activities, employment referrals, specialized outreach, and

intentional tie-ins to other community activities and services and not as a sole intervention applied to juvenile offenders. Thus, a comprehensive approach was evaluated in the context of a set of interventions to produce some common outcomes. The evaluation field, though, seems ambivalent in producing research vigorous studies to prove effectiveness when there are multiple factors involved.

The federal Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention issued their regular bulletin in April 2000 that reported on a meta-analysis of "Effective Interventions for Serious Juvenile Offenders" (Lipsey, Cothorn & Wilson, 2000). This study addressed the concern over the lack of systematic attention to what, if any, interventions worked with different types of juvenile offenders their analyses broke down treatment categories for use with non-institutionalized offenders and institutionalized offenders. Two of the interventions that were deemed effective related to the work of community case managers. Lipsey's study described one-on-one counseling from citizen volunteers when added to normal probation services proved effective with non-institutionalized probation youth. Also demonstrating some positive results, though the survey of studies showed some inconsistencies, was the use of case management to provide multiple services. In this program, intense case management services generated a broad spectrum of services built around an individualized treatment plan. (Lipsey, p.5)

This approach is also confirmed in San Francisco's Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice Detention Diversion Program (DDAP), (Shelden, 1999) The evaluation of this project cited Dryfoos in declaring the most successful diversion programs are those that can provide more intense and comprehensive services (Shelden, p.2). The DDAP model employed community case managers in five San Francisco neighborhoods. The project evaluators spoke about the importance of dosage and intensity in service. The DDAP model required case managers to have daily contact with youth, family members and significant others, following the release date from

juvenile hall detention up until the court date for adjudication 21-30 days later. The program also required at least three face-to-face meetings a week. (Shelden, p.5). Both social support services and community "supervision" was provided to the youth and family members. The outcome measure for this intensive case management program was that youth successfully attended their adjudication hearing and also brought a proposed treatment plan.

In Lipsey's meta-analysis, recidivism was used as the primary common outcome measure. There were three actions utilized to denote recidivism. 1.) Police contact or arrest 2.) A recorded contact with the juvenile court, or 3.) An offense based probation violation. The overall conclusion of the meta-analysis was that juveniles who were involved in treatment programs demonstrated an average of a twelve-percent decrease in recidivism. When policy makers and funders choose potentially effective interventions, they should bear in mind the range of 10-12% improvement. (Lipsey p.2). Perhaps this percentage can serve as a benchmark to evaluate the performance of juvenile justice treatment programs.

III. METHODOLOGY

Case Management Survey

Three research methods were used to identify the impact of dosage of case management services on youthful offenders in San Francisco: an individual case management survey, an agency outcomes survey, and case analyses through key informant interviews. The Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice contracts with forty-one juvenile justice non-profit agencies to provide primary individual based services to youthful offenders and youth at risk of involvement in the juvenile justice system. As part of their contracted obligations, case managers, outreach workers, employment specialists and mentors attend mandatory training sessions every six to eight weeks. The average attendance of these workshops ranges from 20-35 participants at each session.

The purpose of the individual survey was to measure perceptions of community case managers about effective practices related to positive juvenile outcomes. The survey consisted of seven sections that focused on a series of different research questions. The first section asked for contact information, length of employment the current agency, overall work experience as a case manager. The case managers were also asked to list effective skills and experiences in working with high-risk youths. The second section asked a series of questions that described their caseloads: age range, male/female ratio, youth offender's neighborhoods, ethnic make up and a checklist of youth behaviors, risk factors, and conditions. The closing task of this section was to rank the best five descriptions of their caseload.

The third section surveyed case managers' perceptions of outcomes for youthful offenders. As a follow-up the case managers were then asked to identify outcomes from their clients' perspectives. The fourth section asked open -ended questions about effective case management practices and its relationship to outcomes. The fifth section detailed a list of possible

community case manager functions. The purpose of this section was to identify discrete tasks and then develop an estimate of time spent per task per case.

The most detailed section involved a mapping exercise. Based on a self-selected successful case from the past year, case managers were asked to chart points of contact over a one-year period. Phone contact and face-to-face contacts were plotted onto a contact grid. Time periods were divided into weekly contacts over the first four weeks of a case, and then in two to six month intervals. The final section asked the case managers to analyze their points of contact chart in terms of effective frequency and duration.

During the training session of August 15, 2003, twenty-two individuals participated in the written survey. Surveys were completed in fifteen to twenty-five minutes. Following the training session emails were sent to thirty other case managers who were unable to attend. Eleven were completed and returned after forty-five-days. The surveyed group represented twenty-one community agencies engaged in juvenile justice work in San Francisco. This figure constitutes over half of the juvenile justice agencies funded by the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice. The sampled agencies also provide a cross section of different modalities, different levels of risks among youth on probation, and a diversity of neighborhood and ethnic representation.

The thirty-three completed surveys from the JJRI case managers are also representative of a larger pool of seventy-five case managers who work with juvenile justice offenders. This pool is comprised of agencies that receive funds from the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice, the Juvenile Probation Department, Department of Children, Youth, and Their Families, and private foundations.

Community Agency Outcomes Survey

After administering surveys to individual case managers, each community agency with a case manager emphasis was asked to fill out an outcomes survey. In September 2003, an outcomes survey was emailed to thirty-six juvenile justice organizations funded by the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice. Program directors or lead case managers were asked to identify numbers of case managed youth who achieved juvenile justice outcomes during the 2002-2003 program year. (7/1/02-6/30/03)

The survey represented a departure from the normal operating reporting procedures for this group of community agencies. In April of 2002, the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice invited community agencies to design juvenile justice models through a request for proposal process. Applicants were asked to devise their own outcome measures and identify a targeted number of youth in particular neighborhoods. Each agency had negotiated a set of individual performance measures tailored to the specific program design submitted to the City. Most of these performance measures usually reported recidivism rates, some indicators around improved school attendance and achievement, and participation in after school and alternative programs. Currently, there are no standardized outcomes for the array of services contained in San Francisco's Juvenile Justice Reform Initiative. This September survey offered agencies an opportunity to measure outcomes in the reduction or cessation of juvenile criminal behavior, and whether there were improved behaviors around re-engagement to schools or GED programs, better school readiness, and academic achievement.

The outcomes survey for this study reflected outcomes that California state funded programs often require as well as identifying the common outcomes derived from individual grant agreements with community based agencies. Based on interviews with probation officers and community case managers, a re-arrest did not necessarily terminate a case. Depending on the

severity of the re-offense or probation violation, some youth were assigned to greater levels of community supervision; terms in the conditions of probation were revised or placed in residential treatment programs outside of San Francisco. Both the community case manager and the supervising probation officer continued to carry the case. So, the survey included a section to identify cases carried over to the next program year.

Case Study Analysis and Interviews

The third research method is to interview and ask for case studies from four juvenile justice initiatives in San Francisco. Thirteen key informants were interviewed. The interview's main focus was to identify, describe in detail and analyze a particular case that achieved positive juvenile justice outcomes. All the face-to face interviews were conducted in August and September of 2003. The average length of the interviews was one hour. The thirteen key stakeholders represented four important components of San Francisco's Juvenile Justice Comprehensive Action Plan. Each had a sustained history of community case management and caring adult staff as a core service.

The Girl's Justice Initiative is a collaboration of five gender specific organizations and public agencies addressing particular needs of girls in the justice system. These organizations seek to transition female youthful offenders from detention into the community, and to prevent them from entering the adult criminal justice system, and avoid committing new crimes. 300 girls will each have a treatment/case management plan over a three-year period (2002-2005). Currently, United Way of the Bay Area, to do a gender specific two-year case management training program supports the initiative.

The Community Response Network is composed of six community agencies working with primarily Latino youth in the city's Mission district, to reduce gang involvement and delinquent

behavior. Case managers meet regularly as a collaborative team to discuss cases and plan responses to major acts of youth violence. The network has developed a crisis response capacity to bring youth workers from throughout the neighborhood to defuse the incident. There is also a late night outreach and diversion component. A core training manual was developed by the Real Alternatives Program in 1998, and now is being used to build the case management skills throughout the entire network.

The Omega Boys and Girls Club has historically mentored young African-American men and women by diverting youth from criminal activity and building incentives to attend college. The Omega Boy's Club was established in 1987 in the Potrero Hill neighborhood of San Francisco. Led by two educators, Jack Jacqua and Joe Marshall, they formed a club of high risk youth, primarily African-American teens to get educational assistance and to decrease involvement in the juvenile justice system. Their mission was clear, keep people alive, don't go to jail, go to college, and give back to your community. Their approach is multi-pronged. Part of the involvement in the club brings educational support. Tours to historic African-American colleges are arranged each spring for an aspiring group of Omega Club members. There are no "traditional" volunteer mentors to cover one aspect of a child's life. Jack and Joe, and other key adult staff have served as a combination of case manager, mentor, court advocate, college recruiter, peacemaker, family counselor and mediator, coach, tutor and job developer with several generations of youth in the southeast section and the African-American community of San Francisco.

The Beacon Center Case Management Program uses eight Beacon Centers across the City to provide an array of health, recreational, vocational, and educational activities for youth and parents at designated public schools. The purpose of the Beacon Center is to provide safe youth development and parent support activities for eight neighborhoods-after school, on weekends, and throughout the summer. These centers opened their doors in 1996 and developed a case

management component in 2000. Community based agency staff work with school personnel, and teams of workers from other city departments to implement neighborhood specific strategies around five core subject areas; education, leadership, arts and recreation, health, and career development. The case management program provides a continuum of after school services for probation youth who reside in close proximity to the Beacon Centers.

These four initiatives were chosen because of their track record in turning the lives around for youth in their communities. Each effort also depends on some varying degree of the quality of a caring adult relationship, guiding a young person through an array of community and institutional services. Each effort pays particular attention to the development of their frontline staff members.

Key informant interviews were conducted with at least two leaders/participants of each initiative. The format of the interview asked how their initiative used caring adults and community case managers to achieve their initiative's particular outcomes. Each briefly described the mission of their work. After the extensive description of a detailed case, each was asked to identify effective practices, duration of relationship and the frequency of contact. A final question asked for suggestions on future training with other community case managers in San Francisco.

Following the interviews staff training materials, and third party evaluation reports to bolster the case study interview analyses. Given the ten-week period of Golden Gate University's fall quarter; I will be unable to systematically interview or survey young offenders who are participants in the programs.

IV. FINDINGS

The following information represents the results of the Individual Case Management Survey, Agency Outcome Survey, and the Key informant Interviews and Case Analyses.

Individual Case Management Survey Findings

Profile of Case Managers

The thirty three surveyed juvenile justice staff members at community based agencies who completed the case management survey is representative of the diversity of cultures in San Francisco as well as a reliable sample of other case managers. They were asked to respond to questions about their work experience and particular skills and talents they brought to the case management job. Experience at the present community agency ranged from two weeks to ten years for this group. The average experience of the total group was 3.6 years.

Years at Current Agency
Table 1

	0-1 yr.	1-2 yrs.	3-4 yrs.	5-6 yrs.	6-8 yrs.	9-10 yrs.	Did not answer
No. Of Case Managers (N-33)	7	8	8	5	1	2	2

In reply to the question regarding the amount of experience in working with at risk youth, the distribution of experience concentrated on two experience levels, a large group who had worked for 2-3 years and another group who had worked from 5-15 years.

Experience With At Risk Youth Services
Table 2

	Less than 6 months	6 months- 1 year	2-3 yrs.	4-5 yrs.	5-10 yrs.	10-15 yrs.	Did not answer
No. of Case Managers (N-33)	1	1	12	3	7	8	1

In describing qualities and skills that the case managers thought that they brought to a community case manager's role, the responses were varied. Some focused on their bilingual and bicultural skill in working with immigrant youth and family members. About half of the group cited previous juvenile justice contact and at-risk youth experience when they were teens. This was framed as knowledge of the streets, the high-risk neighborhoods, and experience in the California Youth Authority and prison systems. Some of the case managers still reside in these neighborhoods, and make use of family and neighbors relationships. All described some skills in communication with one on one sessions. A few spoke to their academic training in mental health, social work, and counseling. Some have moved from group and activities-centered youth work to individual work. All were confident in being able to access community resources and programs for their caseload. Most had attended training sessions in youth development and the use of comprehensive services. One case manager summed up his perception of his job, "I'm not doing it for the pay, it's about commitment and dedication to young people."

Profile of Case Manager Caseloads

Number Of Youth: The thirty-three case managers/mentors/ youth and family advocate average caseload size was 19.9 youth at any one time. The aggregate total for the number of

youth they were currently serving at the time of the survey was 598. They projected that by the end of the year they would have seen 1,506 youth in the combined caseloads.

Present Caseloads Distribution by Agency
Table 3

	0-9 youth	10-19 youth	20-29 youth	30-49 youth	50-75 youth	Did not answer
No of Agencies (N-33)	5	13	7	3	2	3

Age Range of Youth on Caseload:

The survey asked which age levels comprised a majority of their caseload.

Age Distribution of Caseload
Table 4

	10-12 yrs.old	12-14 yrs old	14-16 yrs. old	16-18 yrs. old	18-21 yrs. old
Age Choices	2	9	24	17	7

Ethnic Profile of Caseloads

The survey asked which ethnic groups comprised a majority of their caseload. Most responses mentioned at least two groups.

Ethnic Composition of Caseload
Table 5

	African American	Latino	Asian American	Multi-racial	Caucasian	Pilipino	Samoan
Predominant ethnic groups on caseload	19	18	14	13	2	5	7

Gender Profile of Caseload

Each case manager was asked to describe the percentage of male to female clients. The juvenile hall count usually reflects a 70-80 % male and 20-30% female in detention in San Francisco.

Gender Distribution of Caseloads
Table 6

Percentage of Clients	Number of Caseloads
100% Male	6
80-99% Male	11
51-79% Male	4
50% Male & 50% Female	2
51-79% Female	6
80-99% Female	0
100% Female	3

Geographic Distribution Of Caseload

Case managers were asked where do most of your clients live. San Francisco is a city of neighborhoods. Community case management is based on the notion that neighborhood centered and easily accessed services, using very local resources can bring the most immediate and effective outcomes. Much of the juvenile justice funds are distributed through neighborhood based approaches.

Neighborhood Distribution Of Caseloads
Table 7

Neighborhood	Predominant Neighborhoods on Caseload
Bayview-Hunters Point	15
Mission	10
Visitation Valley/Sunnyvale	8
Western Addition/Fillmore/Haight	8
Sunset	5
Chinatown	5
Tenderloin	4
Excelsior/Outer Mission	4
Richmond	3

Behaviors and Conditions of Youth on Caseload

All the case managers filled out a checklist of the types of behavior and conditions

Comprehensive Checklist Of Possible Youth Behaviors
And Caseload Composition
Table 8

Youth Behaviors/Conditions	Number comprised caseload
Youth on probation	30
Youth with behavior problems at school	29
Youth who cut, truant, dropped out, or transferred to a county school	29
Youth who are high risk for gang involvement	28
Youth who never formally been part of the criminal justice system but engages in risky behavior	28
Youth in need of emotional support and mental health treatment services	27
Youth who are recent immigrants and parents who are monolingual	26
Youth in the foster care or group home system	26
Youth in the foster care or group home system	26
Youth who are probation violators	26
Youth coming out of Juvenile Hall, Log Cabin Ranch, or the California Youth Authority	25
Youth involved in violent crime, aggressive and assaultive behavior	25
Youth who are beyond parental control	24
Youth with learning disabilities	24
Youth referred by another community-based agency	23
Youth who stole something more than \$100	23
Youth who broke into a house or car	23
Youth caught selling or possessing illegal drugs/alcohol	23
Youth with no parental support	23
Youth with addictions	23
Youth who claim gang, set, clique, affiliations	22
Youth referred by school resource officer or district station police officer	20
Youth who retaliated after being bullied at school or community	20

Youth who are victims of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse	19
Youth on the run	19
Youth who did graffiti	17
Youth who are repeat offenders with serious rap sheets	16
Youth in Juvenile Hall awaiting placement	15
Youth participating in prostitution	12
Youth victims of violent crime	1
Youth willing to work	1

When asked what five descriptions most accurately describe caseload: highest ranked descriptions were:

Highest Ranking Behavior Indicators
Caseloads
Table 9

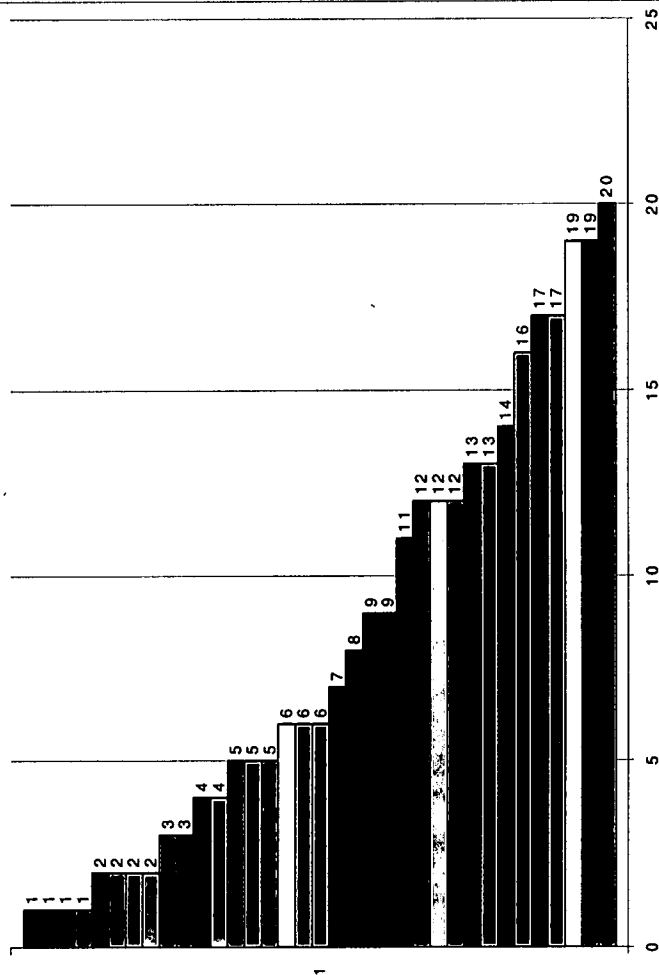
Youth on probation	16
Youth who never formally been part of the criminal justice system but engages in risky behavior	11
Youth who are recent immigrants and parents who are monolingual	11
Youth who cut, truant, dropped out, or transferred to a county school	9
Youth with behavior problems at school	8
Youth who are high risk for gang involvement	6
Youth who claim gang, set, clique, affiliations	6
Youth in need of emotional support and mental health treatment services	6

Outcomes

Survey respondents were asked to choose the seven most important youth behavior outcomes that guide their work as case managers. Presently, there are no shared outcomes for the forty-one community agencies that receive funds for the Juvenile Justice Reform Initiative from the Mayor's office of Criminal Justice. Thirty-seven outcomes, drawn from a review of outcomes from

federal and state grants, and a sampling of individual contracts with the City of San Francisco, were presented as a checklist.

Case Management Survey- Outcomes



- ☒ Love self fully
- ☒ Fulfills their own needs
- ☒ Learns to respect others
- ☒ Produces a CD, video or other performing arts expressions
- ☒ Becomes a better parent
- ☒ Removes tattoo
- ☒ Reading level increase by at least one grade level
- ☒ Completes homework regularly
- ☒ Attends court on time
- ☒ Gets to work on time
- ☒ Grades improve one letter
- ☒ Does restitution through community service
- ☒ Attends college
- ☒ Clean and sober
- ☒ Gets into and completes a GED Program
- ☒ Assists in peaceful conflict resolution with peers
- ☒ Expresses willingness to get out of gangs, set, turf
- ☒ Doesn't pick up any probation violations
- ☒ Less use of illegal substances and alcohol
- ☒ Practices safe conflict resolution
- ☒ Increase positive peers and decrease negative peers
- ☒ Family safely solves problems and improves communication
- ☒ Engages in positive leadership activities
- ☒ Doesn't get re-arrested
- ☒ Gets emotional support
- ☒ Sustains a positive relationship with caring adult
- ☒ Improves school performance
- ☒ Knows how and where to get help
- ☒ Gets hooked up in positive community programs
- ☒ Finds some kind of lawful paying job
- ☒ Returns to school on a regular basis
- ☒ Reduces frequency of criminal behavior
- ☒ Achieves personal goals
- ☒ Completes terms of probation
- ☒ Graduates from High School

After the case managers expressed their preference for the priority outcomes, they were asked to rank the top seven outcomes from the perspective of their youth clients. The list relates similar choices but is ranked ordered differently.

Perceived Youth Participant Outcomes
Table 11

Outcomes	No. Ranked as Most Important
Find some kind of lawful paying job	14
Completes terms of probation	12
Graduates from high school	11
Achieves personal goals	10
Doesn't get re-arrested	7
Improves school performance	6
Gets hooked up in positive community programs	5

Time Commitments Related To Frequency Of Contact: How Much Time Does It Take To Manage A Case?

Each case manager was asked to review of case manager takes and affirm whether or not the duties were part of their normal week to week operations. The purpose of this exercise was to examine discrete time commitments for an individual case in a given week, or in the course of a case management relationship. Some tasks were one-time occurrences. Others were performed weekly. The range of time periods per task reflects the variety of the case manager's responses to the youth offender's needs and risks. The findings related to this section provide some baseline data on a typical individual case, and has future research implications around the calculation of caseloads.

Time Commitments of Case Management Tasks

Range of Case Manager Responses
Table 12

	Less than 30minutes	30 Min.	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3hr.	4hr.	5-10 hrs.
Task: Intake and Assessment							
Case Mgr. Time	2	11	6	7	3	1	1

	Less than 30 minutes	30 Min.	1 hr.	2 hrs.	4hr.	5hr.	Day.
Task: Getting parental permission							
Case Mgr. Time	2	1	1	1	1	1	2

	30 minutes or less	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hrs.	5-10 hrs.	Other.
Task: Monitor youth before adjudication hearing (per week for up to four weeks)							15 minutes each day for two weeks
Case Mgr. Time	1	2	1	3	1	1	1

Case Management Dosage 31

directly done with client (per week)							
Case Mgr. Time	3	4	2	1	2	1	1

	30 minutes	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	10 hrs.	Other	Other
Task: Crisis Intervention (per week)						2 hrs. a month	Varies, as needed
Case Mgr. Time	1	1	2	2	1	1	1

	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hrs.	5 hrs.	8 hrs.	Other
Task: Meetings on behalf of the client (Per week)							5-10 hrs. a month
Case Mgr. Time	1	6	2	2	2	1	1

	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hr -6 hrs.	8 hrs.	10 hrs.	Other
Task: Court Advocacy (per week)							12-30 hrs. a month
Case Mgr. Time	1	5	2	3	1	1	1

	30 min.	1 hr.	2 hrs.	4 hrs.	5-8 hrs.	Other	Other
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Task: Paperwork- writing case notes, prepare report for probation officer on monthly basis (pr week)						1 day	25-56 hrs. a month
Case Mgr. Time	1	2	3	1	5	1	2

	30 min.	1 hr.	2 hrs.	3 hrs.	4 hrs.	5-6 hrs.	Other
Task: Services and meetings with parents & guardians (per week)							Depends on need
Case Mgr. Time	1	5	2	3	1	2	2

Task	Average Time Commitment
Intake and Assessment (1x)	1.58 hours
Getting parental permission (1x)	3.12 hours
Monitor youth before adjudication hearing (per week for up to four weeks)	2.9 hours
Supervise probation youth on a given week	3.94 hours
Develop an indiv. Treatment plan (1 X)	2.08 hours
Coordinate services in community based on treatment plan (per week)	4.0 hours
Events and activities directly done with client (per week)	2.73 hours
Crisis Intervention (per week)	3.6 hours
Meetings on behalf of the client (Per week)	3.13 hours

Court Advocacy (per week)	4.1 hours
Paperwork-writing case notes, prepare report for probation officer on monthly basis (pr week)	2.87 hours
Services and meetings with parents & guardians (per week)	1.42 hours
Total (per week)	35.39 hours

When all the tasks are added up, and assuming all the tasks occur in a one week period, a case manager's individual case may take up to almost 36 hours of a normal forty hour work week. Some of the tasks are one-time occurrences that may be spread out over several weeks, such as the intake, the development of the treatment plan, and getting parental permission. Those time commitments represent 6.7 hours of the total. Not all clients will be referred for intensive supervision prior to the adjudication hearing that accounts 2.9 hours. Most case managers receive clients from referrals after adjudication, when the youth is on formal probation. The average time commitment for probation clients would be reduced to 25.79 hours. Many case managers participate with youth on group recreational and educational events and thus hours are shared among clients. The crisis intervention average appears high, since most case managers report that the crises are episodic. Court advocacy is also infrequent, usually over months, and the figure includes case managers whose primary responsibilities are court advocacy. The average range, given these factors is projected between 18-22 hours per week per client.

Charting Points Of Contact: Frequency Data Through A Mapping Exercise Of Successful Cases

The study started with the research question: Would juvenile justice systems produce more effective outcomes if interventions were more immediate, more intense, and more sustained?

This mapping exercise looks at the relationship of dosage in achieving effective outcomes. Case managers were instructed to recall a case that produced positive youth outcomes, as defined by their agency's self-reported performance measures. They were asked to plot marks on a grid map of case management tasks that corresponded with specific time periods during the course of a year. Each case manager who completed this section of the survey placed a mark for every time there was a contact, whether by phone, email, or face to face.

The following table represents the aggregated contact marks per task per time period. The purpose of the chart exercise was to develop some visual representation of where case management services are more immediate, more intense, and more sustained. The numbers on the chart represent the point of contact marks clustered around tasks and timeframes. The chart identified contact patterns in each of the first four weeks of the case management relationship.

Contact points for months two through twelve were broken down by groupings of various months. The numbers in the chart for months 2-12 represent a per week average of the contact points charted by the respondents. The first four-week period was broken down into weekly timeframes to assess if there was any immediate or sustained contact during the initial period of arrest, referral, probation violation, or crisis. The four-week period also reflects a similar time period between an arrest, detention, and the court adjudication date.

Based on their analysis of a successful case, case managers in this exercise, made regular contacts with their clients that are immediate and sustained. Both the phone call and face-to-face contact points show the greatest frequency in the initial weeks of a case. Weekly contacts on the phone were sustained throughout the entire first year. At least three face-to-face contacts were conducted through the first six months.

The most frequent points of contact as broken down by tasks were also the most sustained. These tasks were school checks, individual counseling, intake/assessment, court

appearances, and family meetings. The intake and assessment plan were focused primarily on the first three weeks in order to develop an initial treatment plan. School checks, court dates, and case manager transport of youth to services and appointments also scored high on frequency of contact, especially during the first six months of the case. All represented some tasks that helped youth to comply with probation terms, and achieve some sustained positive behavior that would earn completion of probation.

School checks represented part of the work to sustain educational progress. The highest number of clustered contacts centered on school checks and involvement in the youth's school performance and behavior. As youth began to be reengaged in their educational realignment, the weekly frequency of contacts diminishes and by the fourth month, school checks are reduced to once a week. While many case managers spoke about crisis response as an integral part of their work, the mapping exercise doesn't support this notion. The crises may be absorbed into the frequency of patterns in phone contacts, but it is difficult to sort this from the survey data.

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Task	1st week	2nd Week	3rd week	4th Week	Months 2-3	Months 4-6	Months 7-12
Specific Contact:							
Intake/Assessment	22	5	3	2	0.125	0	0
Do treatment/case plan	11	6	5	4	0.75	0	0
Family meetings	17	17	18	11	1.5	0.667	0.79
Court dates	7	3	3	8	2.25	1	0.67
Court Advocacy	8	8	2	7	0.375	0.33	0.21
School checks	35	36	40	30	2.875	1.25	0.71
Curfew checks	4	1	2	1	0.625	0	0
Individual counseling	25	15	15	11	4.125	2.75	2.46
Shared activity	8	7	7	10	2	1.33	1.41
Set up/Broker services	4	4	4	5	0.75	0.58	0.25
Transport youth to services	9	13	13	10	1.875	0.5	0.46
Follow up on services	13	11	11	15	1.25	1.33	0.125
End official relationship		2	2	4	0.5	0.25	0.125
Regular Contact:							
Phone Calls	79	75	85	65	7.125	3.92	2.37
Face to face contacts	86	59	45	48	6	3.67	0.71
Email	7	22	43	31	5.125	1	0
On call pager 24/7	24	2	2	2	0.25	0.08	0.4
Crises/Intervention/Response	5	2	2	4	0.5	0.25	0.08

Analysis From Case Managers Regarding Frequency Patterns

Case managers were asked open-ended questions about conclusions drawn from the contact points patterns. They cited various practices and contacts that were significant in achieving safe and productive outcomes for their clients. Many commented on the need to engage the client at the earliest possible time. Some of the initial contacts meant being persistent in finding both the youth and family members to get some buy in to do the case management process. The intake and assessment were often more than just one interview but a series of meetings and conversations with the youth and family members. There was clear agreement that individual counseling, consistent meetings with youth and phone contact occurred on a weekly to biweekly basis. A few saw the importance of the regular school checks, curfew checks, check-in at the community center as a way to enforce the "community supervision", and accountability function of the case management relationship. One case manager concluded, "The consistency of contact is contingent upon the level and frequency of crisis".

Research Question: What is an effective duration of service between a community case manager and a juvenile offender?

In concluding the survey, case managers were asked the following question that speaks to one of the main research questions: In your experience in youth work, what has been an effective length of time of an official case management relationship to achieve positive outcomes for juvenile justice youth? They were asked to circle one of a set of different proposed time frames. The range of answers did not emphasize one standard duration period. This pattern indicates that case managers were assigned youth of different levels of risk and need, and that referral sources; the

juvenile court, the probation department, the police department, schools, peers, parents, and self-referrals also helped account for the variation.

Most Effective Duration
Table 14

Time Period	Most Effective Duration
1-2 months	1
3-6 months	6
6-9 months	6
1 year	5
18 months	5
When probation's over	1
Several years or more	8

Effective Case Management Practices to Achieve Positive Outcomes

Several questions were asked to ascertain effective case management practices. These questions generated a thorough list of tasks, relationships, and knowledge that can be summarized in these major practices. As a representative of a community based agency, the case manager can

- 1.) Provide a safe place, a consistent structure, alternative educational, arts, and recreational activities, and set of behavior expectations,
- 2.) A sustained caring adult relationship, and
- 3.) Opportunities for personal development.

Community case managers understand the community, the streets, the school system, because many grew up in the same neighborhoods and systems. A segment of the case management staff has "been there, done that" in the juvenile justice system and can problem solve with clients and predict negative consequences.

The case managers acknowledged that San Francisco possesses many community programs, resources, and services for youth and families. That provides opportunities for youth to practice improved behaviors, improve educational abilities and find work experience and employment.

A trusting case management relationship is earned. There is a level of mutual accountability built into the practices of effective case managers. A case manager is perceived as delivering some product; getting youth back into a better school placement, finding a legal job, or joined youth and family at court hearings. The case manager expects some exchange of good behavior, make counseling appointments and meetings, attend school more frequently, and check in on a regular basis. Trust is also bolstered when youth has temporary relapse in behavior, and case manager is able to walk through a crisis with the young person.

Individual counseling is not dependent on traditional clinical mental health model. There is more flexibility in meeting youth where they are, rather than setting up institutional appointments. Some of the frequency of contact is outreach efforts in evenings, regular home visits, or late night calls during crises times. There's an intentional effort to improve family problem solving, and communication between youth and parents. Case managers mediate, translate opposing perspectives, and educate family members about juvenile justice, youth employment, and educational systems. Case managers also broker services for parents with multiple needs.

Agency Outcomes Survey

The Juvenile Justice Reform Initiative (JJRI) Agency Outcomes Survey addressed the following research questions: How does frequency of contact improve outcomes around reduced recidivism and improved school attendance and performance? Would juvenile justice systems produce more effective outcomes if interventions were more immediate, more intense, and more sustained?

An email survey was sent to 36 community-based agencies in San Francisco whose juvenile justice work included a major case management approach. In September 2003, eighteen agencies returned completed surveys. A majority of the case managers who are employed by these agencies had participated in the August 2003 Case Management Survey. The purpose of the JJRI Agency Outcomes Survey was to track and tally case management outcomes through a thorough caseload review. Case managers had identified frequency of contact patterns and effective case management practices through the individual survey process. The agency outcomes survey sought to establish a relationship between individual case management practices with positive client behavior outcomes.

Juvenile Justice Outcomes: Beyond Recidivism

The survey proposed an expansion of traditional definitions of recidivism and school attendance and performance. In light of the literature review, which suggested that decreases in the frequency of delinquent behavior might be a more accurate portrayal of youthful offender's "progress", the survey contained several more indicators along a continuum of behaviors. The agencies were asked to record the outcomes of cases for the previous program year, July 2002-June 2003.

The eighteen agencies caseloads represented 714 youth. Traditional juvenile justice outcomes measure re-arrest rates and probation violations. The agency survey recorded this type of outcomes in three indicators.

Traditional Juvenile Justice Indicators
Table 15
(N-714)

Outcome	No. of youth	Percentage of Total Cases
Violated Probation	93	13%
Re-arrested	51	7%
Picked up a new sustained felony or misdemeanor	36	5%

Based on the use of these indicators, we can conclude that 25% of the youth have been unsuccessful with case management services.

A positive juvenile justice outcome is the successful completion of the terms of probation. School attendance improved, community service and restitution was performed, and the youth did not pick up a new sustained charge. The average length of probation terms range from 9 to 18 months in San Francisco.

Outcome	No. of youth	Percentage of Total Cases
Completed Probation	101	14%

At this point, 60% of the youth do not fit in any indicator category. The Outcomes Survey also tracked answers with these additional outcome indicators:

Continuum of Juvenile Justice Outcomes
Table 16
(N=714)

Outcome	No. of youth	Percentage of Total Cases
Reduced frequency of delinquent behavior	360	50.4%
De-escalated level of offenses	251	35%
Made progress on probation responsibilities-showed up on court dates	271	38%
Through a citywide Community Assessment and Referral Center or through immediate intervention by your agency, youth was diverted from the juvenile justice system	114	16%
No longer gang, set or turf involved	82	11%
Still doing risky behaviors	200	28%

Combining two indicator categories, youth who completed probation, and youth diverted from the juvenile justice system, we can conclude that 30% of the youth achieved some success and improved their juvenile justice behaviors. Case managers saw some intermediate progress in the de-escalation of offenses and reduced frequency of delinquent behavior. Their results also caution against attributing case management to high rates of effectiveness. At least 200 youth have been identified as still doing risky behaviors.

Educational Outcomes

The baseline of most educational outcomes for juvenile offenders include indicators around attending school, getting a better report card and grade point average. The surveyed group scored well on educational outcomes.

Traditional Educational Outcomes

Table 17
(N=714)

Outcome	No. of Youth	Percentage of total cases
Improved School attendance	165	23%
Improved academic performance	300	42%
Remained a chronic truant	49	7%

With many of the juvenile justice youth, the immediate tasks of a community case manager is to secure an educational placement that would address some prolong absence from the comprehensive high and middle schools, keep him/her safe from gang rivalries, and to get an initial educational assessment. The following outcomes tracked how agencies chose to facilitate educational connections.

Additional Educational Outcomes

Educational Placement

Table 18
(N=714)

Outcome	No. of Youth	Percentage of total cases
Re-enrolled in comprehensive High school or middle school	134	18%
Enrolled in GED Program	57	8%
Re-enrolled in county alternative school	135	19%
Awaiting a better placement through an Individualized Education Plan (IEP)	39	5%

With long-term cases, the ultimate goal is not to re-enroll a youth in an educational program, but to complete some level of education with competence and confidence. The agencies were also surveyed on indicators pertaining to educational achievement.

Educational Progress and Achievement Outcomes

Table 19
(N=714)

Outcome	No. of Youth	Percentage of total cases
Began to do homework regularly	301	42%
Completed a GED Program	42	6%
Graduated from High school	65	9%
Will attend college next year	52	7%

The lower numbers on graduation indicators may reflect the range of age levels that are included in each agency's caseload.

Limitations of Agency Outcomes Survey

The agency survey findings offer some preliminary conclusion that frequency of contact does improve outcomes around reduced recidivism and improved school attendance and performance. The agencies surveyed do provide immediate, and intensive services. However, the survey only examines one year of community case management. 248 youth or 34% of the total group will be officially carried over for the next program year. For public systems, one or two year funding cycles often drive the composition of caseloads. From the literature review and from comments by the case managers, there's evidence that long-term behavior changes may require long-term commitments to sustained relationships and services.

The data did not break out youth into risk and need levels. Frequency of contact often depends on the risk /need criteria, and so the study did not isolate out those factors in attributing frequency of contact to effective outcomes. The instructions from the survey allowed the respondents to assign the number of clients in multiple categories, and so the percentage reflects those duplicate choices. The survey questions assumed some understanding and interpretation of the definitions of the outcome indicators. Several agencies may have misunderstood the definitions of the indicators as numbers were omitted from specific outcomes. Finally, the study was unable to do an exact match of agency outcome survey to every case manager who responded to the individual survey, given the tight time constraints and the staff turnover in several of the community based agencies.

Findings for Case Analyses from Key Informant Interviews

Interviews with thirteen key informants reinforced the findings from the case managers survey. Each provided a detailed recollection of a difficult case that over time achieved some positive and safe outcomes. Following this case presentation, each was asked to evaluate the case in terms of effective practices, and more specific questions around frequency and duration of cases. These findings address the research questions: What are effective community-based agencies' case management services to youth involved in the juvenile justice system that improve behavior outcomes and reduce recidivism? How does frequency of contact improve outcomes around reduced recidivism and improved school attendance and performance?

Effective Community-Based Agencies' Case Management Services

Role of A Community Case Manager

There was clear agreement on the roles and responsibilities of a case manager. One of the program directors characterized this job as "sometimes, you wear a lot of hats". A community case manager serves as a counselor, an adult who is not a buddy, a broker of community support and treatment services, a crisis intervention specialist, a court advocate, a family mediator, a teacher, and a behavior monitor. A case manager is expected to be good listener, a role model, to be the first phone contact when a youth's re-arrested, and the recruiter for recreational and educational events. The youth expects some adult to visit them when they are in lock-up, someone to call them on bad behavior, and to be on call and available. Individual counseling was broadly defined. The use of pagers, emails, cell phone contact, and instant messenger often constituted a counseling session. Important information was often shared as a youth was transported by the case manager to a court appointment, an initial referral meeting to a community center or service provider, or on the way home through unsafe "turf" following a youth center event.

Effective Case Management Surround Youthful Offenders With Intensive Structured Programs And Supervision

Community and institution based initiatives had a structured services and activities program that supported the case management work. With high risk youth, beneficial practices include; small schools with low student to teacher/and adult ratios, a transition to after school activities that did not require a trip clear across town, and monitoring and supervision by other staff members of community agencies, the supervising probation officer, and the lead case manager. Some of the Community Response Network staff, in addition to home visits, did periodic "street checks" to ensure safe behaviors. Feedback from the Girls' Justice Initiative called for intensive supervision, and highly structured activities and time schedules for young women released from juvenile hall. Staff set up a safety plan for young women with misdemeanor prostitution charges

that were returning to the community. The services and programs had to account for violence from pimps as well as families refusing to allow the young woman back into the home.

Effective Case Managers Use Age- Appropriate Strategies

Some of the key informants discussed the need to differentiate approaches to cases according to age levels. Educationally, middle schools and high schools record course credit in different ways. Younger referrals may participate more regularly in after school community center programs than older sixteen to eighteen year olds. Older probation youth discussed real fears about entering the adult criminal justice system, where the emphasis is not about rehabilitation. Younger offenders in the twelve to fifteen age ranges perceived involvement in the adult system as an experience projected deep into the future, and exhibited more omnipotent type behavior.

Build a Context for Self –Examination through a Group Process

Several of the initiatives used a regular group process where youth talked about their reactions to violence, their fears and their anger. In safety terms, talking about strong emotions was more beneficial than "acting out" based on the emotions. Group leaders used the regular meetings to get peers or near peers who had been "in the mix", to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of street life. Weekly Omega club meetings reemphasized lessons about respect, and the nature of true friendship among partners. The common theme was that "friends don't put friends in the line of danger". A variation of the group process by Beacon center case managers is to initially case manage perceived leader of a group of youth in trouble. After the case managers assist the "leader" with a particular problem, (they got my car out of the City towing yard), and builds up some level of trust, the leader assists in getting other peer group members with case management services.

Different Needs and Risks Create Different Caseload Groups

By reviewing evaluation reports and contracts with community agencies, youthful offenders and youth at risk of involvement with the juvenile justice system. As reported by other case managers, youth have a varying degree of need and risk.

The first subgroup derives from school-based referrals. The Beacon Center Initiative works with school faculty and counseling teams that identify students whose poor behavior warrants a referral to a community-based agency. Most of these youth have never been arrested or been on probation. Referrals are often made from middle schools, student's ages 11-14. This is the largest contingent of at-risk or "prevention " youth. They may have a high need for services but poses a low risk to public safety. The second sub-group are comprised either first time offenders, arrested youth who can be diverted from formal probation, or need intensive services to prevent deeper or more frequent encounter with the juvenile justice system. San Francisco uses a Community Assessment and Referral Center (CARC) for youth with lower level offenses. After being arrested, Instead of youth being directed to juvenile hall, CARC does a thorough assessment at the time of arrest, and may refer youth directly to community based case managers. These youth have medium to high needs and are a low to moderate safety risk. Youth who are directly brought to the Youth Guidance Center are given a risk assessment and are scored based on a public safety criteria. Youth who might be detained are released to the community under daily supervision of community case managers who provide a short-term four-week service. The goal is to show up at the adjudication court date without re-offending.

The third group is probation youth who are assigned to a probation officer in the general supervision unit. By state Welfare and Institutions code, youth are to report back to the probation officer once every 30 days. Many of these youth have a series of offenses but still pose a medium

risk and many need less intense case management in the community. Community case managers may work in partnership with probation officers to provide and monitor referrals to other community agencies and services.

The fourth group are high need high-risk youth who have violated probation or failed to reduce criminal behavior through less frequent interventions and services. Some of these youth may be returning from the community from the California Youth Authority or the City's juvenile ranch facility located in San Mateo County. Some are gang involved and have committed violent crimes.

Use of Near Peer Mentors: Omega's Model

Interviews with the leadership and graduates of the Omega program helped identify what level of commitment and intensity are needed to produce better outcomes. One of their beliefs in education is to develop young men and women "in the mix" to become street soldiers' against violence in their communities. Weekly peer educators hold group sessions at Juvenile Hall and at the Potrero Hill Neighborhood House in which decisions in the home, in the schools, and in the streets are examined in light of violence and involvement in the juvenile justice system. Some of the sessions deal with the impact of the weekly crises and some reconstruction of what individual future success means. A nationally syndicated "Street Soldiers Radio Show" does real-time problem solving and crisis intervention on a late night call in show format out of San Francisco.

Peer counseling, as presented by the Omega Boys Club, was not taken out of any social service handbook or drug education manual. It came from the front lines --often from club members who were in the throes of the same temptations that ultimately had dressed the audience in baby blue. The authenticity- that is, the street credentials of the club members was not in dispute, many of them were peers of the inmates in the truest sense...That is why Jack and Omega kept coming back with the same message week after week after month after year, the seeds of reformation must be planted deeply and the shoots tended relentlessly. To successfully counsel and rehabilitate city kids, the bottom liner is, you've got to be there. (Marshall, p.103)

Frequency Of Contact Improve Outcomes

Effective Case Managers Do Immediate And Intense Contacts Following A Crisis

The case management relationship is usually generated from a crisis in a younger person's life; an arrest, a probation violation, suspension, expulsion from school, a referral from the juvenile courts, or a friend wanting a troubled friend to get help. The effective case manager provides frequent and intense contacts during the first week of crisis, with almost daily face-to-face contact in the first two weeks.

Risk Assessment Criteria Determines Frequency of Contact

The Girls' Justice Initiative (GJI) piloted monthly training sessions for community case managers that worked with girls coming out of juvenile hall. The curriculum was developed by the staff of GJI and funded by a grant from the United Way of the Bay Area. This monthly set of four-hour sessions represents San Francisco's first systematic attempt at comprehensive training for juvenile justice staff from all over the city. If the piloted training is evaluated positively, the leaders of GJI hope to propose a certification process for the completion of the training courses. The certification may be applicable for job requirements and promotions.

In their training materials, the curriculum teaches that a case manager's frequency of contact is dependent on risk criteria. They proposed one face to face contact per week for low risk clients, two contacts per week for moderate risk clients and three times a week for high risk clients. To measure risk, each young woman in the juvenile justice system will undergo a risk assessment. The two-page checklist was based on Chicago's Cook County Juvenile Probation model. The assessment was simulated with existing clients at three different occasions during the past year

with revisions and adaptations made at each interval. The assessment tool starts with a checklist of key indicators of risk broken down into twelve categories: family relationships, emotional stability/mental health, basic needs, substance abuse, life skills, history of abuse/neglect, physical safety, peer relations, school/employment status, social supports, motherhood (parenthood), and health.

After risk assessments are completed, there are weekly meetings to refer youth to a pool of community-based agencies. GJI recommends the caseload ratios for typical community agencies: low risk caseload can be up to 30, moderate risk, up to twenty cases, and high risk no more than 10 cases. In actuality, Community based agencies in San Francisco work with a combination of youth at different risk levels.

Alternative Risk Model for Frequency of Contact

The case managers of the Mission district's Community Response Network base much of their case management practices, supervision and training on a training manual developed by a long-standing juvenile justice organization, the Real Alternatives Program. The manual assists a case manager, or as they call them, youth and family advocates, in the various sequences of services as a case manager. The manual recommends that an assessment/intake process be completed in two to four face-to-face contacts over a period of no more than two weeks. A home visit should be included as part of the initial contacts. The training manual also proposes a risk level system to determine frequency of contact. Risk level 4-Thriving and Safe would require one contact per month. Risk Level 3-Sufficient/Stable- would require two face-to-face contacts per month. Risk level 2-At-risk would require a face-to-face contact once a week. Risk Level 1- In Crisis would require face-to-face contacts up to several times a week.

Treatment Plan Guides Follow Up Contact

All the interviewees relied on some form of a care or treatment plan based on an initial and thorough assessment. The plan identified some personal goals, articulation of clear outcomes such as improved school attendance and performance, improved communication with family members and some long-term goals around education and employment. Goals were set on the completion of probation, reduction of criminal behavior. Each plan involved some commitment to participation in a range of support programs and services. Many used a youth's individual strengths and experiences as a basis to redirect school and after school activities. Consequences of non-compliance with the plan are explained. The plan guides the frequency of contact between the youth and the case manager and sets a realistic timetable of the reduction of bad behavior. Plans were revisited at the six-month mark. Services and the frequency of contact and level of supervision were readjusted according to the progress or lack thereof the treatment plan. One of the interviewees suggested that one of the most important behavior changes that could occur in these first six month was when a youth gave up getting high. (Alcohol or illegal substances) He believed that this was a pre-condition to get other positive changes going.

Contacts Must Include Services to the Family Members

Case managers assisted parents in understanding and navigating the juvenile justice and educational system. Case managers were available to parents during crisis times; weekends and the middle of the night and were asked to mediate disputes with parents and youth. Some interviewees reported that they served as coaches to parents around limit setting and family problem solving. One of the informants made use of regular home visits as the core of his case management services. During the first weeks, he conducted two-three visits weekly with an

average meeting time of thirty minutes. He continued this case with this level of frequency for seven months.

Duration of Case Management Relationship

The duration of a case managers' relationship with a referred youth is dependant on the goals of the treatment plan and the severity of risk. Most of the examined cases concerned extremely high risk youth, often involved in gang, set, or turf rivalries and with multiple problem family situations, and poor school behavior. Most of the key informants recommended at least eighteen months to three years as a realistic and effective period of time to work with high-risk youth. The first year and a half was used to build some trust, deliver services to youthful offender and the family, and to survive several crisis episodes. Weekly contacts and at least one face-to-face contact comprised the usual practice. Equally important was the sustained participation and involvement by the youth in some ongoing group and regular structured activities at a community center or school. Some of the initiatives encouraged the maintenance of some helping relationship even after the cases were formally terminated or completed.

Duration: Extend Cases for Several Years

Some of the Beacon Case Management staff worked with a coalition of Asian American youth agencies in San Francisco, the Services and Advocacy for Asian Youth (SAAY) Consortium to collect data on juvenile justice and health needs of Asian American and Pacific Islander (API) youth in the city. The most alarming group of statistics pertains to the needs for duration of service in a case management relationship. They examined data around recidivism rates among API youth after six months, twelve months and twenty-four months. For the total API ethnicity, after six

months there was a 25% re-offense rate. After twelve months there was a 37% re-offense rate. At the twenty fourth-month mark, there's a forty-two % re-offense rate. In comparing rates for specific ethnic groups at the six-month and twenty -four month periods, the following re-offense rates show the need for prolonged care.

API Re-Offense Rate 1998
Table 20

Ethnic Group	Re-offend Rate at 6 months	Re-offend Rate at twenty-four months
Chinese	25%	40%
Filipino	32%	45%
Samoan	32%	57%
Vietnamese	32%	47%

Their study will recommend that contracts with the City specify that the certain cases be extended for at least several years to provide sustained support and supervision to decrease the probability of greater recidivism.

Even If The Frequency And Intensity Of Contacts Is Scheduled, Pay Attention To The Quality Of The Contact

Most informants also cautioned against merely following a prescribed dosage pattern of services without paying attention to the quality of the contacts. They reported that significant contacts that improved the chances for youth reengagement and behavior change included visits when the youth was in detention, some sustained contact with a parent, participation in some interest based and legal activity that developed a skill, phone availability during potential and actual crises, and to stand with the youth at a follow up court date. When trust is fully established, case managers are also able to set limits on certain kinds of behavior though the use of guilt, such as "I vouched for you and you let me down, or do you really want to bring shame to your mom by this action?" Some of the more experienced case managers described an almost spiritual dimension of the work, where acts of love or in some descriptions, tough love, was a more accurate portrayal of what was the most effective aspect of the adult-youth relationship. The most common advice to emerging case managers was to be real; praise when deserved, and telling youth when they had behaved poorly and dangerously. Besides the frequency and intensity of contacts, the corollary is also true, pay attention to who the case manager is and what quality of skill and experience is brought to the job.

V. SUMMARY, AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on outcome data, surveys of community case managers, and interview of key juvenile justice leaders in San Francisco, specific frequency of contact and duration of case management services, in the context of a comprehensive action plan of services, improved behavior outcomes for juvenile justice offenders. The study examined both qualitative and quantitative data that described a range of "dosages" of community-based agencies' case management services to youth involved in the juvenile justice system. Agency outcome data documented improved school performance, successful completion of probation terms, and a decrease in the frequency of criminal behavior.

There was consensus of surveyed case managers and juvenile justice leaders that immediate, frequent and intense contact is needed for the first four weeks following a referral or an arrest. In documenting a successful case, case managers over the duration of the case management relationship maintained weekly contact either by phone or face-to-face contact. Frequency of contact was guided by information retrieved from youth and family members in an initial assessment and the development of a treatment/action plan. The level of risk occurring throughout the case also determined frequency of contact. Case managers also reported that availability by pager or phone during evening and weekend hours helped them respond to youth crisis more immediately. Contacts to ensure compliance to probation terms included curfew and school attendance checks.

Duration of a case management relationship depended on the severity of need and the level of risk to the youth, family, and community. Multiple problem youth need sustained caring relationships for at least several years. Long-term behavior changes required long-term interventions and continuity of a caring relationship.

In this research study, the direct correlation of the dosage of case management services to juvenile offender outcomes could not be entirely proven. Given the research time period of twenty weeks, the number of completed case manager surveys did not directly correspond to the limited return of community agency data. Agencies targeted different levels of at risk and high-risk youth and proposed different outcomes. Low and high-risk youth outcomes were not differentiated in this study. While a precise quantitative measure did not emerge from this study, qualitative descriptions of effective case management practices that produced positive outcomes have been documented.

Areas for Further Research

Further research would be developed in the following areas:

- Youth who participate in the juvenile justice community case management programs should be surveyed. A pre and post-test could be given over a two-year period. In the future, research can be more thorough by looking at individual case files, cross checking information with police and juvenile probation records and updated academic files to more accurately determine empirical evidence around case management practices and related outcomes. This survey included only agency self reports. This sampling of community agencies gives a baseline view of the relationship of effective case management practices, the frequency and intensity of these services to the achievement of positive juvenile justice outcomes for juvenile justice youth in San Francisco.
- Case managers would be assigned to cross check outcome information with school staff and juvenile justice probation records. More rigorous studies would call for a treatment and control group with a large enough and diverse sample to

get at the effectiveness of case management in the context of a comprehensive service program. One drawback of such a research design is an ethical one. Withholding services in the name of research during a crisis period when an intervention is needed, may prevent a youth from achieving safe juvenile justice outcomes.

- Develop an agency outcomes survey that is administered at the beginning of the program year and six months after the close of the year, so that every funded juvenile justice agency case management staff can be correlated to each agency's outcomes. Personnel turnover in non-profit agencies has been significant, so continuity of reliable becomes much more important.
- The study of time requires for case management functions can serve as a baseline to discuss cost and dosage for publicly funded juvenile justice programs. Local government needs to understand the level of services for high risk youth, the capacity and time for a community agency to case management and supervise such a target population, and what projected costs are invoked. Longitudinal studies would be needed to accurately determine which high risk cases would require a protracted period of three to five years to achieve sustained criminal justice outcomes.
- A similar baseline study should be developed to evaluate the effectiveness of adult and juvenile probation officers. Department responsibilities are in part broken down by the level of supervision from these units. Frequency, intensity, and duration and their relationship to juvenile justice outcomes would be measured. From that research, a comparative analysis could be developed. How does the rate of effective outcomes with supervision solely done by probation officers

compare with outcomes produced by some partnership of community case managers and probation officers?

- Given that community case managers operate in the context of interrelated incentives-services and sanctions from the Court, what combinations of services and sanctions produce the more effective juvenile justice outcomes?

Policy Recommendations

The recommendations are directed at the public and private funders of juvenile justice programs in San Francisco.

- Reach consensus around common juvenile justice outcomes. Most community program outcomes are presently funding and categorically driven. There is no baseline measure for successful services. Given the range of risk and needs, the City should develop a continuum of outcomes, rather than relying on traditional outcomes around, re-arrests and sustained petitions as a sign of failed cases. Outcomes can be directed by a working committee of the Juvenile Justice Coordinating Council, which revised and got system wide buy off on a comprehensive local juvenile justice action plan in Spring of 2003. Outcome measure should not only apply to contracted community agencies, but to the probation department.
- This study raised the notion that outcomes and referrals to probation divisions and community case management programs need to be based on risk and need factors. There are several initiatives within the present juvenile justice system that have developed risk/assessment tools. This study recommends that a standardized comprehensive risk assessment tool be developed and approved by key stakeholders and city commissions.

- Develop a standard way for each community agency to assess capacity to serve a combined caseload of low, medium and high-risk youth. Funding sources should assist agencies in realistic projection of these caseloads and set guideline around frequency of contact, immediacy of response, and duration of cases.
- Concurrently, improve data system and data tracking systems so both the referring agency and the receiving agency has up to date and common data around risk, need, and progress on behavior outcomes.
- Based on the Girls' Justice Initiative, the City should standardize and support regular training for all community case managers providing juvenile justice services across different funding lines. The dosage data from this study could enhance the curriculum of current piloted training efforts.
- The Beacon Case Management program has produced some promising practices in school community collaboration with at risk and high-risk youth in the schools. Community agencies could develop some standard memorandums of understanding to outline the capacity to provide targeted case management services for a limited number of students who would best benefit from the case management interventions. School district leadership should encourage site principals to develop ongoing relationships with these agencies.
- Some of the most effective case managers have been in prison and fully involved in the juvenile justice system as an offender. Youthful offenders often talk about community agencies whose staffs have "street credibility". Others who have given up the criminal life continue to seek employment as outreach workers, mentors, crisis intervention specialists, and case managers. Due to their status as ex-felons, they are not legally eligible to apply for certain positions in working with students and youth. Both city, state, and federal

officials should find ways to ensure screening and accountability, but provide opportunities for these young men and women to help improve the outcomes for street youth.

- Explore the possibility of working with a consortium of community agencies around standardized ranges of salary for different levels of case management expertise, skill, and experience. While there are a considerable number of veteran case managers with ten or more years of service, there is a high turnover rate every two to four years. Private foundations could help provide technical assistance around human resources development for non-profit agencies.

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