

Inner-City Crime Control

Can Community
Institutions Contribute?

By Anne Thomas Sulton

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PREFACE

Few neighborhoods are crime free, but those less troubled by crime are inhospitable to criminal activity because they have considerable social cohesion and are able to influence the nature and quality of services provided by government agencies within their communities. A strong network of community organizations and institutions contributes to a system of shared values that does not tolerate criminal behavior. This type of cohesiveness encourages the cooperation of citizens in ways that engender crime control and increase the likelihood that the commission of illegal acts will be detected.

The police are a major part of society's crime fighting network, but acting alone they cannot hope to cope with the tremendous volume of criminal activity within our cities. The safety of a community is substantially enhanced when the police, acting in concert with strong community institutions, coordinate and focus their resources to deter criminal behavior.

Citizens in our beleaguered inner cities recognize the value of their community institutions. But the energy and creativity citizens can bring to the search for solutions to inner-city crime problems has not been adequately leveraged. Nor have those institutions who work to elevate the quality of life in the community been recognized for their achievement or examined for lessons they can pass on. The proceedings of the National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner-City Crime described in this report remind us that community organizations are working daily to improve life in inner-city neighborhoods.

The 18 programs discussed here are success stories. They emerged from a comprehensive Police Foundation survey of local community programs suggested by national organizations, criminal justice scholars, and government agencies. The impetus for that survey — and the symposium — came from the National Institute of Justice, which wanted to learn just what programs might help lessen crime in the inner city. They demonstrate that grass-roots initiatives can make an impact on the inner-city environment by using resources within the community to instill pride, create a sense of discipline, and encourage the establishment of enduring personal and community goals.

These programs may or may not prevent crime. But they seriously undermine the environment of fear and hopelessness in which criminal behavior thrives. That such programs must exist reminds us that other institutions to which inner-city residents look for a strong value system have not been entirely successful. The National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner-City Crime spotlighted programs organized and run by inner-city residents working to minimize crime in their own neighborhoods. The community organizations successfully undertaking these programs must now work closely with police to make inner-city neighborhoods safer.

Hubert Williams
President
Police Foundation

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The National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner-City Crime Project was sponsored by the Police Foundation with a grant from the National Institute of Justice. The project's purposes were to discuss promising inner-city crime reduction programs and to identify strategies and techniques that should be considered as this nation shapes the future agenda of urban crime control policy and research.

During the project, hundreds of individuals and organizations cooperated with the Police Foundation as it prepared for this important, unique, and timely discussion. The foundation is deeply indebted to them, for this project could not have been completed without their assistance, expertise, and creativity.

The project's conceptual framework is based upon Dr. Peter Lejins' crime prevention theories. James Fyfe and Carl Pope drafted portions of the proposal that was submitted to the National Institute of Justice. David Fattah, director of Community Outreach for the House of UMOJA in Philadelphia, offered detailed analyses of youth gangs and traveled to Washington, D.C., Chicago, Los Angeles, and Ponce, Puerto Rico, for the project at his own expense.

Hattie Carrington served as the project coordinator and gave generously of her time and talents, as did Taqee Khaliq and other Police Foundation staff. Hubert Williams, president of the Police Foundation, provided support and advice when it was needed most.

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Lee Brown, Houston's chief of police, Fred Rice, Chicago's former superintendent of police, Bishop Robinson, former Baltimore commissioner of police and currently commissioner of public safety and correctional services for the state of Maryland, Benjamin Ward, New York City commissioner of police, and Warren Woodfork, New Orleans superintendent of police, served as the project's advisory board.

Anne Thomas Sulton, Ph.D., J.D.
Project Director

I. INTRODUCTION

A. INNER-CITY CRIME PROBLEMS

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports, more than 13 million crimes were reported to police in 1988. The Bureau of Justice Statistics victimization surveys indicate that over 34 million crimes actually occurred, and self-report studies support the notion that only a few Americans have not violated any laws. Caveats should accompany reports concerning the amount and extent of crime, because we simply do not know how much of each type occurs (Brown 1977; Blumstein et al. 1986).

We do know, however, that inner-city residents disproportionately share in the misery resulting from crime and fear of crime. The entrepreneurial talents and skills of some of the brightest youngsters residing in inner cities are employed in the lucrative trade of manufacturing and distributing intoxicating substances. Boys and girls join associations that traffic illegal narcotics through sophisticated networks of beeper-carrying couriers. They war with each other, deface building, terrorize neighborhoods, and engage in other malicious acts. Prostitutes and runaways crowd the streets, merchants are robbed at gunpoint, buildings are burned, and the elderly are attacked. And, too frequently, bloody, bruised, and battered bodies are placed on cold slabs in city-run morgues.

Causes of Crime

Literature on crime describes a variety of the causes of and cures for inner-city crime. During the turn of this century, W.E.B. DuBois and other African-American scholars addressed these issues at conferences held at Atlanta University, Tuskegee Institute, and Hampton Institute (Greene 1979).

During the 1920s and 1930s, ecological and social disorganization theories were advanced by Park, Burgess, McKenzie, Wirth, and others. These theorists essentially argued that crime is caused by social change in urban areas and by the effects of urbanization on the people living there. Crime was viewed as a consequence of the inability of community institutions to cope with urban pressures (Lewis and Salem 1986).

Literally dozens of other theories of inner-city crime have been advanced since that time. Many maintain that poverty, unemployment, sub-standard housing, inadequate education, racism, disease, inadequate health care, physical deterioration, overcrowding, and drugs are related to inner-city crime (Swan 1977; Brown 1977; Woodson 1977; Fattah 1988; Bell 1988).

While none of these theories is totally satisfactory or explanatory, they all share common threads. They assume that crime is a socially defined phenomenon caused by the failure of community institutions to constrain behavior so that it conforms to the law and does not threaten the rights, safety, and lives of others. According to this perspective, crime reduction depends on eradication of the social conditions that produce crime.

Fear of Crime

Crime also produces indirect victims, those whose experience with crime occurs when they learn about it through the news media, "circulation of crime news within the community," and through knowledge of a primary group member's victimization (Lejins 1975; Higdon and Huber 1987).

The resulting fear of crime leads to neighbor distrust, which, as the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967) pointed out over 20 years ago, "has greatly impoverished the lives of many Americans, especially those who live in high crime neighborhoods in large cities." More recently, Conklin (1975) and Wright (1985) have argued that fear produces a disorganized community and weakens the social fabric. Consequently, fear of crime is a major social problem far exceeding actual crime rates (Toseland 1982; Wright 1985; National Opinion Research Center 1987; Higdon and Huber 1987).

Fear of crime is due in part to inner-city residents' perceptions that crime "is a consequence of the erosion of social control" (Lewis and Salem 1986). Taylor and others (1986) explain the belief that the government and social structure are not capable of ensuring safety, and that neighborhood resources to control crime are inadequate. Taub et al. (1984) maintain that fear of crime is related to the racial change in a neighborhood's population. They argue that "crime rates function as symptoms and symbols of the general decline of a neighborhood" and those "threatened by racial change are more anxious about crime than those who do not share those perceptions."

Changing Population

America's crime problem is complicated by the fact that dramatic changes have occurred in the populations of inner cities. Few inner-city neighborhoods are ethnically homogeneous (Wright 1985).

Within the past two decades, substantial increases have occurred in the numbers of African-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans residing in inner cities (Brown 1977; U. S. Bureau of the Census 1983 and 1987; U.S. Department of the Interior 1986). And, in many large cities, the number of recent immigrants from the Caribbean, South and Central America, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and other parts of the Far East has been sufficient to change popular conceptions about minority groups. These trends are expected to continue throughout the next several decades.

Dramatic changes also have continued to occur in the organization of inner-city communities (Shannon 1986). Of greatest significance is that police departments and other criminal justice agencies, which should be "institutions of last resort," have become systems of first defense (Fyfe 1985). The failure of community institutions, such as the family and schools, often is cited as the reason for this dilemma (Lewis and Salem 1986; Farrington et al. 1986).

Although the crime control roles of families and schools have received considerable attention, the roles of other community institutions are frequently ignored. Churches, businesses, civic groups, entertainment, and the news media also play important roles in controlling crime (Farrington et al. 1986).

B. ROLES of COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

Community institutions are the basic fabric from which our complex society is woven. To some extent, each institution shapes the attitudes of individuals toward society and influences their compliance with its laws. Because "the fabric of urban life varies considerably from community to community" (Lewis and Salem 1986), the role each community institution plays in each community also may vary.

Family and Friends

The family, as the fundamental social unit, serves as a bastion of support, encouragement, education, and guidance. Through approval or disapproval and their own behavior, parents and family members transmit values and expectations that become part of the way individuals look at themselves and their world.

In inner cities, the extended family predominates. Frequently, it is multi-generational and often includes grandparents, parents, children, aunts, uncles, and cousins all living within the same household. Several factors may contribute to the prevalence of extended family structures in inner cities, including culture, poverty, and teenage pregnancy (Hill 1989).

Poor family dynamics are frequently associated with inner-city crime. Intrafamily discord, weak affectional relationships, and inadequate parental supervision, specifically, have been cited (Farrington et al. 1986). However, as Keniston (1977) astutely reminds us:

Families are not now, nor were they ever, the self-sufficient building blocks of society, exclusively responsible, praiseworthy, and blamable for their own destiny. They are deeply influenced by broad social and economic forces over which they have little control..

Friends and peers also offer youngsters many opportunities for sharing experiences and problems, acquiring and testing social skills, and gaining self-respect and satisfaction. But, far too many inner-city communities, the influences of friends and peers and the traditions they pass on to the young may be less than positive (Silberman 1978).

Families and friends thus play important crime control roles. To the extent that these primary groups work effectively to instill positive attitudes toward society and compliance with its laws, crime might be reduced.

Schools

Schools and other educational programs are major vehicles for life preparation, education, training, and recreation. Educational programs attempt to prepare students for effective and intelligent participation in a democratic society (Walsh 1987). According to Turner (1985), they are designed to meet society's needs for literacy, skill, knowledge, control, and other requirements of an urban and industrial age by storing and expanding the culture and socializing students. He contends that schools actively socialize students and "react to the legacy of socialization in the

family and, to a lesser extent, to peer groupings of the young.”

In many inner-city communities, however, the school's influence is not as strong or positive as it should be. The obstacles faced are frequently overwhelming. According to the United States Department of Education (1987), inner-city schools are characterized by truancy and dropout rates far above the national average and by lower than average standardized test scores. The report maintains that:

Schools in low-income areas face a difficult challenge. Their students may come from communities with high rates of crime and drug use. Parents may have limited educational backgrounds. Often it is difficult to attract or retain good teachers. ... In the worst instances, these schools must contend with gang violence, vandalism, a high incidence of teen pregnancy, and poor nutrition.

As a result, “equal educational access does not assure equal educational opportunity for working class and poor youths and for blacks and Hispanics across all social classes” (DeRidder 1988).

Nonetheless, personnel and financial resources urban schools do possess, if used effectively, can help control crime.

Churches

Churches and other religious organizations generally influence behavior toward compliance with the law (Stark et al. 1982). They provide basic values of right and wrong; reinforce crucial societal norms; legitimize social arrangements; promote a sense of unity, meaning, and belonging; serve as mechanisms for social change; and provide a “spiritual refuge with a social consciousness” (Turner 1985; Shepard 1987; Lincoln 1989). By joining together in congregations, participants create communities of common beliefs, interests, and concerns (Wright 1985).

Religion, as Smith (1982) and Lincoln (1989) observe, traditionally has been a major force among inner-city residents, especially among African-Americans. African-American churches have produced many community leaders and have established fraternal organizations, educational institutions, savings institutions, and even insurance companies (Lincoln 1989).

Inner-city churches and other religious organizations play an important crime control role. To the extent that there is a “renewed interest and participation in formal religion,” a corresponding increase in self-restraint and concern for others might be observed in inner-city neighborhoods (Wright 1985).

Businesses

Businesses are an important part of a community's economy. They provide legitimate employment opportunities, tax dollars for local governments, and funds for charitable organizations.

Larger, more prosperous businesses, however, are reluctant to locate or maintain establishments in inner cities because of crime. Rather than chance delivery and service disruptions, incur higher operating costs and losses, and risk injury to

employees, these businesses often avoid these areas. As a result, the economies of these areas are characterized by small and struggling "mom and pop" businesses that employ only a few people, are forced to pay enormous insurance premiums, and must sell their goods at inflated and widely fluctuating prices (Swinton 1989).

The absence of employment opportunities has long been associated with inner-city crime and other social ills (Bell 1988; Jacobs 1989). Many observers have argued that illegal economies, such as drug trafficking and prostitution, emerge and flourish because the demands of inner-city residents for jobs, goods, and services are not matched by legitimate economic opportunities.

The participation of businesses in the creation of ample, permanent, well-paying jobs for inner-city residents may be one of their most important crime control roles.

Civic Groups

Civic and self-help groups are relatively small social units that tend to rely upon informal sanctions for social control (Turner 1985). They support community interests by providing community members with opportunities for fuller social, economic, and political participation. In other words, they work "to empower local residents so that they can more effectively participate in American society" (Lewis 1988).

In the inner city, however, pervasively low income levels often mean that residents must devote almost exclusive attention to their own economic survival. Relatively few individuals are able to devote their time or resources to community improvement, reorganization, or reform. Many inner-city neighborhoods do not have the "amenities or social organization to solve the crime problem" (Taylor et al. 1986). Yet, amid these generally bleak conditions, there are hopeful signs. According to Taylor et al. (1986):

Some neighborhoods possess the political, organizational, or economic resources to respond effectively to crime and thus provide some insurance against a decline in the quality of life. These neighborhoods maintain a high quality of life whatever their level of victimization.

Local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Urban League, African-American fraternal and sororal organizations, and professional associations of nonwhite doctors, lawyers, and social workers are actively involved in efforts designed to improve the quality of life of inner-city residents. Tenant groups, block clubs, and other neighborhood associations are just a few examples of inner-city residents working together to support community interests.

The crime control role of civic and self-help groups became quite evident through the establishment of neighborhood crime watch programs. These groups work to reduce the incidence of crime and the fear of crime, to encourage cooperation with police, and to build a sense of community. Although studies of success of these programs are largely inconclusive, researchers generally agree that the role of

civic and other self-help groups should be a key component of crime control efforts (Yin 1986).

Entertainment and News Media

The entertainment and news media industries are very influential because the public is constantly watching, listening to, and learning from entertainers and members of the press. However, the messages transmitted frequently are less than positive.

Entertainers, particularly athletes, are important role models for youngsters. Thus, when they are observed using drugs or violating other laws, young fans may believe that such behavior is acceptable (Hess et al. 1988).

Television programs have been criticized for including violence and glamorizing drug and alcohol use (Briand 1968; Lange et al. 1969; Surgeon General 1971; Withey and Abeles 1980; National Institute of Mental Health 1982; Nobles and Goddard 1989). The news media also has been accused of overdramatizing crime and increasing fear (Wright 1985).

In many instances, however, entertainers, television programs, and members of the press are actively involved in crime control efforts. Entertainers provide positive role models for youngsters through their participation in community service activities, including television and radio messages encouraging youth to abstain from drug use. Many children's programs are education-oriented and provide positive role models for viewers. *Sesame Street*, *The Cosby Show*, *227*, and *A Different World* are a few examples of popular television programs reinforcing positive social values. Some news media and television programs encourage citizens to cooperate with law enforcement agencies and provide useful information on crime prevention techniques. African-American and other community-based newspapers generally focus on reporting the "good news" that fosters positive attitudes about inner-city residents and their communities.

Private and Public Partnership

The crime control roles of families, friends, schools, churches, businesses, civic groups, and the entertainment and news media industries are important, perhaps far more important than the roles played by criminal justice agencies. These noncriminal justice community institutions encourage voluntary compliance with the law and instill a "strong sense of interpersonal responsibility and ... individual worth" (Wright 1985).

Clearly, police, courts and corrections cannot solve the crime problem alone (National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals 1973; Cho 1974; Law Enforcement Assistance Administration 1979; Chaiken et al. 1977; Peirson 1977; Police Foundation 1981; Wright 1985). Therefore, central crime control roles must be fashioned for noncriminal justice community institutions. However, "if community organizations are to play an important role in social control, that role will emerge only through accommodation with the state apparatus" (Lewis and Salem 1986). In other words, there must be a private and public sector partnership.

C. BASIS for SYMPOSIUM PROJECT

The National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner-City Crime project was concerned with identifying ways in which inner-city crime can be reduced. It considered several issues related to inner-city crime problems, including criminogenic conditions, fear of crime, changing inner-city populations, and the roles of noncriminal justice community institutions.

The project was based upon the assumption that noncriminal justice community institutions play a critical role in controlling crime. Rather than study the obvious failures of community institutions, it examined their apparent successes. In other words, the project did not seek to identify what causes crime, rather it sought to identify what works to reduce it.

This approach represents a shift in focus from the etiology of crime to crime prevention. Instead of focusing on what causes crime, we focused on what can be done to control it. This is not to say that a search for the causes of crime is a futile or unworthy endeavor. Rather, it acknowledges that if "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," then crime prevention warrants additional study because it may be the most cost-effective method of crime reduction.

Although unique in operation, this approach is consistent with earlier efforts. Lavrakas et al. (1981) noted the importance of understanding private sector crime prevention measures. They stated:

Without a full understanding of the extent to which citizens (on their own) engage in crime prevention, public policy to promote citizen crime prevention will be formulated in somewhat of a vacuum. Furthermore, without a clear understanding of the "natural" processes that lead some citizens to engage in certain anti-crime measures while other citizens do not, crime prevention programs may fail to mobilize citizens because of a misunderstanding of the underlying dynamics.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania examined the importance of a similar approach. It studied the effects of community crime prevention programs, attempted to determine their strengths and weaknesses, compiled a list of activities based on successful prototypes, developed a guidebook on how to implement them, and formulated a technical assistance program so that communities throughout the state could duplicate the programs in a cost-effective manner.

A second reason we focused on what works is that only a small percentage of inner-city residents are engaged in illegal behavior. We knew that crime statistics and the fear of crime research support the notion that most people who are poor, illiterate, unemployed, and who live in substandard housing do not commit crimes and that they possess the highest levels of fear of crime (Wilson 1983; Sampson 1986). Therefore, we wanted to gain some insight into why most people who are constantly exposed to criminogenic conditions do not succumb to the negative influences in their environments. In other words, we wanted to know what factors encourage people to be law-abiding, particularly given the fact that there are

Finally, it is imperative to assess present conditions and plan for the future of crime reduction in inner cities. Individuals and organizations with expertise in the noncriminal justice institutions, must be centrally involved.

D. METHODS in BRIEF

The process established to find out how some inner-city crime reduction programs work and to build the symposium program was relatively straightforward and included the following steps:

(1) Identification of crime prevention programs.

The project director and project coordinator contacted nearly 3,500 national organizations, criminal justice scholars, and federal, state, and local government agencies and requested recommendations of outstanding local programs having an impact on inner-city crime and of individuals with expertise in inner-city crime reduction. Approximately 1,300 programs and two dozen individuals were identified.

A survey questionnaire was sent to each program, soliciting detailed information about program operations and accompanied by a letter describing the project. Two follow-up postcards were sent to each program. Nearly 350, or 27 percent of the programs, responded. Eighteen of these would be selected and directors of these programs would be invited to the symposium.

(2) Selection of programs for site visits.

Project staff met with the project's Advisory Board (a group of five police chiefs from Baltimore, Chicago, Houston, New Orleans and New York City), and then selected 20 individuals to serve as project consultants. All were nationally recognized experts in the field. Every major ethnic group, community institution, and geographical area was represented.

After a thorough review of completed survey questionnaires, a group of eight project consultants selected 18 programs for site visits. Selection was based on the following criteria:

- difficulty and magnitude of the problem the program addresses;
- extent and quality of relations with other local programs;
- extent to which the program brings together existing community resources in new ways;
- cultural mix of the population the program serves;
- practicality of the program and whether it can be adapted quickly to the needs of other communities;
- relationship among program resources, activities, and results; and
- type of community institution operating the program.

(3) Making the site visit.

Site visit teams were comprised of one project staff member and one or more project consultants. During the two-day site visits, the teams examined the program operations and met with program staff, program participants, and other recipients of

program services. The teams attempted to assess how easily the programs could be replicated. They then filed a report including the following components:

- a summary of the conversations with program staff and recipients of program services, government officials, civic leaders, law enforcement personnel, and heads of public and private agencies that work with the program;
- a detailed description of the program, showing its components and logic;
- an identification of factors that seemed to contribute to the program's apparent success;
- an assessment of the transferability of the program, in substance and process;
- a determination of the manner in which the program interacts with other community institutions and estimation of the impact on the program's apparent success;
- an identification of theoretical and practical strengths of the program;
- an assessment of the relationships among program resources, activities, and results; and
- team conclusions.

(4) Development of the symposium agenda.

Prior to the symposium, an "Initial Report" was mailed to each preregistered participant, most of whom received one of the 5,000 symposium announcements sent to national associations, criminal justice scholars and researchers, directors of community-based programs, and government officials. The 30-page report included a brief review of relevant literature and programs visited by the site visit teams—thus providing a framework for discussion during the symposium

II. SITE VISIT REPORTS

A. INTRODUCTION

The brief site visits did not produce extensive quantitative evaluations of program success in reducing inner-city crime nor empirically-based assessments of the extent to which they can be exported to other inner-cities and applied to other ethnic groups. The site visit team analyses were thus primarily qualitative, based in large part on comments made during interviews and on observations of program activities. The teams generally concluded that there is a critical need for quantitative research and that it may be necessary to implement these programs in other sites in order to measure and test their effects.

It might be possible to begin by attempting certain limited evaluations of the 18 programs noted herein. Using Posavac's and Carey's (1985) criteria, these programs appear "ready" for evaluation because their theoretical bases have been developed, sufficient resources have been allocated, and sponsors are implementing them in a substantial way. The evaluations might examine the relationships between the resources allocated and the activities completed, as well as the objectives accomplished. However, the first step, as Lurigio and Rosenbaum (1986) remind us, is to clearly identify the salient features of the programs.

While each of the 18 model programs described below is unique, they all share similar characteristics. These features are as follows:

- The programs work to eliminate the causes of crime. Many of them address specific social problems of inner-city residents that have been identified as correlates with, if not causes of, inner-city crime, such as emotional or family instability, lack of education, absence of vocational skills, unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, juvenile gangs, and sexual abuse and exploitation.
- The programs build on the strengths of their communities by marshalling existing neighborhood resources and by coordinating efforts with private organizations and government agencies.
- The programs incorporate natural support systems as they work with other community institutions in a cooperative effort.
- Virtually all of the programs have an identifiable group of clients they serve, clients who, for the most part, are first attracted to the program and who then tend to stay with it because they perceive distinct value from it.
- Virtually all of the programs target people who have been largely deprived of the privileges that are common to more affluent communities.
- Most of the programs have a clearly stated set of goals and a fairly well-defined set of procedures for achieving those goals, involving such activities as early intervention, outreach, treatment and rehabilitation, crisis intervention, student assistance, and vocational training.
- Most of the programs have sufficient resources to permit them to carry out their basic mission.
- Most of the programs have a leader who leads, a person who understands the need for the program and who runs it decisively. The leaders usually live in the neighborhoods served by the programs, are sensitive to the needs of their constitu-

ency, and provide ample opportunity for client input.

New programs to be instituted should aim to incorporate as many of these salient features as possible. Such replications should contain an evaluation component, thus providing an opportunity to assess their efficacy and permit comparisons of both the extent of success and costs of the new programs.

Using quasi-experimental designs, previous studies of community-based initiatives have enhanced our understanding of how these programs work. According to Yin (1986), we have learned that programs using a complex array of activities have been effective in reducing crime, and that police and community residents must collaborate. Although these previous studies did not evaluate programs operating in the highest crime areas like those examined in this project, their findings are useful for planning the future agenda of urban crime control policy and research.

The following site visit reports are grouped into six categories. The categories correspond to the types of community institutions discussed in this report — families and friends, schools, churches, businesses, civic groups, and juvenile and criminal justice agencies.

Each program was assigned to one of the six categories based upon: 1) its own assessment of the appropriate category (this information was provided in response to one of our survey questions); and 2) our assessment of the type of community institution operating the program and the type of activities in which the program is engaged. For example, the Community Re-entry Program, which is operated by the Lutheran Metropolitan Ministries, is included in the churches category because it is a church-sponsored program that assists ex-offenders. The House of UMOJA Boystown, which is operated by a private, non-profit community development corporation, is described under the families and friends category because it provides a surrogate family for members of youth gangs.

In some cases, however, a program could have been assigned to more than one category. For example, the Special Project to Educate and Control Drug Abuse, which is operated by the New York City Board of Education and New York City Police Department, is described under the schools category because it operates an educational program in elementary schools. It also could have been included in the juvenile and criminal justice agencies category because the police department is intimately involved in developing and implementing the program.

Thus, a program's specific assignment to a particular category is merely suggestive rather than definitive. It is suggestive in the sense that it shows what a particular community institution can do to address inner-city crime. It is far from definitive because these programs cannot be defined based upon the category to which they have been assigned. More than one community institution can operate a particular program. In fact, the cooperation of several community institutions is required to operate each program.

B. FAMILIES and FRIENDS PROGRAMS

1. Children of the Night Hollywood, California

Problem Addressed:

Home frequently is not a happy place. Each year, thousands of pre-teens and teen-agers are forced from home by their parents, or run away from psychological, physical, or sexual abuse, or other family problems (Caplan 1980; Geiser 1979; Weisberg 1985). A million or more of these children find themselves on inner-city streets without money, food, shelter, adequate clothing, friends, or protection (Geiser 1979; Caplan 1980; Weisberg 1985). Alone, often afraid, and without direction, these "street kids" are particularly vulnerable to negative influences and the empty promises of pimps and pornographers (Crowley 1977; Geiser 1979; Weisberg 1985; Goldstein 1987).

The flesh peddlers convince thousands of these children to sell their bodies to strangers, most of whom are white males, aged 30 to 50 (Weisberg 1985). According to Caplan (1980), there is well-organized commercial traffic in children that may have links to organized crime. Child prostitutes, Caplan maintains, can be found walking the streets, working out of massage parlors or health salons, or offering sex through escort services or tabloids. Caplan (1980) contends that child prostitution "has come into its own as a settled part of our urban landscape."

Churches, traveler's aid offices, and police officers often extend a helping hand. In addition, many government social service agencies operate programs designed to assist children in trouble. However, these government agencies frequently require that service recipients meet established criteria or maintain certain standards. It is the rare occasion that an offer of assistance is unaccompanied by behavior expectations. When these expectations are not met, the assistance may be withdrawn no matter how desperately the child may need it, according to Dr. Lois Lee, Children of the Night president. "Too old for protective services, too young for jobs and not a serious enough criminal (pre-delinquent) to be eligible for social services," these children have only a few places to which they can turn for assistance (Lee 1987). Children of the Night is one of these places.

Program's Approach:

Children of the Night helps any street child who is a victim of sexual abuse. The children assisted by this program are considered both as victims of society's indifference to their plight and as victims of a dysfunctional family that abuses and abandons them. The extent to which public agencies, private organizations, and parents modify their responses to children governs society's ability to save them from the ravages of street life and return them to mainstream society.

The program operates on the assumption that children have a right to food, shelter, and protection. Therefore, needed services are offered unconditionally — no strings attached. Children are asked, "What can we do for you?" rather than told what they must do in order to receive program services.

According to Dr. Lee, Children of the Night is in the business of raising children. It assumes the responsibility of protecting and caring for children in trouble or in need. It is designed to facilitate the appropriate, long term placement of street children in the mainstream of society by guiding them to other forms of assistance — shelter schools, drug treatment facilities, and jobs. The program defines success as a child who eschews any kind of criminal activity as a means of support, including association with or dependency on others involved in criminal activity. Where a child chooses to be involved in criminal activity, however, the program continues to offer assistance. It does not give up on any child.

Program Development:

Children of the Night began in 1979 when an inquisitive and energetic doctoral student was conducting research on adult female prostitutes. Dr. Lois Lee was amazed at the number of child prostitutes she saw, the problems they experienced, and the absence of adequate resources to assist them. She opened the doors of her home to these children, letting them know that safe quarters were available until she could help them locate a shelter, apartment, or job. In the first three years of the program's operation, more than 250 children accepted her generous offer.

During these formative years, the program was essentially funded by Dr. Lee, who took money out of her pocket to help feed the children. Her father also helped, giving her a \$15,000 loan, and a private foundation subsequently provided a \$3,000 grant. After a story about the program was broadcast on television, other foundations and individuals contributed over \$80,000 in funds needed to open a storefront in Hollywood, on a street where many of these children work as prostitutes.

Because the program does not seek or accept any government or United Way funds, raising sufficient sums to operate the storefront was a formidable obstacle to overcome. Dr. Lee chartered a bus and sold \$100 bus tour tickets, showing people the pitiful living conditions experienced by street children. This strategy captured the news media's attention, enhanced public awareness about the problem, and increased the amount of money raised through individual contributions.

Children of the Night is well known now, having received numerous awards, including former President Ronald Reagan's 1984 President's Volunteer Action Award. It has been featured on CBS's *60 Minutes*, was the subject of a movie, and was covered in dozens of newspaper articles.

Since 1979, over 5,000 girls and boys have been helped by Children of the Night. The typical child assisted by this program is 14 years old, white, female, from a middle-class family, unfamiliar with inner-city life, not born or raised in Hollywood, literate, intelligent, and self-motivated.

Program Implementation:

The structural components of the program include a board of directors that helps raise funds and formulates policy. The program staff includes Dr. Lee, seven paid staff members, and one hundred volunteers.

The paid personnel and volunteers are carefully selected and trained by Dr. Lee. They are local residents familiar with and sensitive to the problems faced by street children. The demographic characteristics of most paid staff members reflect the

population served, although all are women. The staff must obtain the child prostitutes' trust and confidence in order to assist them. The program director believes that because many of the children's most traumatic experiences involved men, this task can most quickly and effectively be accomplished by women.

Staff members are trained in working with street children, making referrals to other agencies that will help remove the children from the streets, counseling via crisis-line, sharing the children's "reality," and guaranteeing confidentiality. Staff members also maintain a close working relationship with police and provide detailed information to them about pimps.

The volunteers include entertainers, paramedics, beauticians, drug counselors, and a host of other individuals concerned about helping troubled youth. They answer the telephone hot-lines, participate in street outreach (where program staff walk the streets, contact child prostitutes, and advise them of program services), and give public speeches about the program.

Children of the Night's 1989 budget is \$470,000. It is funded by private corporations, foundations, and individual contributions.

Street children contact the program through its 24-hour telephone hot-line or its outreach workers on the streets. Staff members direct children to the program's walk-in crisis center. The crisis center provides:

- clothing;
- showers;
- crisis intervention;
- housing referrals;
- assistance with placement in drug treatment programs, mental health facilities, schools, or jobs; and assistance in obtaining birth certificates, social security cards, and other forms of identification.

The staff will also will make arrangements for the children to return home, and is involved in activities designed to increase public awareness of the problem and promote program replication. In addition, a one-year, follow-up study of the children assisted is conducted.

Results of these studies indicate that nearly 70 percent of the children can be located. Of those located, 11 percent have returned home. Eighty percent are staying off the street — they are not supporting themselves by selling their bodies, they have permanent housing, and they are in school or working a legitimate job. Most are happier and healthier. Females appear to experience more success than males in making the transition from street life to a stable lifestyle. Males, more frequently than females, are found abusing drugs and in need of drug treatment.

Children of the Night recently purchased a building and plans to open a shelter for sexually abused children without resources in early 1990. Housing will be provided for 24 children, and each child will be able to spend approximately 60 days in the shelter. The program's paid staff will increase from seven to thirty.

Case Example:

A 16-year-old female was working as a prostitute for a pimp who was abusing her. She sought the assistance of Children of the Night, which helped her to sever

her relationship with the pimp and to obtain a job. She subsequently became pregnant and started receiving financial assistance from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. The young woman lives with her infant in a small apartment. She enrolled in parenting classes and placed her child in an educational day care program. She frequently contacts Children of the Night to advise program staff of her progress.

While some might argue that there is little progress in moving from prostitution to unwed parenthood, it should be noted that the transition has been made by a juvenile, who lives in an unfamiliar inner-city environment and has no parental support. In this setting even a mature adult with resources would find it challenging to survive.

Replication:

Previous studies have found that most urban areas have large numbers of street children engaged in prostitution, that some of these children are as young as 11 years old, and that the average age of a child prostitute is 16 (Caplan 1980; Weisberg 1985). Boys, as well as girls, are involved in prostitution (Lloyd 1976; Geiser 1979; Weisberg 1985). Weisberg (1985) reports that two-thirds of these children are white, one-third are middle-class, three-fourths have not completed high school, and one-fourth are employed in a legitimate job.

Children of the Night is applicable to those communities having large numbers of street children involved in prostitution and pornography. It is a successful program, as measured by the extent to which street children reduce their reliance on prostitution or pornography as a means of financial support. The majority of children assisted by this program do leave the streets and lead more normal lives.

This fact makes the outreach component very important to any replication of the Children of the Night program. Weisberg (1985) states:

Many young prostitutes are reluctant to seek assistance from social service providers and all programs must somehow bridge the distance between their service delivery headquarters and the street milieu where the young prostitute lives and works. Outreach is a necessary prerequisite in order for the youth's needs to be identified and addressed.

Because a high level of skill is required to address the children's problems effectively, the staff training program developed by Dr. Lee is very comprehensive and prepares staff to work with street children. Training provides detailed information about the population served — street children are usually very intelligent and are frequently quite manipulative. Staff members are also trained in how to avoid compromising or other difficult situations.

All basic features of the Children of the Night program can be replicated. It will be more difficult, however, to replicate the program president's personal attributes and fund-raising techniques that were crucial during the formative stages. Dr. Lee is very skilled, exceptionally creative, highly motivated, and deeply commit-

boardrooms to raise funds and the gutters to let children know hassle-free help is available. She even opens her home to children needing a place to sleep.

The costs of replicating this type of program are substantial and many maintain that the government should provide funds. Children of the Night takes a different approach and seeks funding from private sources. Its approach can be replicated because all large cities have many private foundations, corporations, and individuals willing to donate money for worthy causes.

Unless the replication adopts the basic philosophy on which this program is built, however, it probably will experience limited success. Helping street children frequently requires more patience than most programs offer, Dr. Lee has demonstrated that it is not impossible to build patience and tolerance into the structure of a program.

Program Contact:

Dr. Lois Lee, Executive Director, Children of the Night, Inc., 1800 North Highland, Suite 128, Hollywood, California 90028-4520. Telephone: 213-461-3160 or 818-908-0850.

2. House of UMOJA Boystown Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Problem Addressed:

Thousands of boys and girls belong to gangs. Hundreds more join each year. These gangs often kill or severely injure rival gang members and innocent bystanders, sell and transport drugs, extort money from businesses, terrorize neighborhoods, disrupt school classes, and deface buildings.

Some observers believe that gangs are: 1) “residual social subsystems;” 2) engaged in violence because of competition for status and involvement in drug trafficking; 3) associated with or caused by social disorganization and poverty; and 4) a social problem that can be solved by police suppression and imprisonment of offenders (Curry and Spergel 1988). The House of UMOJA Boystown approaches these issues from a different perspective.

Program’s Approach:

The House of UMOJA views gangs as relatively sophisticated organizations “with an unwritten charter, philosophy, claimed turf, communication system, purpose and agenda.” They emerge because: 1) youngsters seek to fulfill their basic needs for love, friendship, loyalty, trust, companionship, and other positive attributes found within a traditional family context; and 2) society has failed to provide facilities to which young people can attach themselves, specifically those facilities that help block the delinquent influences in the youngsters’ environment.

The House of UMOJA maintains that youth gang violence can be reduced through a strategy that prevents youngsters from joining gangs. Without new recruits to fill the vacancies created by homicides and imprisonment, gangs will not possess the manpower needed to carry out their violent activities. When dealing with youth who are currently gang members, however, the problem is far more complex, and its resolution requires that the community use a more holistic approach.

The House of UMOJA Boystown works with youngsters who have gang affiliations and with other youths who are “at-risk.” According to site visit team member Dr. James Scott, the program is based upon three interrelated premises: 1) it is better to approach the problem from the viewpoint that people are attempting to comply with others’ expectations than to approach it with a perspective that seeks to prevent people from violating others’ rules; 2) it is better to start by providing protection from harmful influences than to start by eliminating these influences; and 3) the basic protection resources needed to begin resolving the problem exist in individuals’ ties to other people — peers, family, and co-workers. Dr. Scott states that this concept involves the belief that impoverished neighborhoods, largely cast off as being unworthy of substantial public attention, possess human resources that can be developed to remedy neighborhood problems.

The House of UMOJA provides the following resources and services:

- a surrogate family
- food

- shelter
- emotional and spiritual support
- life skills and job training
- job placement
- employment opportunities
- counseling
- reintegration planning
- stress and aggression control training
- values clarification and problem solving skills
- remedial reading
- remedial math
- GED preparation
- vocational education
- conflict resolution and communication skills, and
- recreational activities.

The House of UMOJA builds upon the positive characteristics of gangs — loyalty, trust, sharing, and mutual respect among members. The concepts, “respect for self and others,” “trust,” “love,” and “responsibility for one’s own life,” are key to the program’s success. By providing a feeling of self-worth, the program assumes that youth will be less likely to view others as worthless; and, by instilling a sense of responsibility, the program makes it less likely that youth will fall victim to the belief that their lives are determined purely by fate or luck.

Ego strengthening is the first step in reducing the influence of a delinquent environment. The principle applies not only to the at-risk individual, but to the community, as well. Program staff members believe that facilities must be provided to which young people can attach themselves, if the delinquent influence in the community is to be blocked. This is not a novel idea. But, it is unique to recognize that resources for developing ego-strength and for community development are inherent in gang and family attachments and neighborhood pride. While these terms are often employed rhetorically by various groups, Dr. Scott believes that the House of UMOJA is a concrete and programmatic embodiment of them.

Loyalty, trust, sharing, and mutual respect among members are attributes of a family and represent basic needs of youth. Thus, each Boystown resident is encouraged to view himself as a member of the “family.” “Family” in this context is not viewed as a label, casually assigned for the purpose of stifling individuality. Its purpose is to motivate young people to develop and demonstrate the fullest sense of personal responsibility.

By linking the gang and family, individuals can abandon the destructive aspects of the delinquent gang and simultaneously commit themselves to the House of UMOJA — without creating a psychological vacuum in their lives. For this reason, individual successes cannot be gauged in the conventional sense and must be seen in light of long-term gradual behavioral changes. At the community level, family and kinship are seen as principles for broader community development, and so evaluation of success at this level also requires long-term assessment.

Program Development:

What is now known as the House of UMOJA Boystown, located in one of Philadelphia's toughest neighborhoods, began twenty years ago as a young journalist's crusade to save the lives of high-risk, violence-prone youth. Sister Falaka Fattah, the program's executive director, was concerned about her own son's involvement in a youth gang. Fearing that his name would be listed among hundreds of other fatalities attributed to youth gang violence, she opened the doors of her small house to gang members needing refuge from the violent streets. She advised gang members that they could share her home and become part of her family. In exchange, they would have to abide by the house rules, the most important of which was to respect the rights of other family members.

According to Sister Fattah, the House of UMOJA operated for several years on the charitable gifts of neighbors before it was "discovered" by others concerned about reducing youth gang violence. Government agencies, including the court, were looking for organizations with which they could contract to provide intensive supervision and treatment for youngsters involved in violent youth gangs. The House of UMOJA was viewed as an ideal choice for many of these youngsters because it had an impressive track record of re-directing their activities, it enjoyed the respect of neighborhood residents, and it operated a residential facility located in the neighborhood where many of these children live.

Since its discovery, the House of UMOJA has been selected by the United States Department of Health and Human Services as an exemplary program for replication. It has been recognized by former presidents Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the YMCA, the National Business League, the National Association of Blacks in Criminal Justice, the United Negro College Fund, the National Black Police Officers Association, the Urban Coalition, and the National Black Law Students Association. It also has been featured on such television programs as the "MacNeil-Lehrer Report" and "That's Incredible," as well as in magazines (including Reader's Digest), books, and newspapers. It has also received over eighty community service awards.

Today, the House of UMOJA Boystown maintains its original features, goals, and approaches. It continues to be "a home with a family, not a government social service agency" (Woodson 1986). However, rather than operating out of a small house, it occupies 23 buildings in the same neighborhood where it began. Its primary goal remains the same — to save the lives of high-risk, violence-prone youth. And its basic approach is the same — working with boys to help them overcome massive social and economic problems.

Program Implementation:

The structural components of the program include a governing board which sets the program's policy. It is comprised of Fattah family members (blood relatives and those related by marriage). The program also has an advisory board that includes individuals from various backgrounds. This board provides support, advice, and guidance. The operational staff includes technicians (e.g., lawyer, construction manager, business consultant) and course staff. The course staff is comprised of

three groups: 1) the family (which includes former program participants who were gang leaders); 2) professionals (such as social workers or psychologists); and 3) community outreach (as many as 100 volunteers who help with the annual picnic and other special activities).

The program is administered by Sister Fattah, who essentially "sits in the middle of the wheel and coordinates the activities of the various spokes." David Fattah serves as the Director of Community Outreach. In this capacity, he is Sister Fattah's partner, trouble shooter, and administrative aide.

The House of UMOJA's 1989 budget is \$625,000 per year. Most of these funds come from the City of Philadelphia, which contracts with the House of UMOJA to provide services to troubled youth. Funds also come from the United Way's donor option plan, where individuals can make direct contributions to the House of UMOJA. In addition, grant proposals are submitted to private foundations and multinational corporations for special projects. And funds continue to come from neighbors who donate their pocket change in the form of outright gifts, or from fundraisers such as car washes and cake sales.

The program is licensed to house 33 youths. However, at any one time there will be approximately 25 youths residing at the House of UMOJA. Over its 20-year history, nearly 80 percent of the youth served were gang members. Because the gang problem is not as severe now as it was when the program began, however, many of the youth served today are not gang members but "at-risk" because of drug abuse or other problems. This trend is expected to continue for the foreseeable future.

The House of UMOJA operates three programs. The first is a long-term residential program where youth live at the House of UMOJA for at least six months and up to two years. They are sent to the House of UMOJA by the Family Court in lieu of incarceration. They participate in the full range of activities sponsored by the House of UMOJA, and attend classes at junior and senior high schools throughout the city. After their stay at the House of UMOJA, these youths go on to college or obtain employment. Seldom do they return to their families.

The second program is a short-term residential care program. Its participants are sent to the House of UMOJA by the Philadelphia Youth Study Center (the city's juvenile detention facility). They stay at the House of UMOJA for a short time (a day, week, or month) while they await a court hearing on the disposition of their case. Some of these youths might be labelled incorrigible, truant, or accused of various crimes. They participate in many of the activities in which the long-term youths participate. The short-term youths, however, are not allowed to leave the 23-building area that comprises Boystown without permission or staff supervision, and they attend classes held at the Boystown. In some cases, a youth having been assigned to the short-term residential program is transferred to the long-term residential program.

Although the House of UMOJA has operated the short-term program for three years, it plans to discontinue it in the near future. According to Sister Fattah, the short-term, detention-oriented program conflicts with the House of UMOJA's basic philosophy. The House of UMOJA views itself as a family rather than an extension of law enforcement agencies, and believes that the short stay is not long enough to be "bonded" into the family.

The third program is a day treatment program where youths come during the day, participate in the program activities, and go home at night.

The House of UMOJA does not accept any youths who are accused of being involved in sex-related crimes, who are psychotic, or who are drug dealers.

The program reduces youth gang violence and other criminal and delinquent behavior by addressing, in a holistic manner, the interrelated problems faced by youth and focuses upon their social and economic development.

The House of UMOJA works closely with local and state government agencies, other community-based organizations, religious groups, and planning bodies. Program staff also are involved in social work seminars and provide technical assistance to those attempting to replicate the program. In addition to the Boystown, the House of UMOJA operates a Security Institute, catering business, culinary arts academy, information center, and moving and hauling company.

Case Example:

A 17-year-old refugee from Saigon was residing in Texas with his family. He and his brother decided to leave Texas and traveled to Philadelphia where they committed an armed robbery using a shotgun. Both youths were apprehended and placed in Philadelphia's Youth Study Center.

The Youth Study Center sent the 17-year-old to the House of UMOJA's short-term residential program. Shortly after his arrival, he was transferred to the long-term residential program. He lived at the House of UMOJA for nearly one year and was then transferred to the day treatment program.

When he arrived at the House of UMOJA, the youth spoke very little English. A teacher worked with him and the staff spent a lot of time helping him adjust to American culture and the House of UMOJA family. Staff members quickly realized that this youngster was interested in education and had a strong work ethic. Building on these strengths, they helped him acquire the tools he needed to become a productive member of the community. He enrolled in a community college, and worked in construction and at a fast-food restaurant. He was selected as the 1989 House of UMOJA "youth of the year." A dinner was held in his honor, during which many of the other Boystown residents noted how enriched their lives had become because of their association with him.

During the year he lived at the House of UMOJA, his Texas-based parents regularly corresponded with him. Upon completion of the program, he expressed a desire to return to his parents. The House of UMOJA bought him a ticket and sent him home to Texas.

Replication:

The House of UMOJA Boystown appears to be more applicable to communities characterized by strong juvenile gang organizations and fewer conventional family structures. It is a successful program. Its success, however, is not measured by the extent to which young people relinquish gang membership; rather, it is measured by the transferal of their gang loyalties to the House of UMOJA family.

Measured in conventional terms, the House of UMOJA has succeeded in reducing the number of gang-related homicides and assaults. Before this program began, Philadelphia frequently was referred to as the gang capital of the United States. Forty or more young people were murdered each year; hundreds were seriously injured. Last year only a few gang-related homicides were reported.

Experience has shown that the House of UMOJA Boystown can be replicated in other geographical areas and with other ethnic groups. A Delaware-based replication site is now in operation, and House of UMOJA staff have traveled to and communicated with community groups in Belfast, Ireland.

Site visit team member Dr. James Scott cautions:

... in any program which so closely reflects the aspirations and concern of its founder, as does the House of UMOJA, there is an organizational dynamic unique to the personality of the organizer. The commitment, dedication, and personal involvement of Sister Falaka Fattah and her husband David Fattah are important ingredients in the program's success. This organizational personality, which was essential during its formative stages, cannot be replicated. However, it is possible and even likely that other inner-city residents in similar circumstances possess similar personal skills and orientations, and could apply their persuasive powers to a particular situation and produce remarkable results.

The costs of replicating such a comprehensive program are quite substantial; external or non-neighborhood resources of financial support are necessary. One might contract with local criminal justice agencies, such as the juvenile court, to provide "rehabilitation" services in a residential setting. This approach frequently is used by publicly financed, privately operated halfway houses for juveniles and adults. One might also be able to reduce reliance on external sources if revenue-generating projects like those operated by the House of UMOJA prove successful.

Program Contact:

Sister Falaka Fattah, Chief Executive Officer, The House of UMOJA Community Development Corporation, 1410-1426 North Frazier Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19131. Telephone: 215-473-5893.

C. SCHOOLS *and* EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

1. School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse (SPECDA)—

New York City Board of Education and New York City
Police Department
New York, New York

Problem Addressed:

Substance abuse among children is considered one of the most pressing problems facing this nation. School-aged children smoke marijuana and crack, snort PCP and cocaine, and drink alcoholic beverages. These and other intoxicating substances are readily available, relatively inexpensive, and highly addictive.

Substance abuse prevention efforts generally focus on curtailing sales to customers by interrupting delivery of supplies to wholesalers and arresting retailers. Although some interdiction efforts have been well publicized by news media, these "supply-side" successes are overshadowed by "demand-side" dynamics. Many children continue to spend untold dollars to purchase and consume illegal drugs.

In an effort to address the demand for both drugs and alcohol, there is an increased emphasis on educating school children. A large number of drug prevention programs have been established in the last five years. Among them is a unique program that addresses both sides of the problem. The School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse (SPECDA) combines law enforcement and educational strategies.

Program's Approach:

SPECDA is based on the notion that the use of drugs and alcohol by children is related to substance availability and to peer pressure. Thus, the program seeks to apprehend drug retailers who market their wares in close proximity to schools. It also attempts to "arrest the demand for drugs" by: 1) teaching youngsters about the dangers of drug and alcohol use; 2) encouraging them to resist peer pressure to use drugs; and 3) providing them with wholesome alternative activities.

Program Development:

In 1984, the chief executives of the New York City Police Department and the New York City Board of Education established a planning committee. The committee's charge was to develop a new drug prevention education program.

A 16-session curriculum, to be team taught by experienced police officers and school drug counselors, was developed. It was named the School Program to Educate and Control Drug Abuse and is commonly referred to by its acronym — SPECDA. The program plan included teaching eight sessions of the course to fifth graders and eight sessions to sixth graders.

In early 1985, a pilot project, using less than 30 police officers and approximately 50 school drug counselors, was implemented in two of the 32 New York City

school districts. Some of the funds for this pilot were obtained from assets seized during arrests of drug dealers. By late 1985, SPECDA was operating in seven New York City school districts. And in 1987, it was expanded to 28 school districts and was using over 100 police officers on a full-time basis.

Program Implementation:

From its inception, SPECDA has been jointly sponsored by the police department and school board. However, the responsibility for program administration primarily rests with the police department.

Each SPECDA education team is comprised of one police officer and one school drug counselor. Police officers apply for assignment to SPECDA, and a background check on each applicant is completed. A small number of experienced officers with outstanding credentials are selected. These officers receive extensive training in the program's purposes, operations, and curriculum and are then assigned to a school. If possible, they are also assigned to the schools they attended. Efforts are also made to assign officers who are ethnically representative of the student population they will teach.

School drug counselors are specially trained in working with drug abusing children or those "at-risk" of abusing drugs. Before SPECDA was created, these counselors were involved in drug prevention activities and carried heavy counseling caseloads. With the advent of SPECDA, the role of school drug counselors' was modified. They continue to counsel youngsters and their families, but they also "team-teach" the SPECDA curriculum with police officers.

The curriculum is designed to change student attitudes toward drugs and to eliminate the drug-taking behavior. It includes lectures on self-awareness, resisting peer pressure, decision-making, drug pharmacology, the consequences of drug use, and positive alternatives to drug abuse. A certificate of program completion is given to each student.

SPECDA teams also encourage youngsters to form SPECDA school chapters that offer field trips and recreational activities for students. Many schools have such chapters and their members can be identified by SPECDA t-shirts.

For schools not participating in the full SPECDA curriculum, the program also has school assembly teams that visit schools and briefly cover the information taught in the classroom by the SPECDA instructors. The information provided at school assemblies combines a lecture with a movie and question-and-answer session. After the assembly, the teams visit classrooms and speak with students.

Program staff members also prepare drug prevention handouts, which are distributed to students, teachers, parents, and civic groups. Additionally, staff members frequently lecture to civic groups and participate in neighborhood activities.

One can reasonably assume that the costs of this program are substantial. Staff salaries, staff training, staff vehicles, teaching materials and equipment, and promotional documents are considerable. All of these costs are borne by local taxpayers.

It should be noted that the New York City Police Department employs over 27,000 police officers. Of this number, approximately a hundred are assigned to

SPECDA. Program costs thus represent only a relatively small fraction of the police department's total operating budget.

Police data indicate that several thousand arrests of drug dealers selling drugs near schools have been made since the program's inception. A study conducted by John Jay College of Criminal Justice found that the program has: 1) increased student awareness of drugs and their dangers; 2) resulted in positive student attitudes toward SPECDA team members, and 3) encouraged students to remain drug free.

Case Example:

A police officer applied for assignment to SPECDA, was accepted, and was subsequently paired with a school drug counselor. This officer is young, intelligent, and enthusiastic. Using the SPECDA curriculum, the officer teaches children why and how they can avoid using drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes.

The officer begins the first instructional session letting students know that he is not there to arrest them, but rather to teach them about the dangers of drugs. Because the curriculum design encourages instructors to be creative, he is able to impart the information in a manner that is enjoyable for him and his young students. He creates opportunities for the youngsters to participate in discussions. Although the topic is serious, the teaching style is fun. Many of the children already are familiar with drugs, thus he stresses the need for children to have accurate information about drugs and their dangers.

After the 45-minute sessions are completed, the officer advises students that he is available to discuss any additional questions or concerns the students may have. He also participates in community activities occurring in the neighborhoods where the children live. Therefore, the children have at least two out-of-class opportunities to interact with the officer. On many occasions, the children advise the officer of drug sales and other crimes occurring in their neighborhood.

The officer has seen himself develop into a role model, has seen changes in youngsters' attitudes toward drugs, and has seen the program break down barriers between the police and children.

Replication:

The site visit team concluded that this program probably can be replicated in other sites. The course materials appear easily adaptable to almost any school district. Most police departments have a contingent of young, bright, and enthusiastic officers who can capture the imagination and hold the attention of fifth and sixth graders. And many teachers welcome any assistance they can obtain to deal with the substance abuse problem.

This program requires at least two government agencies, with very different goals and objectives, to work together closely over an extended period of time. Clearly, the strong support of the chief executives of the police department and school board is vital to the development and implementation of a SPECDA-type program. Because local government dollars are used to finance the program, the mayor's endorsement also is needed.

Implementation of such an approach, however, may be difficult where the general community teachers, school drug counselors, or other police officers are

reluctant to accept the role of uniformed police officers as educators rather than law enforcers. The old debate concerning the police role in the community may be fueled by introduction of this program.

Teaching schedules may need to be adjusted, leaving less time to devote to reading, writing, and arithmetic, or the school day may need to be lengthened. School drug counselors may resent a redefinition of their role. Other police officers may perceive assignment to a SPECDA-type program as draining personnel resources needed to fight crime on the streets or as an easy job reserved for the favored few.

Program Contact:

Wilhelmina Holliday, Commissioner of Community Affairs, New York City Police Department, One Police Plaza, New York, New York 10038. Telephone: 212-374-6770.

2. Special Project on Training of Professionals in Sexual Exploitation Prevention of the Developmentally Disabled— Bellevue Hospital Auxiliary New York, New York

Problem Addressed:

The term “developmentally disabled” refers to individuals of all ages, who suffer from physical or mental impairments that may have been caused by birth, accident, or illness. People who are blind, deaf, paraplegic, or mentally retarded are included in this definition.

The developmentally disabled are almost a forgotten segment of our society. Most are forced from the mainstream, hidden in institutions, discussed rarely, and stereotyped as being childlike, helpless, and asexual.

According to George Worthington (1987), two major factors make the developmentally disabled “easy prey for rapists.” The first is society’s negative image of the developmentally disabled; the second is the way in which they are taught to think about themselves. Worthington (1989) maintains that society teaches them to be passive and to negate their sexuality.

Accurate statistical information, concerning the extent to which the developmentally disabled are sexually exploited, is difficult to obtain. Like other crimes, most of these incidents are not reported to police. However, the staff of the Special Project on Training of Professionals in Sexual Exploitation Prevention of the Developmentally Disabled maintain that crime data and professional experiences would indicate that: 1) these types of offenses frequently occur, and 2) offenders include strangers, acquaintances, and relatives.

Program’s Approach:

Worthington (1987) argues that the traditional agencies assisting victims or “survivors” of sexual assaults may overlook the developmentally disabled and their special needs. Thus, the Special Project on Training of Professionals in Sexual Exploitation Prevention of the Developmentally Disabled seeks to increase public awareness and trains human service and criminal justice professionals in the special needs of that population. It also stimulates thinking about ways in which local networks of medical, psychological, and legal assistance to the developmentally disabled can be established.

The project is based on three several concepts. First, many developmentally disabled people are sexually abused. Second, society’s perceptions of the developmentally disabled increase their vulnerability to sexual abuse. And third, sexual abuse can be prevented if society’s perceptions about the developmentally disabled change and the latter are taught to defend themselves.

Program Development:

George Worthington was working at a family planning agency in New York City he observed that a considerable number of developmentally disabled people

diseases or because they had been sexually abused. Seeing a need to help address these special problems. Worthington made a commitment to become involved in prevention-oriented efforts. However, he did not have the funds to implement such a program. He did have community resources to which he could turn for assistance, support, and guidance.

Worthington contacted the Department of Community Relations of the Bellevue Hospital Center, a public hospital in New York City, because he knew that it operated a well-respected rape crisis program. He was advised that the Bellevue Hospital Auxiliary might be interested in addressing the problem. This a private organization raises funds to enhance the medical services offered by the public hospital.

Worthington then wrote a proposal to obtain funds to train other social service professionals in techniques that would prevent sexual exploitation of the developmentally disabled and treat those who had been sexually exploited.

The \$50,000 proposal was submitted to the New York State Developmental Disabilities Planning Council. In 1985, the project received funding for a two-year period under the council's innovative projects funding section.

Program Implementation:

The project's organizational structure includes an advisory committee that comprises local residents — crime victims, rehabilitation professionals, and the disabled. The committee provides advice and reviews project activities. In addition to George Worthington, three part-time consultants are employed. The program operates through the Auxiliary to Bellevue Hospital and the Department of Community Relations of the Bellevue Hospital Center.

The project conducts seven or eight training sessions each year. Between 25 and 30 individuals participate in each session. The project's effectiveness is measured by the number of requests received for training sessions, training materials, and other project publications.

Funds are obtained from sales of the program training curriculum and other publications and training fees. Bellevue provides in-kind support in the form of office space, telephones, postage, and secretarial assistance. The project's 1989 budget is \$86,000.

Local agencies throughout the state, promote the project's training sessions. Local agencies working with the developmentally disabled, such as United Cerebral Palsy and Easter Seal, request training sessions for their clients. The requesting agency is instructed to assemble a coalition of planning groups and to identify the training session participants. Project staff travel to the training site and conduct the three-day session. Each participant pays a \$115 fee.

The project essentially takes a "training-of-trainers" approach. Human service and criminal justice professionals are trained in the special counseling, communication, and other needs of the developmentally disabled. Many of these professionals have worked extensively with rape victims, and yet often fail to address the impact of rape on the disabled.

The training sessions focus on prevention and emphasize that disabled people are capable of independence, assertiveness, and self-defense. Trainees are encour-

aged to examine existing policies and services to gauge their sensitivity to the disabled. They are also taught numerous techniques on how the disabled can avoid victimization and cope with the psychological trauma of sexual exploitation. Participants are also taught how to take care of “caretakers” and prevent staff burnout.

The project encourages local professionals to think about ways in which individuals and organizations can establish a local network of medical, psychological, and legal services to which the disabled can turn before or after they have been abused. This “seeding” technique is employed to meet one of the chief objectives of training — to promote and facilitate a local self-help approach to service delivery and education that continues after the training session ends.

Case Example:

Project staff received a telephone call from an agency located in Buffalo, New York, which requested a training session. A letter was sent to the agency stating the services the project would offer and suggesting how the agency should prepare for the training session. The agency was responsible for obtaining space and was asked to identify the local people who would be participating.

Project staff made two trips to Buffalo; one to prepare for the session and one to conduct it. The training session was very intensive — the group spent approximately 40 hours together during a three and a half day period. Following the training session, project staff were available for follow-up technical assistance.

Replication:

The site visit team reported that this program can be duplicated in virtually any community for several reasons. First, social service practitioners are likely to view it as a practical approach to a serious problem. Second, training trainers is inexpensive. Few staff are required, a separate physical plant is not needed, and the program can be incorporated into the operations of existing agencies. And, third, the training program is relatively easy to promote because it offers systematic problem solving techniques tailored to the local community that will be using them.

This program’s potential for reducing inner-city crime is very promising. It appears highly likely that this basic training of trainers approach can be employed across geographical areas and ethnic groups. It also may be applicable to other crime control strategies (e.g., drug prevention, arson prevention, or youth gang programs).

Program Contact:

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D. CHURCH PROGRAMS

1. Centro Sister Isolina Ferre Programa del Dispensario— San Antonio, Inc. Ponce, Puerto Rico

Problem Addressed:

Ponce is the second largest city in Puerto Rico. Over 21,000 people (10 percent of Ponce's total population), reside in a section called La Playa. La Playa is not an inner-city area typical of those found in most American cities. It is located on a beach in the port section of Ponce on the southern coast of Puerto Rico.

La Playa, like most inner cities, suffers from high rates of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, teen-age pregnancy, youth gangs, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, and crime. Centro Sister Isolina Ferre addresses these problems through a multifaceted strategy that instills a sense of self-worth and confidence and provides means by which individuals and the community can accomplish their objectives and goals.

Program's Approach:

Centro Sister Isolina Ferre staff believe that delinquency and crime are symptoms of other social problems such as poverty. They work to help the poor through education, advocacy, and revitalization at both the individual and community levels.

The center seeks to "awaken a sense of personal worth, to create a vision expressed in community, and to participate in a revitalization process." At the individual level, the center emphasizes personal values such as dignity, respect, love, self-esteem, ethics, and lawful behavior. At the community level, it emphasizes marshalling existing community resources to create an environment in which community members can fully develop their potential.

Essentially, the program encourages individuals to believe that: 1) they and their neighbors have value; 2) the community is a vital and dynamic force which can be used as an advocate for its members; and 3) community revitalization is a process in which individuals actively participate and through which they assume control over their lives by engaging in mutually supportive programs that benefit themselves and others.

The center's strategies and techniques focus on building self-confidence and self-esteem and reducing feelings of hopelessness through education, job training, youth advocacy, economic development, and leadership building.

Program Development:

The center was founded in 1968 by Sister Isolina Ferre, a member of the Missionary Servants of the Most Blessed Trinity. After receiving her graduate degree, she returned to Ponce and found that La Playa was an isolated area inhabited by over 16,000 people, and neglected by public agencies and private organizations. The poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, delinquency, and crime rates were extraordinarily high. Virtually no health care facilities existed and there were few

community resources to address the enormous social and economic problems.

One important resource was a local dispensary. In the late 1940s, a group of sisters had established a small health center, called the Dispensario San Antonio, where community members could obtain medicines and counseling. The sisters also acted as advocates for the needy and were well-respected by community members. Sister Isolina Ferre, with a few religious leaders, university professors, and other individuals, shared their concerns and community improvement plans with dispensary staff.

In 1969, a grant proposal was drafted and submitted to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, requesting funds to operate a juvenile delinquency prevention and correction program. This proposal was funded, and a center for orientation and services was established. The grant enabled the center to hire staff that could work toward resolution of community problems on a full-time basis. From this center, the current center emerged.

Program Implementation:

The center's organizational structure includes a board of directors that provides advice and guidance. Sister Isolina Ferre served as its executive director from 1969 until 1985. Although she is retired, she continues to provide consultation to the program. Sister Rosita Bauza currently serves as the center's executive director. She is responsible for program administration and is assisted by a legal advisor, fiscal advisor, and assistant director.

The assistant director supervises the work of the directors of the center's administrative and operational components. These directors monitor the performance of employees responsible for managing the center's various programs. Although the center initially employed only a few staff and relied heavily on volunteers, it currently employs over 100 people and has helped reduce the area's high unemployment rate.

The center's 1989 budget is approximately one million dollars. Government grants (e.g., for job training) and gifts from private philanthropic organizations account for nearly half of the center's operating budget. The other half is obtained from entrepreneurial projects that include producing and selling Christmas cards and agricultural goods.

Approximately 2,000 people each year are involved in the following educational and job training programs, advocacy, and community revitalization activities sponsored by the center. Nearly 75 percent of the participants are juveniles; 50 percent are females; and 75 percent reside in La Playa.

(1) Educational Programs.

At the center's inception, only three percent of La Playa's residents had completed high school. Although the high school graduation figures have improved over the years, a substantial proportion of the community's residents are uneducated.

Program staff contend that each person has a right to education and that traditional educational institutions do not meet the needs of every community member. Thus, alternatives are provided by the center to help people help themselves become better educated.

The educational curriculum is designed to develop social strengths, as well as academic ones. Cosmetology, photography, lamination, ceramics, agriculture, book binding, audio-visual technology, home economics, silk screening, woodworking, and ballet are taught.

These courses stimulate interest in learning fundamental literacy skills, demonstrate the relevance of education, and prepare students for employment and adult life. In addition to teaching basic skills, staff provide warmth, love, and understanding to prevent youth from abandoning education.

(2) Job Training Programs.

Program staff believe that employment is a crucial component of individual and community revitalization. Community members, however, must be prepared to work. Thus, the program offers job training for several different occupations. Among them are commercial sewing, electronic technology, computer programming, tool and dye, child care, and health care.

(3) Advocacy Programs.

The center has a large advocacy component. Its primary objectives are to foster and maintain community unity and to enhance community spirit.

Advocates are community residents serving as keys that open doors to opportunities for other community residents. Advocates are selected on the basis of their ability to establish positive relations with youth needing services, their families, other community residents, and other private organizations and government agencies.

Advocates act as representatives of troubled youth when dealing with government agencies (e.g., police department and courts). They are also responsible for developing supporting and recreational activities for youth and for encouraging youngsters to enroll in self-help programs.

Advocates teach parents about their responsibilities, the laws that protect them, and the methods by which they collectively can work to assist children. Families are taught how to be advocates for themselves. They are also encouraged to establish networks of families, friends, and neighbors for the purpose of transforming the entire community into an advocate for its members.

The advocacy component also provides counseling to abused children, encourages handicapped children's participation in the life of the community, and advises children to remain in school.

(4) Community Revitalization (Small Businesses).

Community revitalization requires that residents modify perceptions of themselves, their community, their problems, and their ability to resolve problems. It also requires development of the economic infrastructure of the community, including creation of employment opportunities for community members.

The center operates several small businesses for this purpose. Community members are hired to produce and sell goods and services to area residents. Goods are marketed throughout Puerto Rico and include Christmas cards, coffee, and ceramics. Services provided include sewing and landscaping.

Although scores of jobs are created by these businesses, they mean far more than just a paycheck to the employees. Employment provides them an opportunity to contribute to the community, thus reinforcing the center's basic philosophy — each community member has value, the community can advocate on behalf of its members, and the community can be revitalized.

Case Example:

The photography program is designed to teach youth how to take photos and to enhance their awareness of themselves and their community. This program was started with the gift of several cameras from Kodak and the volunteer help of community members. Over 15 years ago, its current program director was a student in this program.

The program director teaches youngsters how to use camera equipment and then arranges field trips where they can take photos of the landscape and architecture. The students learn how to take excellent photos. More importantly, however, while taking the photos they also become interested in studying the history of architectural design and how it relates to them.

Students also have an opportunity to develop, enlarge, and market their photos. This requires that they become familiar with developing chemicals and time counters, tools that require knowledge of basic arithmetic. Students unable to perform the calculations are asked whether they are willing to overcome this deficiency; virtually all of the students respond positively and enroll in the appropriate courses.

This program is designed to motivate students to obtain the knowledge and skills needed to become productive members of the community. They are not forced to study history or mathematics. Rather they are placed in a position where they want to learn in order to achieve their maximum potential.

Replication:

The site visit team concluded that this approach probably can be replicated in other sites because the concepts on which it is based transcend geographical, ethnic, and religious boundaries. Although religious principles are applied in a community setting, the program does not attempt to indoctrinate the people it assists. However, site visit team member Sister Falaka Fattah cautioned that where attempts are made to replicate this center in a piecemeal fashion, it will run a high risk of failure. She stated:

Replication efforts should embody the founder's basic Christian principles and beliefs, or an equally compelling value system. ... The program uses skill development and marshalls existing resources. ... There is a process of taking control via persuasive intervention. ... It would be a disservice to this program to attempt partial replication. It is a way of life. The essence of the program, which is in fact multiple programs, is its holistic approach to the needs of the community.

According to center staff, police reports indicate that prior to the inception of this approach, La Playa's delinquency and crime rates were higher than those of surrounding areas; they are currently lower. This information supports the assertion that the center has been successful in reducing delinquency and crime.

The center's remarkable success is apparently due to the leadership provided by its founder, its organizational structure which provides clear lines of authority, its reliance on revenue-generating activities as a primary source of funding, its use of alternative educational programs and job training programs, its relationship with the individuals served, and its basic self-help philosophy. Those attempting replication also should note: 1) the center's emphasis is on working with people to help them help themselves; 2) community members are actively involved in designing the services offered; 3) services are provided to community members by community members; and 4) community members are considered the most important community resource.

Program Contact:

Sister Rosita Bauza, MSBT, Executive Director, Centro Sister Isolina Ferre, Programa Del Dispensario San Antonio, Inc., Apartado 213-Playa Station, Ponce, Puerto Rico 00734-3213. Telephone: (809) 843-1225 or (809) 843-1910.

2. Community Re-Entry— Lutheran Metropolitan Ministries Association Cleveland, Ohio

Problem Addressed:

Most adults released from prison return to prison within months because they have committed a new crime. They are usually reincarcerated for increasingly longer periods of time and frequently assigned new labels such as “career criminals” (Blumstein 1986).

Many observers argue that prisons have failed to rehabilitate offenders, returning them to the community illiterate and unemployable. Some argue that parole boards release offenders too soon and that longer sentences should be imposed. And others maintain that prisons coddle criminals, suggesting that penalties should be more severe. Community Re-Entry places responsibility for rehabilitation on offenders and the community, rather than on prisons or parole boards. It contends that those who are part of the crime problem can become a part of its solution.

Community Re-Entry is a church-sponsored, community-based corrections program. It emphasizes “reintegration” as its overall strategy and uses employment as a technique. This approach has been recommended by a number of observers (Fox 1977) and is supported by the findings of several recent research projects.

LeClair (1983 and 1986) found that “programs geared to maintain, establish, or reestablish general societal links in terms of economic, political, and social roles have led to a reduction in recidivism.” Rossi et al (1980) found that employment “is clearly the strongest antidote to reengaging in criminal activities.” Their findings show that employment produces income, absorbs time, and provides “social supports for legality.” According to Rossi et al. (1980):

The status of being employed may mean achieving respectability among family, kin, friends, and neighbors. In addition, the social context of most work provides ties to others that may provide reinforcement for legality, new networks of friendship, possibilities for meeting potential mates, and so on.

Program’s Approach:

Community Re-Entry works to resettle ex-offenders in the community in a way that reduces their recidivism. It views ex-offenders as individuals possessing talents that can be used to better themselves and their community. According to Charles See, the program’s director, “ex-offenders are more than crooks” and should be given opportunities to demonstrate their ability to become productive members of the community. See maintains that to the extent opportunities are provided, many ex-offenders will meet this challenge and succeed.

Community Re-Entry is based upon several interrelated concepts: 1) “people more readily act their way into a new kind of thinking, than think their way into a new kind of acting;” 2) through community service one is able to explore one’s talents and become more productive; 3) offenders must be integrated into the

community for the good of society and themselves; and 4) people should be allowed to exercise self-determination. The program, therefore, is designed to help ex-offenders become self-sufficient, contributing members of society.

The program essentially tells ex-offenders it believes that they can become productive members of the community. It convinces them that this is possible, in part, by helping them discover their positive attributes, showing them that other community members need their services, providing vehicles for them to demonstrate their talents and skills, and holding them accountable for their decisions and actions.

Program Development:

Shortly after the well-publicized prison riot at Attica, several churches in Cleveland asked themselves "what can we do to assist those in prison and to reduce crime." They answered this question by establishing a prison visitation program, acting as a liaison between prison inmates and inner-city communities. The program operated for several years. During its operation, program staff received numerous complaints about the Cleveland courts. The churches responded by forming a court observation program that evaluated how the courts treat criminal defendants. The chief justice was impressed with these efforts and asked the program to provide services to the court and to those incarcerated.

A probation friends program was established, and funding was obtained from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This program operated for nearly a decade. It recruited volunteers to work as advocates for and friends of convicted felons and provided job development and crisis intervention. After the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration was dismantled and funding was no longer available, the program closed its doors, yet for four years, ex-offenders continued to stop by seeking assistance.

This continuing need for a program to assist ex-offenders encouraged churches to seek alternative sources of funding. Funds eventually were obtained and the program's doors were reopened nine years ago. This time, the program was called Community Re-Entry.

Community Re-Entry has been recognized by the Foundation for the Improvement of Justice. It received the Aninfeld Wolfe Award (Cleveland's most prestigious community service award), the Liberty Bell Award from the Greater Cleveland Bar Association, and the Mayor's Human Relations Award. The program has been featured in several local television programs and was recently the subject of a documentary produced by the ABC television network.

Program Implementation:

The structural components of Community Re-Entry include a board of directors that represents a broad cross-section of Cleveland residents, including judges, corporate executives, and church leaders.

The program is co-sponsored by the Commission on Catholic Community Action, the Episcopal Diocese of Ohio, the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council, the Presbytery of the Western Reserve, and the Western Reserve Association of the United Church of Christ. The program's implementing agency is the Lutheran

Metropolitan Ministries Association which operates a consortium of private sector social service programs for the elderly and other needy community members.

Community Re-Entry is managed by Charles See, the program director, and Reverend Richard Sering, who is director of planning. The program employs a staff of approximately forty individuals, of which over thirty are ex-offenders. Forty additional individuals serve as volunteers, including business professors providing advice on small business development.

The program's operating budget for 1988 was \$550,000. Of this amount, approximately half was paid in salaries to ex-offenders. The program's funding sources include churches, foundations, the United Way, banks, private industry, and individuals. It operates several small businesses and has service contracts with the court, school board, and housing authority.

Each year, hundreds of ex-offenders seek the program's services. During 1988, over 800 ex-offenders contacted the program for assistance. Many simply needed information pertaining to housing or employment; some were seeking referral to drug treatment centers. Two hundred and seven ex-offenders enrolled in one of the programs operated by Community Re-Entry. Of them, only three were convicted of new crimes and returned to prison.

The Community Re-Entry Program operates several programs, including the Care Teams, Denise McNair New Life Center, community detention, and entrepreneurships. Before ex-offenders participate in any of these programs, they confer with an intake counselor who:

- helps them identify their goals and the community resources available to meet those goals,
- develops a work program that sets forth the specific goals and objectives to be accomplished, and
- assigns a caseworker who monitors their progress toward reaching the stated goals and helps them refine or modify their plans, where needed.

Each ex-offender has an individually-tailored plan developed, and staff members evaluate their progress on a quarterly basis.

(1) Care Teams.

Community Re-Entry has a contract with the public housing authority to provide services to the elderly. Ex-offenders are hired by Community Re-Entry to serve as Care Team members.

The Care Teams assist and protect the elderly who live in low-income, high-rise apartment buildings, and who are physically unable to complete basic tasks like cashing their checks, shopping for food and clothing, or traveling to doctors' offices. Because many of them are lonely, the Care Teams also provide companionship. In addition, the teams have established a resident grocery-variety store for the elderly to facilitate their purchase of small items.

Security services are provided because the elderly requested it after several burglaries occurred. No elderly person has been victimized when a Care Team was on duty. The teams are effective, in part, because those most likely to cause disorder

The site visit team was told by elderly people receiving services that the Care Teams reduce crime and their fear of crime. Police officials advised the site visit team that the police department is a strong supporter of the Care Teams because the teams help to maintain order and facilitate better police-community relations.

The Care Teams captured the community's imagination, respect, and support and increased its willingness to work with ex-offenders. According to Community Re-Entry staff, none of the ex-offenders who are Care Team members has returned to prison.

(2) Denise McNair New Life Center.

The center is housed in a small storefront and ex-offenders direct its operations. The objective of the center is to improve the neighborhood's quality of life by helping families with their problems, intervening in crisis situations, providing court-related advice, making referrals to other community-based organizations, and conducting home visits. The center also coordinates several special projects designed to reduce juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, and youth gang violence.

(3) Community Detention.

Directed by an ex-offender, the Community Detention program is used in lieu of incarceration. Program participants having some financial resources pay a small fee; indigents' fees are paid by the court. A voice print of each participant is made, and a computerized telephone system randomly calls participants to determine whether they are at home during the designated evening hours. During the day, the participants are involved in community service activities or at their usual places of employment.

(4) Entrepreneurships.

Community Re-Entry has helped create jobs. Five ex-offender managed businesses provide employment opportunities as well as low-cost services to ex-offenders and other community residents. Professors from a local business school provide consultation on marketing strategies and other business-related issues. Among the businesses operated are: Paint Plus, Maintenance Plus, Fresh Lunch/Fresh Start, Creative Printing, and the Wick Band.

Paint Plus does interior and exterior painting as well as remodeling. Maintenance Plus performs a variety of services, including yardwork, hauling, carpet cleaning, gutter cleaning, window washing, and other odd jobs. Fresh Lunch/Fresh Start caters luncheons and dinners; it has prepared and served meals for groups ranging from a dozen to over 300 people. (This business recently became an independent enterprise.) Creative Printing sells paper products and prints brochures, reports, booklets, and business cards. And the Wick Band plays a wide variety of music, from jazz to polka, and has appeared on local television programs, in churches, and at civic meetings. All of these businesses are very small, having modest operating budgets and employing a few ex-offenders.

(5) School Care Team Program.

Community Re-Entry recently contracted with the school board to provide drug

and violence prevention counseling to high school students. Ex-offenders will visit schools troubled by drug abuse, violence, and truancy; speak with youth about the dangers of drug abuse, drug trafficking, and violence; and encourage youth to avoid other types of illegal behavior and complete their high school studies.

Community Re-Entry also works closely with social service agencies, other community-based organizations, local universities, and local businesses.

Case Example:

After spending nine years in prison, a 32-year-old man found himself living in a halfway house, employed as a dishwasher and cook for a restaurant. Believing that he possessed skills that could be used to improve his lot and that of other community members, he went to Community Re-Entry to seek assistance in locating more suitable employment.

He advised the Community Re-Entry intake worker that while imprisoned he earned two associate of arts degrees, one in business and the other in accounting. He was informed that employment opportunities would be available in the summer and that he should apply. He was hired as a supervisor for a summer youth work program, supervising forty youth and three adults. He received an award from the city of Cleveland because the youths he supervised had done one of the best jobs in the city.

After the summer program ended, he was hired by a group home to work with troubled teen-agers. He also worked part time with youths at a local church and frequently took them to the YMCA for activities. The YMCA director invited him to work for that organization, and he was hired as a program director and worked in that capacity for several years. An accidental meeting which Charles See led to his present position as director of Community Re-Entry's community detention program.

Replication:

The Community Re-Entry program appears to be more applicable to communities characterized by a very influential and social change-oriented clergy. Community Re-Entry's success in working with ex-offenders is unparalleled, in part, because it builds on the strengths of ex-offenders and the community in which they live.

Community Re-Entry probably can be replicated by other organizations that have a broad base of community support, an effective advisory board, a skilled and dedicated staff, and carefully selected program participants. Gaining and maintaining community acceptability is crucial. The ability to develop links with well-established and highly respected individuals and organizations is essential, particularly during the formative stages.

While most organizations advisory boards provide guidance and help raise funds, the Community Re-Entry board of directors also plays a pivotal role in program promotion. Several judges and other community leaders lend their support to this program and open windows of opportunity for expansion of program activities.

One of the most important elements of this program is the Community Re-Entry staff, whose members are experienced program managers, indigenous to the

community, creative, and dedicated. They command the respect and support of other community-based organizations, the community served, and the ex-offenders with whom they work.

Members of Community Re-Entry's staff have served the needs of ex-offenders for nearly two decades. They are very experienced in working with ex-offenders, many of whom were once characterized as dangerous felons and incarcerated for lengthy periods in maximum security prisons. Because program services are often provided to the most vulnerable members of the community, it is imperative that breaches of trust or other negative incidents be avoided. Community Re-Entry staff members carefully screen, train and counsel program participants.

The staff have also successfully weathered the storms of public resistance, funding shortages, and major programmatic changes.

Fox (1977) maintains that many observers view community-based corrections as government-operated probation and parole programs. He explains that community-based corrections programs are those that mobilize and manage community resources in a manner that facilitates rehabilitation of ex-offenders and is compatible with public interest and safety. In his view, these programs are located in the community and use community resources "to complement, augment, and support those traditional correctional functions." Efforts to replicate Community Re-Entry in other cities should note the importance of this program feature.

Program Contact:

Charles See, Director, Community Re-Entry, 1468 West 25th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44113. Telephone: 216-696-2717.

E. BUSINESS and EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

1. Sunbow Foundation, Inc.
Chicago, Illinois

Problem Addressed:

In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (known as the Kerner Commission) noted that African-Americans' unemployment rates were twice those of whites. It stated that "in disadvantaged areas, employment conditions for blacks are in a chronic state of crisis."

According to the 1988 Commission on the Cities, "Poverty is worse now for black Americans, Hispanic Americans, American Indians, and other minorities." It explains that poverty "worsened and deepened" as well-paying blue-collar jobs and training and employment programs were eliminated through plant closings and federal government budget cuts. The Commission states:

"Quiet riots" are taking place in America's major cities: unemployment, poverty, social disorganization, segregation, family disintegration, housing and school deterioration, and crime. ... Jobs are the greatest need. We need a strong public jobs program ... Increased training for jobs must be provided, along with a sound national day-care program for mothers who want to work.

Sandefur (1988) and Dunbar (1988) are among those concurring with the position advanced by the Commission. They too call for government-sponsored jobs training and employment programs as a means to reduce poverty, particularly that experienced by female-headed families.

Millions of American women, many with children, live below the poverty line or are unemployed. They are often totally dependent on money, food commodities, and public housing or rent credits provided by a public welfare system that frequently chides them for their inability to be self-sufficient. Employment in long-term, well-paying occupations often is out of reach for these women because they lack marketable skills.

Myriad unemployment reduction proposals have been offered. Many observers argue that the government is primarily responsible for solving the unemployment problem. Some of these observers propose that the government should create jobs so that every able and willing person is employed in a job paying a living wage (i.e., one where total annual earnings would be above the poverty line).

Others argue that job creation is primarily the responsibility of the private sector and that the government should spend its resources on other problems. Still others argue that the government should allocate funds or provide tax incentives to stimulate the private sector to create jobs.

Dunbar (1988) seems to suggest that money might be saved by implementing some type of program which actually reduces the unemployment rate. He states: "A respected estimate is that a 1 percent rise or fall in unemployment costs or saves the

government about \$36 billion in aid payments.” However, he acknowledges that resolving the unemployment problem is a difficult task and that past promises have not produced remarkable results.

Program’s Approach:

Sunbow Foundation proposed a unique approach to unemployment. It believed that the opportunities provided by affirmative action initiatives should be fully utilized and that poor women should be trained for well-paying jobs in nontraditional occupations, specifically those in the building construction field.

Increasing job opportunities, therefore, is more a function of enhancing one’s qualifications for currently available jobs than a function of creating new jobs. In other words, making women qualified to apply for current job vacancies, many advertised in newspapers, is a viable way to expand their employment opportunities — thereby “creating” jobs for them.

The logic of this approach is quite obvious: to the extent jobs are available but women are unprepared to fill them, the number of unemployed women remains high. Therefore, reducing the number of those unprepared should contribute to a reduction in the number unemployed.

Program Development:

Sunbow was founded in 1981 by Patricia Porter. A state legislator raised the issue of training mothers from Chicago’s public housing projects to work in the building construction trades. Porter, who had recently formed her own small construction company, was very interested in training women in the building construction trades because she realized some of her own employees could have benefitted from specialized training and apprenticeship programs.

The program was funded with federal government Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) funds and community development grants. With over a half million dollars committed to her idea, Ms. Porter assembled program staff, obtained office and classroom space, and began preparing 50 low-income or unemployed women for building construction jobs.

Program Implementation:

Sunbow’s organizational structure included a 15-member advisory board comprised of a wide cross-section of Chicago-area social services, building construction experts, and criminal justice professionals. The board provided direction, guidance, and advice.

Eighteen full-time employees provided administrative support for program activities, and instruction and job placement for program participants. The teaching staff was comprised of men and women with extensive experience in the building construction trades.

Sunbow’s 1986 annual budget was \$900,000. It primarily was funded by the Chicago Mayor’s Office of Employment and Training, which received grants provided by the federal government Job Training Partnership Act and the Community Development Block Grant programs. Sunbow also received contributions from individuals, philanthropic organizations, and fundraising events.

During its existence, Sunbow served over 300 women. Program participants were either paid minimum wage or received a classroom training stipend. Program staff told the site visit team that 91 percent of the program participants completed the training program; 88 percent of these located jobs with Chicago-area construction and cable companies. From the program's inception until its end, all of the women participating were poor, most were minority group members, many had children, and a few had spent time in prison. Sunbow closed its doors in 1988.

Sunbow offered education, training, counseling, and job placement. Program participants were advised of the program's various components and permitted to select the component in which they wanted to participate.

The pre-construction training component provided 360 hours of classroom instruction over a ten-week period. It emphasized basic education and construction employment opportunities.

The pre-apprentice carpentry component provided 2,000 hours of on-the-job training. Program participants learned how to remodel buildings through exercises that entailed demolishing its exterior or interior, then rebuilding it with new materials and designs.

The maintenance training component provided training in the areas of demolition, painting, taping, and repair work. Participants spent from six to twelve months acquiring these skills.

The program familiarized participants with drafting, blueprints, construction math, masonry, plumbing, electrical work, HVAC, and the use and care of hand and power tools. Program participants attended workshops on safety, first aid, fitness, career planning, and human relations.

Counseling services were provided to help participants complete the program and ease their transition from dependence on public assistance to the independence of a job in a well-paying occupation. After participants completed the program, program staff helped them locate jobs.

In addition to enhancing women's employment opportunities, the program helped improve the quality of life of other low- and moderate-income residents of Chicago. Using their newly acquired skills, program participants remodeled deteriorated public housing units and rehabilitated offices for financially strapped community service agencies. Program participants also built a sculpture garden out of a vacant lot in a housing project and rehabilitated a 35-room house that served as a residence for women recently released from prison.

Case Example:

A mother with several young children had been living on welfare for over ten years. She was residing in one of the high-rise public housing projects. She wanted to work but knew that she had no skills to obtain a job that would allow her to earn enough money to pay living expenses, child care, and medical care costs. She was afraid to leave her children at home unattended because of the crime and violence occurring in her neighborhood.

She heard about Sunbow and applied for admission. At first, she was a bit apprehensive - not knowing what to expect or whether she could work in the construction field. Upon arriving at the program offices she met the friendly staff,

and, more importantly, she met other women experiencing similar challenges and trying to make a better life for themselves and their children.

She enrolled in one of the training programs, successfully completed it, and subsequently located employment in the building construction field. She indicated that it felt good to be working and earning money that she would use to move her children to a safer neighborhood. She also stated that she was glad she had the opportunity to learn a skill that would free her from welfare dependency.

Replication:

The ideas on which this program was based probably are transferable. According to site visit team member Dr. Vernetta Young:

The philosophy of the Sunbow program — teach a person well and she will succeed — is transferable across gender, race, geographical areas, and jobs. ... The Sunbow program developed around a very basic philosophy which advocates interfacing the needs of the labor market with the training of unemployed and underemployed persons. The idea is simply to adequately train people to do a skilled job which offers realistic employment and advancement opportunities. This is achieved by surveying the needs of the labor market, hiring teachers who are experienced and committed to the effort, and encouraging women in their attempt to improve their lives. Both the underlying theory and the practical implementation of the program are straightforward.

Potential obstacles to replication in other sites include absence of training funds. Sunbow's near total reliance on government sources for training funds proved fatal. Some observers might blame Sunbow's demise on reductions in government spending for jobs training programs. Others might argue that it should have forged stronger alliances with private agencies or local businesses - alliances which would have broadened its political support and funding base.

Funding is not the only obstacle to replication. Gaining and maintaining the support of local unions and building construction companies is essential for job placement. This type of program must prove its worth to program participants, funding sources, and the general public by demonstrating that women can move from welfare dependency and poverty to well-paying jobs. Although there has been considerable progress in moving women into nontraditional jobs, the construction industry remains a bit stubborn in the area of affirmative action and has yet to increase significantly the number of females and non-whites working in the trades.

Another potential problem to program replication may be the policies governing receipt of public assistance. Most of the program participants were receiving public assistance. Sunbow paid a small training stipend to the participants. This amount was deducted from the participants' public assistance checks. This policy may discourage some women from participating, particularly if they do not have access to affordable child care facilities.

Despite these problems, the basic concepts and program elements are easily transferable. Sunbow enjoyed the benefit of an excellent training curriculum and highly skilled professionals to teach it.

The curriculum was designed to develop a work ethic and basic educational skills in reading and arithmetic. Many of the participants had little or no work experience and did not appreciate the importance of arriving on time and other work-related requirements. Lectures on this topic were provided and timely attendance was a requirement.

The curriculum emphasized skills needed for job retention — such as algebra, estimating, and drafting. The curriculum also was designed to permit participants to proceed at their own speed through difficult materials.

The ratio of staff to trainees was 1:10. The small classes allowed staff to closely monitor participants' performances and to provide individualized instruction when necessary. The staff also was very caring and concerned, frequently working long hours and going out of the way to help the women. They took the time to teach women how to balance checkbooks (many never had a checking account before program participation). And there were several instances where staff lent their own tools to graduates who had located jobs but did not have the required tools (e.g., saw, ladder, paint supplies) to perform the job.

Whether or not this program reduces crime is unclear. If crime is related to poverty and unemployment, then this type of program holds great promise.

Although what was known as the Sunbow Foundation ended in 1988, the ideas on which it was based survived. The Midwest Women's Center in Chicago is continuing some of the work begun by Sunbow (i.e., training women for employment in nontraditional occupations).

2. Wildcat Service Corporation New York, New York

Problem Addressed:

According to Annison (1987), the success of economic development plans are attributable to the efforts of specific individuals at the local level. He states:

The overriding reality is that the growth of businesses and the development of jobs come down to decisions made by individuals on a community-by-community basis.

Annison contends that the central economic development focus is on the local level and that success will be dependent upon the extent to which public-private sector partnerships are developed "to accomplish locally determined community objectives."

Many observers refer to these efforts as community economic development. Giloth (1988) explains that "Community economic development is the self-help development of local jobs, businesses, and human resources by and for communities."

A major component of economic development is employment. Adoption or rejection of proposals may be based on the number of jobs anticipated from pursuing a particular course. But the primary question posed by many inner-city residents is not one that queries the number of jobs that will be available, but whether or not inner-city residents will be able to enjoy the prosperity economic development brings by participating in the workforce. Unfortunately, the usual answer to this question for the structurally unemployed is "No."

Kolberg (1987) explains that the structurally unemployed are those who lack education and training and are "in danger of being not just unemployed but unemployable, people who could be jobless even in times of economic boom." This group includes high school dropouts, welfare recipients, ex-offenders, and former drug abusers.

A number of programs have been designed to decrease the likelihood that the structurally unemployed are permanently unemployed. These programs are called "bridge" or "subsidized" work programs. Essentially, they move individuals from unemployment to insecure short-term dead-end jobs to steady long-term jobs with advancement opportunities (Curtis 1987). These programs rely heavily upon sophisticated public-private sector partnerships. One such program is Wildcat Service Corporation.

Program's Approach:

Wildcat Service Corporation is a private nonprofit transitional employment program. Its primary goal is to break the cycles of poverty and welfare dependency by hiring and training the chronically unemployed for subsidized jobs and moving them into the regular workforce.

It works with high school dropouts, welfare recipients, ex-offenders and former

drug abusers. Wildcat attempts to prepare them for unsubsidized employment by building their confidence, enhancing their skills, and improving their work habits. Sensitive management and supportive peers are utilized to create an environment in which program participants can succeed.

Program Development:

Wildcat began operations in 1972. A group of businessmen contacted then Mayor John Lindsey. They advised him that they were willing to hire the disadvantaged but found them unsatisfactory employees because they were not adequately prepared.

The head of the city's criminal justice agency became involved in efforts to address this concern. Wildcat developed from these initiatives. It is the oldest and largest supported work program in the nation.

Wildcat's objective then and now is to train the chronically unemployed for employment opportunities in the public and private sectors by working with government agencies and private organizations and businesses. Since its inception, over 20,000 of its program participants have moved from the welfare rolls to permanent jobs.

Program Implementation:

Wildcat has a 10 member board of directors comprised of attorneys, business people, financial experts, directors of philanthropic organizations, as well as a newspaper publisher. The board provides advice and guidance.

Ms. Amalia Betanzos serves as the corporation's president and chief executive officer. She is assisted by two senior vice-presidents who coordinate the activities of the program's various department heads. These department heads are responsible for the day-to-day operations of the program. The total number of Wildcat employees is 110; most of them work in the operations or training departments.

Wildcat's 1989 budget is approximately nine million dollars. Funds are obtained from employment contracts, private foundations, and the state welfare diversion program. Approximately 60 percent of the total budget is obtained through the contracts.

Most of Wildcat's program participants receive welfare benefits. Wildcat pays them for work performed. The welfare diversion program allows program participants to maintain their Medicaid and food stamps benefits during the training period. However, their welfare checks are discontinued. Portions of the amount of money the program participants would have received in welfare check payments are then given to Wildcat through the welfare diversion program.

The vast majority of program participants are African-American or Hispanic. Approximately 2,000 individuals participate in the program each year. Of this number, over 1,100 are placed in permanent, unsubsidized jobs; nearly 150 complete clerical training; and approximately 150 complete the basic education/GED projects. Wildcat reports that where the program participant is female, a single parent, and a welfare recipient its success rate for locating unsubsidized employment is 70 percent. Its overall success rate is 60 percent.

Most participants are referred to the program by welfare, correctional, and drug abuse agencies. Some learn about it through fliers and brochures or through the news media.

When potential participants arrive, program staff members conduct an intake session, in which they screen for attitude and motivation and test for aptitude and skills. Those accepted are enrolled in the program, which runs for one year.

Participants are hired by Wildcat, not as staff members, but as Wildcat employees who are placed with public agencies or private businesses to work as temporary employees.

Wildcat contracts with public agencies and private businesses to provide temporary workers. The employing agencies and businesses agree to provide employment for program participants for at least a six-month period. These agencies and businesses pay Wildcat for providing the employees, and Wildcat then pays the program participants.

Program participants work 35 hours per week and are paid minimum wage. Wildcat also provides fringe benefits which include holidays, personal and sick leave days, disability and unemployment insurances, and workers compensation.

Wildcat essentially operates like a traditional temporary employment agency. Individuals come to it looking for employment; they are screened, hired, and placed in agencies and businesses needing temporary employees. The types of temporary positions filled are clerical, hospital aides, security guards, maintenance, painting, and construction.

Participants are required to complete a life-skills course that teaches appropriate demeanor and dress, coping techniques, interpersonal relations, and conflict resolution. They are also provided intensive supervisory support, including close monitoring of their skill levels, attitudes, attendance, and punctuality. Wildcat staff also assist program participants by providing training, counseling, and job development services. This helps ensure that participants' motivation and skills improve during their year with Wildcat.

Where an agency or business contracts for a work crew, an experienced Wildcat staff member also is provided free of charge. This staff member serves as an on-the-job-site crew leader to insure that the work is properly performed, on schedule, and within budget. Employing agencies and businesses are encouraged to offer full-time, permanent positions to the temporary workers.

In addition to its supported work program component, Wildcat operates several other programs, including:

- Youth Literacy and Work Experience Program for juvenile offenders,
- Enhanced Work Experience Youth Program for those receiving public assistance or from low-income families,
- Clerical Work Experience/Classroom Training Program for adults on public assistance or unemployed,
- Clerk-Typist Training Program for adults on public assistance, and
- Supported Work Program for offenders currently in New York City-based state correctional institutions who are in work release programs and within six months of parole.

Case Example:

A young man in his early twenties had small children, was unemployed, and was on welfare. He wanted a job but had little education, work experience, or job skills. His case worker referred him to Wildcat. Seven years ago, he was enrolled in Wildcat's supported work program and was assigned to work as a security guard for a local business. After the one-year training program was completed, the business asked him to continue his employment as a full-time permanent employee. He agreed, was moved completely off the welfare assistance rolls, and was promoted recently to a supervisory position.

Wildcat has honored him because he has facilitated its efforts to place other program participants with this business. He believes that Wildcat significantly contributed to his success because of the supportive environment provided by the program.

Replication:

The site visit team concluded that this program is transferable across geographical areas and ethnic groups. There is considerable support for their conclusion because Wildcat has been replicated in Germany.

Wildcat claims that its success is "phenomenal" because over 20,000 chronically unemployed persons are now contributing to the economy through their work, saved welfare payments, and paid taxes. The site visit team concurs. Team member, the late Warren Young, who served as warden for Wisconsin's largest maximum security prison, stated in his report:

I am favorably impressed with the Wildcat training program. ... Much effort is devoted by Wildcat to make the participants' time spent in the program as realistic as possible. ... Everyone is held accountable and is expected to be responsible. I feel that this accountability is responsible in part for some of Wildcat's success. ... Without a doubt, Wildcat had done well because of its ability to understand the various systems upon which it relies. ... It is the firm belief of this consultant that the Wildcat program can be transferred to any location and provide service to any ethnic group. The prospect of a program like this being utilized by the corrections community would be well received and quite compatible.

The program's basic design also contributes to its success. It provides participants with: 1) work history as evidenced by a reference from Wildcat; 2) paid work experience and continuity; 3) self confidence in their abilities as productive employees; 4) fundamental job skills; 5) life-skills training; 6) basic education; 7) GED preparation; and 8) job placement.

Potential obstacles to replication include negative perceptions of the chronically unemployed by employing agencies and businesses. Wildcat approaches this challenge by giving employers an opportunity to review the participants' work without being obliged to hire them. Wildcat also guarantees high performance and — through — and places satisfactory employees at the agencies' or businesses'

request. And, when an agency or business contracts for a work crew, an experienced Wildcat staff member is included as a “crew leader” at no extra cost.

Another potential obstacle to successful replication is the program participants. For example, a major theft by a Wildcat security guard could cause havoc and reduce the program's stature in the community and with funding sources. Wildcat avoids these types of problems by carefully screening program participants and closely supervising them. Program participants are also counselled and provided a supportive environment to help them make necessary behavioral adjustments.

This program holds great promise for improving the quality of life for those needing the most assistance. It has an impressive track record of moving people from the uncertainty of dependency to the stability provided by permanent full-time employment.

Program Contact:

Amalia V. Betanzos, President and Chief Executive Officer, Wildcat Service Corporation, 161 Hudson Street, New York, New York 10013. Telephone: 212-219-9700.

F. CIVIC *and* SELF-HELP PROGRAMS

1. Around the Corner to the World

Washington, District of Columbia

Problem Addressed:

Adams Morgan is the most densely populated and ethnically diverse neighborhood in our nation's capital. African-Americans, Mexican-Americans, whites, and recent immigrants from every continent in the world live in Adams Morgan. During the past ten years, residents in this neighborhood have witnessed fierce competition for limited space between commercial and residential groups, rapidly escalating housing costs resulting in the displacement of hundreds of long-time low-income residents, interracial tensions as the population composition changes, and an increase in drug trafficking and other crimes.

Around the Corner to the World (ACW) is a neighborhood-based, grassroots response to the displacement, lost sense of community, and crime occurring in Adams Morgan. ACW does not consider itself a "program" with readily discernable parameters. Rather, it sees itself as an institutionalized part of the neighborhood's infrastructure working to improve the quality of life experienced by neighborhood residents. Each service offered by ACW, therefore, is only a small part of its comprehensive approach to neighborhood improvement.

Program's Approach:

ACW's primary goal is to stabilize and revitalize Adams Morgan through youth leadership development and economic development. In its view, poverty, ignorance and exclusion are the root causes of crime. Alternatives to crime are just around the corner and can be realized to the extent that the neighborhood addresses these underlying causes of crime. ACW maintains that neighborhood organizations are in the best position to eradicate the causes of crime, and it contends that neighborhood resources should be used to resolve neighborhood problems.

ACW emphasizes personal empowerment (confidence and self-esteem), community empowerment (reinforcement of basic institutional relationships), and primary prevention (promotion of belief that the neighborhood has the motive, means, and capacity to live positively and independent of destructive forces). It promotes self-sufficiency and economic development by teaching marketable skills and providing jobs to neighborhood residents. It encourages neighborhood resident involvement in civic affairs and institutions affecting their lives, and it attempts to increase community pride through activities that foster cross-cultural enrichment. ACW also develops and implements programs addressing causes of crime. And it cooperates with other community-based organizations and public and private agencies.

Program Development:

Mr. Darnell Bradford-El, the program's executive director, was as a volunteer with a national organization. He was assigned to its national community relations committee that sponsored a conference focusing on the nexus between schools and the criminal justice system. In preparation for this conference, Bradford-El selected a number of Adams Morgan youngsters with leadership qualities to participate in the conference. He taught them improvisational drama, they created their own drama, and he took them to the conference. Other groups of youngsters from across the country also attended. The Adams Morgan youngsters noted that they were the only group who did not have a formal organization and requested that such an organization be established.

In response, Bradford-El held a meeting in his mother's living room to discuss how such an organization could be established. He had few financial resources, limited organizational experience, and knew that forming an organization to serve neighborhood youngsters required a full-time effort. In 1983, he decided to work as an independent taxi driver at night, and worked to form the organization during the day.

Bradford-El had heard that the Eisenhower Foundation was working in the crime prevention field with a neighborhood organization called Jubilee Housing. Jubilee Housing did not have a major youth component, and he offered to work with them to develop such a component. He emphasized that ACW would maintain its autonomy from Jubilee Housing in order to retain its core feature as an independent grassroots movement designed to serve the needs of Adams Morgan youngsters. Jubilee Housing provided ACW with a few resources, such as paper and pens, to facilitate operation of the youth component.

ACW subsequently was able to raise approximately \$30,000 from local churches and the neighborhood planning council to operate a training, educational, and recreational program for youth. Bradford-El and a few other neighborhood residents essentially volunteered their time; they were paid a couple hundred dollars a month to provide services to youth on a full-time basis.

Eighteen months after forming an association with Jubilee Housing, Bradford-El became the director of the entire Adams Morgan crime prevention program that was funded by the Eisenhower Foundation and operated by Jubilee Housing. A year later, neighborhood organizations and residents voted that ACW should become the parent organization for the Adams Morgan crime prevention program. ACW agreed to host the program.

ACW continued efforts to obtain funding for its youth-oriented program. Funds were scarce. In order to secure operating funds, it started several small businesses, including a copper cable recycling business, D.C. Doo (which turns animal manure into garden compost), a T-shirt logo design and silkscreening business, and a weatherization and home improvement business.

ACW contracts with public agencies and private organizations. It currently has a contract to weatherize and improve housing for nearly 200 low-income and handicapped families throughout the city. The weatherization and home improvement business is the most lucrative and has become the focal point for education, training, and income generation.

ACW subsequently received a discretionary grant from the United States Department of Health and Human Services through the Eisenhower Foundation to fund program activities. It also maintains a relationship with the Eisenhower Foundation, which provides technical assistance.

Program Implementation:

ACW has a board of directors comprised of a broad cross-section of neighborhood residents, including community leaders, professionals, parents of children participating in program activities, and program staff. The board formulates policy and helps raise funds.

The program has 17 paid staff members, most of whom are neighborhood residents. Most of the staff are assigned administrative and operational tasks. For example, Bradford-El provides leadership, writes program proposals, negotiates business contracts, and serves as a liaison between ACW and other organizations. In addition, he teaches one of the classes offered to neighborhood youngsters. ACW also employs 15 youth in its year-round youth employment program.

ACW's 1989 annual operating costs are \$450,000. The majority of these funds are earned through its business ventures. ACW also obtains small grants from local government agencies to sponsor special youth programs.

All of ACW's general operating expenses are paid by its businesses. Profits are used to leverage the small government grants for youth programs. For example, in 1989, ACW earmarked \$116,000 of its \$450,000 budget to operate its youth programs. A small portion of the \$116,000 was obtained from local government agencies; the remaining portion was financed through ACW business profits. ACW is able to keep the costs of the special youth programs remarkably low because ACW staff and other neighborhood residents donate their time to teach classes. No program instructors are paid. The following programs are offered by ACW.

(1) Neighborhood Service Programs.

These programs, which are offered free of charge to neighborhood residents, develop youth leadership, and improve the quality of life experienced by neighborhood residents.

As noted above, ACW serves as the parent organization for the Adams Morgan crime prevention program, a comprehensive community-wide effort to mitigate the causes of crime and opportunities to commit crime in the neighborhood. This program and the local police district entered into a "crime prevention contract" wherein both parties agreed to do their best to prevent crime. Neighborhood residents agreed to watch for and report crimes and the police district agreed to make appropriate responses to calls for assistance.

ACW also sponsors several other innovative programs. Among them are the team leadership program, commercial crime prevention program, and the environmental impact committee.

The team leadership program works with at-risk youth, providing tutoring in reading and math, social and cultural enrichment activities, leadership training, training in the theory and practice of community education, and positive role

businesses located in the neighborhood and coordinates short- and long-term strategies for reducing crime. The environmental impact committee works to prevent crime and reduce the fear of crime, not as an end in itself, but rather as a means to stimulate economic development. This program also attempts to create environmentally responsible jobs for youth.

ACW pays special attention to the family, particularly the relationship between young people and their elders. Since adolescent peers play such a pivotal role in the learning and development of values, tastes, and life-styles, many of ACW's programs seek not only to build extended family networks but also to develop youth leadership skills.

ACW has a learning center and a training center located in Adams Morgan. Each week, between 50 and 100 youth receive program services at one of these centers. The centers are also readily available for meetings of neighborhood organizations in order to facilitate community empowerment efforts.

Each of these neighborhood service-oriented programs is designed to help youngsters and other neighborhood residents obtain a better self-understanding, a positive self-image, and motivation to work toward constructive participation in society. The programs also provide experiences that help youngsters appreciate their environment and understand their responsibility to the neighborhood.

(2) Business and Economic Development Programs.

In addition to operating its businesses, ACW operates several training programs designed to stimulate economic development. The community empowerment committee serves as a foundation for neighborhood-based minority enterprises. This program provides training in skills useful to neighborhood residents, and it encourages self-reliance and profitability. ACW also operates a computer training course that familiarizes youth with computer hardware and software, and prepares them for entry level positions in the computer field.

ACW monitors its success by listening to neighborhood residents in formal and informal settings. Staff and board of directors meetings also reflect on the organization's progress, and external funding sources frequently have some type of evaluation component.

The major obstacles to ACW's implementation were lack of financial resources and neighborhood resident apathy and hopelessness. ACW addressed the financial challenge by building into its framework the notions of self-sufficiency and business creation.

ACW dealt with neighborhood apathy and hopelessness by: 1) identifying natural leaders and obtaining commitments from them to work toward neighborhood improvement; and 2) by securing offices (the learning and training centers) in the neighborhood so that ACW was a visible part of the community. Neighborhood residents needed to actually see ACW work. They needed to see its struggle and its success — its ability to change the lives of the people it serves. In time, the paralyzing hopelessness began to fade. ACW inspired neighborhood residents to "believe in the possibility of change."

Case Example:

A 22-year-old man, a long-time Adams Morgan resident, is a natural leader, highly visible in the community, and very vocal. He went to college after graduating from high school, but dropped out. He returned to the neighborhood disenchanted with society and became involved in crime.

ACW staff knew this young man because he was a neighbor. They contacted him, informed him that his involvement in crime was harmful to himself and the neighborhood, encouraged him to change his behavior, and offered him a job with ACW so that he would have a legitimate means to earn income. He agreed to work for ACW, but his job performance was marginal. He again became involved in crime, but this time he was arrested. ACW contacted the authorities on his behalf and advised them that the organization would work with him to help change his behavior. He subsequently was re-hired by ACW and is performing at an exceptional level. He is involved in many community activities on a volunteer basis and serves as the committee chairman of several neighborhood organizations. He also is regarded by neighborhood residents as an important role model for youngsters.

Replication:

Whether the ACW model can be transferred to other sites may depend on acceptance of its basic concepts — neighborhood organizations are in the best position to eradicate the causes of crime, and neighborhood resources should be used to resolve neighborhood problems. Many civic and self-help groups adhere to this concept, therefore this feature should not be difficult to replicate.

What may be difficult, however, is locating staff members who truly love their neighborhood and its residents, and who are willing to dedicate their entire lives to improving a community. ACW staff have a genuine and intense love for Adams Morgan. It is more than just a place to live and work; it is home.

Thus, ACW staff work long hours to make the small businesses successful, so that funds will be available to operate neighborhood improvement programs. They also donate their time to teach the programs. This is far more than dedication or commitment — it is love in one of its purest forms.

Also of great importance is the fund raising approach. Most self-help groups rely heavily on non-neighborhood resources to finance their operations. However, ACW relies on its small business enterprises, which offer neighborhood residents low-cost services, provide employment opportunities for neighborhood residents, and provide funds for programs designed to assist neighborhood youngsters.

Where programs emphasize self-sufficiency, but are not self-sufficient, neighborhood residents will question their honesty. Youngsters can especially tell when the message is inconsistent with the behavior. Advocates of self-help should demonstrate that they know how to help themselves. In other words, the program must be designed to be a role model for the community. ACW is a role model for Adams Morgan.

Program Contact:

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2. Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program— Chicago Urban League and Al Carter Youth Foundation Chicago, Illinois

Problem Addressed:

Within eyesight of Chicago's "Gold Coast," one of the city's most affluent areas, is Cabrini-Green, a public housing project. Living in its substandard housing are thousand of impoverished African-Americans. This decaying pocket of poverty has a reputation as being one of the most dangerous public housing projects in the United States. The project has a high incidence of gang-related homicides and other forms of personal and property crimes.

Precise figures on the number of residents living in Cabrini-Green's 16- and 20-story buildings are not available; estimates range from 10,000 to 30,000 people (Wolfe 1989). The typical household is headed by a female with three minor children, who has an annual income of less than \$6,000 and relies on welfare or other forms of public assistance.

Hundreds of second and third generation Cobra, Vice Lords, and El Rukn gang members roam the hallways and rooftops. Semi-automatic gunfire usually begins in the early afternoon and continues throughout the night. An average of three youngsters are killed each month as a result of gang-related violence (Wolfe 1989).

Enormous social and economic problems confront the residents of Cabrini-Green; gang violence is one of the most deadly. Older, well-organized groups recruit younger members to compete in an environment of fear and distrust, one which encourages economically rewarding criminal activity such as drug trafficking, burglary, and prostitution. These gangs survive by continually replacing those members who die or are incarcerated.

Program's Approach:

Sponsored by the Chicago Urban League and working in conjunction with the Al Carter Youth Foundation, the Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program seeks to prevent violent youth gang activities by disrupting gang recruitment processes. Program staff members believe that a systematic attempt to prevent gang renewal will eventually lead to its demise or force older gang members to move to other areas for young recruits.

The Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program is designed to limit youth contact and involvement with adult gang leaders by providing positive alternatives. It has two main components: employment services and educational counseling.

Program Development:

Chicago's youth gang problem is not new. It was well-documented even before World War II. (For example, see Frederick Thrasher, *The Gang*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1927.) During the last 60 years, dozens of studies describing the phenomenon have been completed, and scores of programs aimed at reducing it have been established. Yet, thousands of children and young adults have died. Thousands of young gang members have been incarcerated. Millions of dollars have

been spent. And still there is no end in sight to Chicago's youth gang problem.

Despite the city's lengthy history of youth gang violence, Chicagoans were shocked and outraged by the slaying of a popular high school athlete in the mid-1980s. This youngster's slaying prompted an unprecedented public outcry for a comprehensive response to youth gangs. Chicago Intervention Network (CIN) was one of the agencies assuming a lead role. CIN helped coordinate the activities of a wide variety of community-based organizations, among these was the Chicago Urban League.

For many years, the Chicago Urban League has been involved in providing job training and locating employment opportunities for area residents. Approximately 10,000 city residents visit its offices each year. Recently, the Chicago Urban League decided to marshal its training and employment resources in the area of youth gang violence. In 1985, it established the Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program in its northside office.

Building upon its extensive networks with private industries, fast food restaurants and educational institutions, the Chicago Urban League began working with youth "at-risk" of joining gangs. Cabrini-Green was selected, in part, because: 1) its residents are among those most in need of the job training and employment services offered by the Chicago Urban League; 2) hundreds of youth living in Cabrini-Green are involved in gang activities; and 3) the Chicago Urban League's northside offices are located within walking distance of this project.

The Chicago Urban League received a small grant from the City of Chicago, but these funds were inadequate to operate the program. Therefore, the Chicago Urban League added several thousand dollars of its own funds to cover operating expenses.

Program Implementation:

The Chicago Urban League is a large community-based organization comprised of several components, among them, a social services division that operates several programs designed to address social problems. One of these programs is the Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program.

Staff members include the program director, a youth outreach worker, and a youth worker. David Wolfe serves as the program director, and is responsible for program administration and development. The youth outreach worker moves throughout Cabrini-Green, recruiting youngsters for program participation. Youth, parents, and area schools are contacted, too. This worker also provides education, employment, and behavior counseling and organizes recreational activities for program participants.

Fifty-four youngsters, between the ages of 10 and 18, are currently enrolled in the program. All of them live in Cabrini-Green and spend an average of eight months with the program. Since the program's inception in 1985, over 200 children have participated in its activities.

The program's 1989 budget is \$55,000. Of this amount, \$48,000 is provided by the federal government's Community Development Block Grant program; \$7,000 is provided by the Chicago Urban League.

The activities of the Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program are continually

monitored by the Chicago Urban League's social services director and on a bi-monthly basis, by the City of Chicago's Department of Human Services.

The program offers provides positive alternatives to gang membership by providing employment, education, and recreational activities. The employment services component features job readiness training and job placement.

Job readiness training prepares youth for employment responsibilities and sharpens their job-finding skills. Lack of basic skills, improper appearance, and poor work habits render many adolescents unprepared for the job market. The program works to reduce those deficiencies and teaches youth how to handle employment interviews and meet work place expectations.

Job placement activities take advantage of the Chicago Urban League's relationships with hundreds of local businesses, many of which are fast food restaurants. After jobs are located for program participants, staff work with employers and youth for at least a 60-day period in an effort to insure success.

Because 40 percent or more of the young people in Cabrini-Green drop out of school, the program offers an educational component designed to improve academic performance. Youth workers counsel youngsters about the relevance of education and work with their parents and teachers.

The program's primary goal is to prevent youngsters from joining gangs. Evaluating participants' success is made difficult by several factors. First, Cabrini-Green is a highly transient community. People move into and out of the large low-income project every day. When program participants leave, it is difficult to locate them.

Second, evaluations of program success are difficult because some of the participants leave the Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program and participate in other programs. Thus, in some cases, it is difficult to determine whether or not successes are attributable to the Chicago Urban League's program.

And, third, some of the participants are killed by the gangs — gunned down by the thousands of stray bullets fired each day. Program staff often assist parents with burial arrangements and donate money to cover funeral expenses.

Of the 30 children the program has been able to follow, 22 have avoided gang involvement and have not been arrested by the police.

Case Example:

A 12-year-old child's grammar school teacher noticed that he was beginning to show signs of gang involvement. Gang emblems were displayed on his note books, he was missing classes, and he was associating with gang members. His teacher contacted the child's parent, who contacted program staff. Program staff contacted the youngster.

The child was enrolled in three hours per week of educational tutoring and six hours per week of recreational activities. Program staff periodically checked with his teacher and parent to monitor his progress in school and behavior at school and home. His teacher and parent indicate that the youngster is beginning to change his behavior and avoid gang members. He is attending classes on a regular basis and speaks with program staff about high school and careers.

Al Carter Youth Foundation:

According to Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program Director David Wolfe, the Chicago Urban League's program is successful because it established a close working relationship with an indigenous organization, the Al Carter Youth Foundation. Wolfe argues that a youth gang program must first gain the trust of the population served, and that this trust is gained by working with those already in a position of trust. The Al Carter Youth Foundation had the trust of Cabrini-Green residents and provided a "doorway" through which the Chicago Urban League's program could enter the dangerous Cabrini-Green environment. In addition, the foundation provides a "safe haven" for program staff. One cannot simply walk into Cabrini-Green boasting about saving children from gangs. All the bullets flying are not stray; some have specific targets.

The Al Carter Youth Foundation has two staff members. Al Carter and Paulette Rhodes have been working with youth in Cabrini-Green for over a decade. Before the foundation was given office space in the housing project, Carter and Rhodes worked out of their homes. When the Foundation established its headquarters in Cabrini-Green in 1986, it represented the first time in ten years that any program was located in the housing project.

The foundation's chief purpose is to offer alternatives to violent gang behavior. It works with family members and schools, provides recreational activities, and mediates gang disputes. According to Rhodes, the foundation's program can operate in Cabrini-Green because staff are willing to "sit where the roaches are crawling" as they provide needed services to youth and their families.

The foundation receives office space from the public housing authority. Carter and Rhodes serve without pay, and use personal funds and small donations to support their program's activities. Both are employed in other jobs and volunteer their free time to work with youth.

Replication:

Chicago Urban League and Al Carter Youth Foundation staff can work closely together because their goals are similar and their objectives complementary. Chicago Urban League objectives can be attained through an elaborate organizational structure offering a wide variety of services throughout Chicago. The Al Carter Youth Foundation's origin was in the Cabrini-Green area. Its organization does not involve a high degree of formality in structure or in the relations between staff and clients.

There are elements of the Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program that probably can be transferred to other communities. However, those attempting replication should note that the particular structural arrangement existing between the Urban League and the Al Carter Youth Foundation is a crucial component of the program's success.

This type of program requires broad community support — various elements of the public sector (e.g., schools) and the private sector (e.g., businesses) should be involved. The definition of the problem, the strategies for dealing with it, and the indicators of success must be made apparent to all members of the population served

Replication of this approach would require a similar joint effort by motivated groups within and outside the targeted community. In addition, program staff members must have a commitment to remain with the program, so that they can overcome expected opposition from gangs, scarce funding, or other problems.

Gang opposition may take the form of threats against program staff, but most likely gangs will increase the financial rewards for gang membership (e.g., profits from illegal drug sales). This approach becomes more viable as the socioeconomic conditions facing inner-city youth become more unbearable and the influence of organized crime on youth gangs increases.

According to Project Consultant James Scott, the overall organizational approach to reducing gang violence in Cabrini-Green is an amalgam of the formal and informal. While such a mixture may be found within any large organization, the difference here is that it occurs between two groups.

Whether this strategy reduces violent youth gang activity is unclear. The team generally agreed, however, that in the absence of this approach one could reasonably assume that the amount of violence would be greater.

A strategy of attrition or containment is by definition a long-term approach. According to House of UMOJA's David Fattah, it probably takes 10 to 20 years before one can observe a substantial reduction in gang-related violence. Therefore, it is probably too early to ascertain the Urban League's success in reducing gang violence. Although the Al Carter Youth Foundation's program has been operating for a decade, its resources have always been meager.

A strategy of attrition or containment approach can be replicated in other communities. The House of UMOJA (discussed previously) and the Community Youth Gang Services Project (mentioned below) also employ variations on this approach.

Program Contact:

David Wolfe, Director, Cabrini-Green Youth Options Program, Chicago Urban League, 920 North Franklin, Suite 206, Chicago, Illinois 60610. Telephone: 312-280-2600.

Paulette Rhodes, President, Al Carter Youth Foundation, 1119 North Cleveland, Chicago, IL 60610. Telephone: 312-943-2861.

3. Community Youth Gang Services Project Los Angeles, California

Problem Addressed:

Los Angeles frequently is called the gang capital of the world. Police estimate that 70,000 children and young adults belong to over 600 gangs. Unofficial estimates indicate that over 100,000 young people belong to gangs and that 150,000 more are at risk of joining gangs (Valdivia 1989).

In Los Angeles, gangs members represent all the major ethnic groups including African-Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, Hondurans, Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, Samoans, Tongans, and whites. Some gangs operate lucrative gambling emporiums. Others run sophisticated drug distribution networks having retailers located along the western seaboard and stretching eastward to several midwestern and eastern cities.

The gang culture is firmly entrenched in Los Angeles. Some mothers even dress their small children in gang colors and call them "baby gangsters." According to the Los Angeles Police Department, over 400 hundred youth were killed last year and thousands more were maimed in gang-related incidents. Graffiti covers the walls of hundreds of thousands of residences, businesses, and public buildings. Millions of area residents are terrorized.

Law enforcement officials and many community residents are proposing that drastic measures be taken to stem the rising tide of youth gang violence. Police "sweep" areas frequented by gangs, arresting hundreds of individuals at a time. Parents of gang members are being prosecuted on a theory that they are criminally liable for their children's illegal behavior. The District Attorney's Office has been requesting lengthy prison terms for those convicted of gang-related crimes.

The Community Youth Gang Services Project (CYGS) acknowledges that a law enforcement response is necessary. However, it maintains that criminal justice agencies cannot reduce gang violence without a high level of community involvement directed toward eradicating its causes. CYGS contends that the best hope for reducing youth gang violence lies in a strategy of attrition — one that prevents youths from joining gangs and encourages gang members to abandon their gang affiliations.

Program's Approach:

CYGS is a grassroots community-based organization. It believes that the keys to reducing youth gang violence at the individual level are education, employment, and involvement in positive activities. At the community level, the keys include community mobilization, coordination of social services, and crisis intervention.

The organization maintains that the most effective approach to youth gang violence is one that seeks to remedy the underlying causes of the problem. According to this perspective youth, parents, teachers, the clergy, business people, and news media must be actively involved in a comprehensive community-wide effort. Because these groups of individuals must first be taught how to deal with youth gangs, the program focuses on education — disseminating knowledge about gangs

dangerous situations before they require a police response.

Program Development:

In 1980, over 350 gang-related homicides occurred in Los Angeles. In response to the increasing number of these types of crimes and community members' fear, CYGS was established in 1981. Its primary goal was to reduce the number of gang-related homicides.

During its formative stages, CYGS essentially was a replication of Philadelphia's Crisis Intervention Network. This program had been very successful in reducing Philadelphia's youth gang violence problem and its approach seemed applicable to Los Angeles. Shortly after CYGS's formation, however, the Philadelphia approach was modified, expanded, and specifically tailored to suit the Los Angeles problem.

Program Implementation:

CYGS has a board of directors that comprises of law enforcement officials, politicians, corporate executives, community leaders, and members of the clergy. The program is administered by Steve Valdivia who serves as its executive director. CYGS has a paid staff of 75 individuals; many of them are former gang members. Nearly 500 children work in its summer employment program, and over 400 volunteers work with CYGS, including law enforcement officials, business people, and teachers.

CYGS's current 1989 budget is \$2.1 million. Funding sources include state, county and city governments, foundations, the United Way, and profits from its graffiti removal project.

CYGS operates a number of projects, including Crisis Intervention Teams, Career Paths, Parent-Teacher Education, and Graffiti Removal. Last year, over 30,000 individuals were served through the following projects:

(1) Crisis Intervention Teams.

These teams are comprised of two or more staff members, many of whom are former gang members. Using CYGS-marked cars, the teams patrol "hot spots" where gang violence frequently occurs. When the potential for violence is high, the teams intervene and attempt to mediate disputes among warring gangs. In cases where violence already has occurred, they engage in street counseling and rumor control. Street counseling includes comforting bereaved family members, while rumor control is designed to prevent an escalation of retaliatory violence. During their patrols, the teams also serve an outreach function, advising gang members of educational, employment, and recreational opportunities.

The teams also provide "security gang watches," by patrolling before and after school, in the vicinity of 20 elementary, 60 junior high, and 45 senior high schools. In addition, the teams patrol special events such as dances, concerts, athletic events, and other occasions where youth gang violence is likely to occur. Last year, over 12,000 youth were contacted by the teams.

(2) Career Paths.

This project served over 10,000 youth last year. Using a CYGS-developed cur-

riculum, program staff visit schools and teach youngsters about the dangers of gang membership, discuss the importance and relevance of education, and recruit youth for CYGS sports challenge clubs. A foundation recently provided a \$75,000 grant for CYGS to develop a comic book series for children that will emphasize these messages in an entertaining format.

(3) Parent-Teacher Education.

This project is designed to teach parents and teachers how to identify the early signs of gang membership and train them in methods to curtail recruitment of new gang members. It also teaches parents positive parenting skills. Last year, over 5,500 parents and 5,000 teachers participated.

(4) Graffiti Removal.

Scrawled across the exterior and interior walls of thousands of buildings, graffiti is an important means of communication for gang members. Those able to decipher the coded messages can learn which areas are claimed as a particular gang's "turf," the names of gang members killed on a certain date in a particular location, and what drugs a gang is marketing.

CYGS operates a graffiti removal business and contracts with public agencies and private businesses. The primary purpose of graffiti removal is to disrupt gangs' communications systems, but it provides legitimate employment opportunities for youth and improves the aesthetic qualities of the community.

(5) Other Projects.

In addition to the above-mentioned projects, CYGS also operates a college mentor project, based on the Big Brothers/Big Sisters concept, that matches college students with youngsters "at-risk" of joining gangs; a hospital emergency personnel training program that enables them to deal with gang members flocking to emergency rooms in search of information on a fellow gang member or on rival gang members; and a summer youth employment program that employs 500 youths, 100 of whom are gang members. According to summer youth employment staff, only two conflicts erupted between rival gang members.

CYGS holds a series of "town hall meetings" designed to facilitate communication among others involved in gang-violence reduction activities and to mobilize community members. It also coordinates other citizen neighborhood patrols, and provides pre-release counseling to gang members in detention centers.

CYGS monitors program performance through community feedback and research reports. The community's response has been very positive, particularly that of parents and teachers. Findings of a CYGS study on the career paths project indicate that three years after exposure to the project 85 percent of the children stayed out of gangs.

The number of gang-related homicides remains high, however, homicides are not the only indicator of gang activity. Therefore, program success is not solely measured by the homicide rate. According to program staff, the homicide rate is influenced by gang drug trafficking and the availability of semi-automatic weapons. Program staff estimate that 25 percent of the gang-related homicides are caused by

drug dealing. The same number of incidents produces more deaths because the weapons used shoot more bullets in less time — increasing the likelihood of individuals being fatally injured.

Case Example:

Ex-gang members are hired for many staff positions because their knowledge of gangs and gang members is crucial to the program's success. The case of one of these ex-gang members illustrates how the program works.

As a young child, an ex-gang member, who is now a crisis intervention team member, was forced to join a gang. He essentially was given two choices: 1) join the gang and enjoy its protection; or 2) refuse to join the gang and have no protection from gang-related intimidation and violence.

As a member, he was involved in gang-related crimes, convicted, and sent to in prison. While in prison he heard about CYGS and applied for a job with it after his release. He was hired as a crisis intervention team member.

He patrols those areas frequented by gangs, and when disputes arise, he attempts to mediate a settlement. On one occasion, his intervention efforts were unsuccessful. He was shot in the face, but survived.

He continues his patrols, stopping on street corners crowded with gang members, encouraging them to avoid violence and participate in CYGS's sports challenge program. A national magazine recently featured him as one of the nation's 50 heroes.

Replication:

Although the program began as a replication of another model, CYGS modified that model to address the specific needs of the Los Angeles area, therefore elements of this program probably can be replicated and adapted in other cities experiencing youth gang violence.

Staff recruitment methods that place ex-gang members on the frontline to work with gangs and their members may be an impediment to replication and program success. CYGS staff stated that it took several years to convince police patrol officers to work with ex-gang members. Programmatic and staff personnel changes were instituted in order to overcome this problem.

CYGS also found it difficult to raise funds. Its graffiti removal project may be an important factor for those experiencing difficulty in raising funds for program activities.

CYGS involves every major ethnic group and community institution. It uses a multifaceted approach to gang violence reduction. The program and the problem it addresses are complex. Therefore, those attempting replication should carefully plan program activities and be prepared to make a long-term commitment. Changes may not be evident until several years after the program commences.

Program Contact:

Steve Valdivia, Executive Director, Community Youth Gang Services Project, 144 South Fetterly Avenue, Los Angeles, California. Telephone: 213-266-GANG.

4. Soul-O-House Drug Abuse Program Newark, New Jersey

Problem Addressed:

Millions of Americans abuse drugs. Tons of heroin, cocaine, crack, PCP, LSD, marijuana, and other depressants and hallucinogens are consumed each year. Available estimates indicate that drug trafficking is a multi-billion dollar business.

Many believe that drug abuse reached epidemic proportions in the 1980s. These fears are confirmed on a daily basis by televised accounts of law enforcement officers seizing drugs and arresting drug dealers, private citizens marching against drug trafficking in their neighborhoods, and teachers advising youngsters to avoid drug use.

Federal, state, and local governments already are spending billions of dollars to combat drug trafficking and drug abuse. President Bush (1989) has recommended that an additional \$7.8 billion dollars be spent to hire more police and prosecutors and to build more prisons. Legislators are increasing penalties for drug-related offenses. In addition, the federal government Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) recently stated that it is implementing policies designed to rid low-income public housing projects of drugs by making it easier to evict suspected drug dealers.

Drug trafficking and drug abuse in low-income public housing projects are not recent phenomena. These projects have been haunted by drug addiction and drug-related crimes for decades, yet few drug prevention and treatment programs are located within their boundaries, where many drug addicts and those "at-risk" of becoming addicts live. Moreover, few drug prevention and treatment programs are operated by individuals personally known by the community, and few of these programs address the underlying causes of drug abuse. The Soul-O-House Drug Abuse Program, located in Newark, New Jersey's Scudder Homes project, is among the few that do.

Program Development:

In 1974, residents of the Scudder Homes public housing project asked the local housing authority to help them reduce the drug problem in their community. Over 5,000 signatures were presented to the mayor of Newark, who established an advisory group on drugs and applied for federal government grants to address the drug problem. Scudder Homes was given some of these funds and established the Soul-O-House Drug Abuse Program.

Soul-O-House is a drug-free, outpatient, community-based drug prevention and rehabilitation center designed and operated by residents of Scudder Homes. Its goals are to reduce drug abuse and crime by helping individuals achieve productive and meaningful lives.

The program is based upon the notion that drug abuse is a symptom of other problems occurring in the life of an individual (e.g., family problems, inadequate housing, lack of education, low self-esteem, poor self-concept, and unemployment). Program activities center upon strengthening the relationships between program participants and important social institutions such as the family, the school, and the

job. Program components reflect, at an operational level, the manifestation of the idea that one should seek to treat the causes of the problem rather than just its symptoms.

Edna Thomas, the program's director, states:

There are more drug pushers than drug addicts. The kids selling crack are addicted to money not the drugs. Selling crack allows the children to be good business people because the money turns over very quickly. Drug use is not a crime. All people use some type of drugs - aspirin, cold medicines. Drug trafficking and drug abuse are symptoms of other problems. Some of these problems are economic; others are social. ... When individuals' hopes and dreams cannot be realized they become enraged at their life circumstances. Soul-O-House tries to challenge them to become productive citizens and channels their energies in positive directions.

Program Implementation:

Soul-O-House's organizational structure includes a board of directors that helps to plan and monitor program activities. Half of its members are tenants of the public housing project; the other half are community leaders and social service professionals.

Sixteen paid staff and 10 volunteers work for Soul-O-House. A small number of volunteers are used because of confidentiality issues involving clients' medical and drug abuse records.

The paid staff members include Edna Thomas, who has served as the program's director since its inception in 1974. Other staff members counsel program participants, monitor their progress, develop new projects, and serve as liaisons with schools, juvenile and criminal justice agencies, and other social services agencies.

Staff members currently are or at some time in the recent past were residents of Scudder Homes. They are highly skilled, very creative, and culturally aware. Program staff enjoy the support of project tenants, area residents, the public housing authority, local politicians, school teachers, juvenile and criminal justice agencies, and other public and private organizations.

The program provides services to adults (80 percent of whom have children) and high-risk youth. Approximately 500 individuals receive services from Soul-O-House each month. All of the clients are African-American; most are public housing tenants; a few have AIDS. Of the adults served, 25 percent are between the ages of 18 and 20; most are under 26. The younger clients usually are addicted to crack; the older clients to heroin.

Participants spend approximately one year with the program. They are required to take urine tests and encouraged to remain drug free. Data collected by program staff indicate that less than five percent of the clients served have been arrested after their participation in the program.

The program's 1989 budget is \$350,000. It is funded by the National Institute of Drug Abuse, the New Jersey Department of Health, the Essex County government, and client fees. Clients pay \$18 per quarter.

Soul-O-House has received numerous community service awards. It has been recognized by the Newark Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Frontiers International, Newark Housing Authority, and the City Council of Newark. It also received a HUD award for drug abuse programs in public housing.

Program staff work to reduce the causes of drug dependency by addressing family relations, education, employment, and health issues through daily counseling, group therapy, tutoring, jobs, cultural awareness, advocacy, and athletics.

While similar services are offered by other drug abuse prevention and treatment programs, Soul-O-House's approach is quite unique. Program participants are counseled from an African-American perspective within an extended family context. Educating clients about their culture and history is considered an important part of the transitional process of moving from drug dependency to productive membership in the community. Knowledge of one's culture and history and cultural pride are associated with positive self-concept.

Counseling within an extended family context recognizes program participants as far more than drug addicts needing drug treatment. They are neighbors living across the hall or on the next floor who need help with a wide variety of problems. Thus, when scheduled appointments are missed, staff members send an African-American personalized postcard reminding program participants that they want to see them. When no response to the postcard is received, a friendly, caring visit is made to each residence. When someone dies from AIDS, program staff offer assistance to the bereaved; when someone is married, staff members participate in festivities.

Because staff members project love and caring, program participants are successful in making a difficult transition. And, despite the fact that expensive video equipment and other favored items of burglars are located in the program's offices, the offices have not been burglarized. The respect and love shown by program staff to program participants is returned.

Juvenile drug abusers are referred to the program by parents, the probation department, the family crisis unit, and schools. They enter into 30-day contracts whereby they agree to change their behavior at home and in school. Upon successful completion of the contract, they receive an award (e.g., calculator, African-American history book, T-shirt). Counselors work with families and teachers and encourage the youngsters to attend school, resist peer pressure, handle responsibility, and make positive decisions. Clients are also advised about different careers.

Soul-O-House operates a "latchkey" program for elementary school age children. This program focuses on drug prevention, education, and training and uses high school students, paid the minimum wage, to work with these children for three hours after school. They are helped with homework assignments, tutored, given snacks, and shown affection. The children participating in the latchkey program often have drug abusers in their families or see drug addicts on a regular basis. Participants' parents told the site visit team that this program has improved their relationships with their children and the children's school teachers.

In addition to providing services to clients, Soul-O-House sponsors parent meetings, health seminars on AIDS, field trips, and athletic events for area resi-

dents. It also promotes community awareness and African-American cultural heritage awareness.

Case Example:

A public housing resident addicted to heroin learned about the program through the probation department. He enrolled and his performance initially was marginal. Shortly afterward, his father died. The program director attended the funeral and noticed that the obituary indicated that the father had received several distinguished awards while serving in the military.

The program director attended one of the group meetings to which this young man was assigned. She noted his father's achievements during his life and told the program participant that he, too, could become an accomplished member of the community. The young man was moved by her sincerity. She helped him find a job. He is now working and paying child support, was recently married, and resides in subsidized housing.

Replication:

Although this program works primarily with African-Americans, it probably can be replicated with other ethnic groups. The notion that drug abuse can be reduced through education, treatment, and provision of positive alternatives serves as a basis for many drug abuse prevention and treatment programs. Individuals, familiar with their neighbors' problems and committed to helping resolve them, can be found in every community.

Those attempting replication should note that Soul-O-House uses a flexible organizational design that incorporates program modifications as circumstances dictate. Program staff are indigenous to the community, trusted by the program participants, and actively encourage client input. The program is located where people needing services live - in the public housing project. Little or no participation fee is required, and a natural support system for people with the greatest needs and fewest resources to fill them is provided.

Program Contact:

Edna Thomas, Director, Soul-O-House, Inc., 165 Court Street, Newark, New Jersey 07103. Telephone: 201-643-3888.

G. POLICE PROGRAMS

1. East Dallas Community-Police and Refugee Affairs Office—
Dallas Police Department
Dallas, Texas

Problem Addressed:

The United States is seen as a refuge, a place that provides protection from danger or distress. Thousands of refugees enter the United States each year, but for many, the streets of American inner cities often are as terrifying as their homelands.

Refugees are the newest and often the neediest members of inner-city neighborhoods. Most are unfamiliar with the language, culture, and values of American society. They frequently have little money, no American education, and few marketable skills to help them become self-sufficient. And many fear the police. Consequently, they often are more vulnerable to crime and less likely to report crimes to the police than other inner-city residents. The East Dallas Community-Police and Refugee Affairs Office was developed in response to the needs of refugees living in Dallas.

Program's Approach:

The primary goal of the East Dallas Community-Police and Refugee Affairs Office is to reduce crime by decreasing refugees' fear of police, easing their transition into American society, and increasing area residents' willingness to cooperate with police. Although the program targets refugees, it also serves longer-term inner-city residents, including African-Americans, Hispanics, and whites.

According to Ron Cowart, founder of the East Dallas Community-Police and Refugee Affairs Office, the program operates on the assumption that police officers must "interweave themselves into the fabric of the community" and become advocates for those they are charged to serve. He argues that police services should be tailored to meet the needs of the particular community served and that police should assume a proactive and preventive approach to crime control. In Cowart's view, police officers should work with other public agencies and private organizations to address the underlying causes of crime, such as poverty, illiteracy, inadequate housing, absence of child care facilities, and lack of recreational opportunities for youths.

Cowart also believes that police are in the best position to operate initiatives that address the underlying causes of crime — not because police are available 365 days per year, but rather because: 1) inner-city residents depend on the police for protection from negative community influences, and 2) police departments are specifically designed to respond to crime. In his view, police agencies play a leading role in crime reduction. However, the police role is complementary to that played by other established social service agencies. The program, therefore, is designed to facilitate and encourage the development of a comprehensive public-private sector partnership that enhances the delivery of social services.

Program Development:

Ron Cowart, a corporal with the Dallas Police Department, was assigned to patrol East Dallas. Cowart was an experienced officer, having served 15 years on the Dallas police force. He was familiar with East Dallas and its residents, but when he was transferred to patrol the neighborhood on a full-time basis, he was astonished by the massive social and economic problems plaguing this community.

The community was in turmoil. It was crime ridden and gang infested. Buildings were dilapidated. The ethnic composition of the neighborhood was rapidly changing as thousands of refugees from Asian and South and Central American countries moved into East Dallas. Many of them did not speak English, were unfamiliar with American culture, did not know how to seek assistance from social service agencies, and were fearful of the police. No social services agency had offices located in this community.

Cowart began helping the refugees during his off-duty hours. He advised the police chief of the situation and requested permission to establish a storefront that would allow him to provide assistance during his work hours. The chief agreed. Cowart wrote a grant proposal requesting funds to open the storefront, he then went to local charitable organizations asking for their support so that he could hire refugees to work with him. He also requested donations of food, clothing, and blankets. The response was very positive.

In 1985, Cowart opened the storefront, initially to serve refugees. It quickly expanded its focus, however, to serve the needs of all of the ethnic groups residing in East Dallas, including African-Americans, Hispanics, and whites.

Program Implementation:

The storefront is operated by the Dallas Police Department, which sets the program's policy. An independent non-profit corporation, entitled "Friends of the East Dallas Storefront," raises money, purchases items needed by residents served (e.g., shoes), and provides advice.

The storefront is staffed by two police officers, six public service officers, and 75 volunteers. Cowart essentially serves as the storefront's director. He makes certain that services are provided and administrative tasks are completed. He also patrols the community, usually on foot rather than by squad car.

The public service officers are Asian, African-American, and Hispanic. They are not sworn police officers, but assist the two police officers with providing services. One of the most important services provided is translation, because many of the residents do not speak English.

In 1989, the police department budgeted \$197,000 to operate the storefront. Of this, the sum of \$15,000 is allocated for office rent; the remainder is spent on staff salaries.

The "Friends of the East Dallas Storefront" raises about \$80,000 per year. This money is used to purchase food commodities (over 90 tons of rice were given to area residents in 1988), shoes, and clothing. Tons of clothing, over 3,000 blankets, 700 oscillating fans, and 60 window air conditioners have been donated by individuals, churches, local businesses, and philanthropic organizations. The program's success in receiving donations is largely due to the local news media, which provides ample

coverage of program activities and events.

The East Dallas program has been recognized by area residents. Flags of many nations adorn the storefront's walls. These flags were given to the program in appreciation for its work. The program was selected as the best volunteer organization by the Volunteer Center of Dallas. In 1987, Cowart was selected as "runner-up" for the International Association of Chiefs of Police officer of the year award, and he has received the law enforcement commendation medal from the National Sons of the American Revolution.

The program provides refugees, recent immigrants and long-time inner-city residents with improved access to the criminal justice system and with an opportunity to become part of the American mainstream. Program staff help locate housing, employment, and educational opportunities. They also distribute food and clothing, visit homes, make referrals to other social service agencies, and hold weekly crime prevention meetings in several languages. They also provide activities for youth, including a Law Enforcement Explorer Boy Scout Troop that serves as a positive alternative to street gangs, encourages youth to remain in school, and teaches them good citizenship. The troop installs locks on apartments, operates a community co-op garden, and participates in sporting activities. It was recently recognized by the City Council and School Board for its community service work.

Over 500 individuals currently receive goods or services from the program each month. Previously, it served over 1,200 individuals per month. As the community recognized the need for a program to provide goods and services to refugees, other non-police programs were established, and many people turned to those for assistance.

Cowart believes that this type of program does reduce crime. During the first year of the program's operation very few community residents trusted him enough to provide details on crime and were fearful of being identified as police informants. A year after the storefront opened, residents began offering unsolicited details about crimes and offenders. Because hundreds of people were visiting the storefront to obtain goods and services, those wishing to provide police with information about crimes could do so without raising suspicion and risking retaliation by offenders. Cowart reports that the police department computer printouts on crime indicate that during the program's existence the number of crimes reported increased, then stabilized, and now have decreased. He argues that the current decrease is due to: 1) an increase in the number of community residents providing police information on crimes and offenders; 2) many refugees and longer-term residents are moved more quickly into the mainstream of society, making them less vulnerable to criminogenic influences; and 3) the program encourages community residents, particularly youngsters, to be more law abiding.

Case Example:

Many of the East Dallas apartment buildings occupied by refugees provide substandard housing; some apartments do not even have door locks. A tenant in one of these apartment buildings organized a small group of neighbors to stand watch at night in an attempt to prevent burglaries and robberies. While walking his beat, Cowart discovered this man and learned that he was also escorting children to

school to prevent their victimization.

A refugee from Vietnam, this man had spent a considerable amount of time as a prisoner of war. He did not speak English and was unemployed. Cowart told him about the storefront and helped him find an English tutor and a job. The man continues to assist his neighbors and now reports crimes to the police.

Replication:

According to Jerie H. Tang Powell, a member of the site visit team:

This program is built upon an enduring spirit of cooperation and caring that transcends racial and cultural barriers and affirms the belief that in a democracy police are more than guardians of law and order.

The site visit team reports that this program probably can be replicated across geographical areas and ethnic groups. Refugees and other recent immigrants from other countries are present in large numbers in every major urban area. The challenges they face are similar to those faced by Southeast Asians.

Because this program requires police department approval, those attempting replication must convince the police chief: 1) of the program's potential value; 2) to allocate sufficient personnel and budgetary resources; and 3) to provide patrol officers with the flexibility needed to develop creative responses to difficult social problems. The cooperation of other government agencies and private organizations is also essential. Perhaps the most difficult program feature to replicate is the leadership provided by the program's founder and director.

Cowart is a lower-ranking patrol officer yet, he was able to convince the police chief that there was a need for the program and that the police department should allocate scarce resources to operate it. He also convinced thousands of Dallas residents to support his idea. Most of all, he was able to endear himself to the targeted population. His lack of fluency in the population's native languages was not a barrier because of on his personal charm and caring attitude.

Replication of this program will also require identification of refugees willing to participate so that communication lines between the police department and the refugee population can be established. Fluency in the language and familiarity with the culture and challenges refugees face will enhance program effectiveness.

This program does not require police to abandon their traditional order maintenance and crime control functions, but enhances their ability to detect crime and make arrests through mutual cooperation. According to Cowart:

The program must target the community in greatest need of services and work hand-in-hand with other community institutions that address the oppression of inadequate housing, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of recreational opportunities for youth and other social problems. Every squad car does not have to be a rolling social service agency ... but some of the officers should be especially sensitive to varying needs of a multi-cultural population. You need

experienced officers willing to aggressively work to improve the community and advocate on its behalf. The community must know that the police care. The storefront must be more than a tourist booth which simply directs needy residents to some other agency. And it cannot be centralized; each storefront must be tailored to the neighborhood in which it is located.

Program Contact:

Corporal Ron Cowart, Dallas Police Department, 1327 North Peak, Dallas, Texas 75204. Telephone: 214-827-3979.

2. Junior Police Cadet Section— Detroit Police Department Detroit, Michigan

Problem Addressed:

School age children and senior citizens frequently are victims of violent crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1988). Children enroute to and from school often are robbed, attacked, and beaten by other youngsters. Many of the elderly are afraid to venture outside their homes because routine trips for groceries occasionally are interrupted by terrifying assaults and purse snatchings.

Many of these crimes are unreported, fears unnoticed, and offenders undetected. Arrest data, however, indicate that juveniles often are the offenders. Juvenile delinquency theories frequently explain that juvenile's illegal behavior may be linked to their self-esteem and attitudes toward society (Merton 1938; Miller 1958; Reckless 1967). The Detroit Police Department addresses these problems by using thousands of high school and college students as junior police cadets.

Program's Approach:

According to Third Deputy Chief Thomas Moss, the program's founder and director, the primary goals of the Junior Police Cadet Section of the Detroit Police Department are "to develop a cadre of literate and capable citizens, and to prepare young people who want to pursue a police career." Program goals also include crime and delinquency prevention.

The program is based, in part, on the following ideas: 1) crime prevention efforts must focus on both the community and the individual; 2) through community service and personal involvement in crime prevention activities, youngsters' self-esteem and respect for their neighbors and the law will be improved; and 3) resolution of crime problems is not a function of the amount of money spent, but rather a result of the approaches employed and commitment of the individuals involved.

The program's approach is to intervene and restore an attitude of caring and sharing among youth, senior citizens, and public and private institutions. It emphasizes self-discipline, leadership, civic awareness, community service, respect for law and order, school attendance, and community pride. It also creates opportunities for youth and senior citizens to interact in ways that foster constructive dialogue, learning, understanding, and trust.

Program Development:

Shortly after Mayor Coleman Young assumed office, he directed the Detroit Police Department to establish a youth program. In 1975, Thomas Moss developed the Junior Police Cadet Section. Using Board of Education funds, 450 high school students were trained as junior police cadets. By 1978, 1,800 high school students were involved in the program.

In 1979, a pilot project to assist the elderly was established. Two hundred youngsters initially were involved. By 1980, over 1,800 high school students were

participating in this project.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the city was experiencing a rash of rapes of school girls; over 100 were reported to police. In 1982, the program implemented a school-community patrol project to address this concern and the problem of school children being assaulted on the way to and from school. Over 4,000 youngsters currently are involved in this project.

Since its inception 14 years ago, over 40,000 high school students and 900 college students have participated in the program. The program has expanded the number of services provided and increased the number of students participating. However, its basic approach and goals have remained the same.

Program Implementation:

The Junior Police Cadet program is operated by the Detroit Police Department as a separate and distinct unit. It has an advisory board of judges, politicians, community leaders, and ministers. This board formulates policy and provides direction.

Moss, a high-ranking police official with many years of experience, is program director. He is responsible for administration of the program, coordination of program activities, project development, and fundraising. He directly reports to the chief of police and the mayor. Seventeen police officers staff the program office. Each officer supervises between 100 and 275 cadets.

The program's 1989 annual budget is \$900,000. Three and a half percent of this budget is allocated for administrative salaries; 12 percent is earmarked for cadet uniforms and jackets; and the remainder is spent on wages for cadets serving during the summer months. The funds are obtained from local private foundations, the city council, and the federal government youth employment program. There is not a separate departmental budget for the program. The police department provides personnel, office space, and vehicles.

Approximately 4,000 high school and 100 college students participate in the program each year. High school students serve on a voluntary basis during the school year, however many are paid for their service during the summer months. College students serve only during the summer months and are also paid for their service. Many previously participated in the program in high school and now help supervise the high school students and provide positive role models.

Most students are recruited by police officers who visit their high schools. Those recruited are enrolled in a training program that includes lectures on criminal law and municipal ordinances, crime reporting and description techniques, personal hygiene, patrol techniques, effective note-taking, drug education, working with senior citizens, team building, emergency medical care, and human relations. Following training, cadets are assigned to patrol officers who supervise their work.

Cadets provide two services: school/community patrol and senior citizen escort. The school/community patrol service is designed to prevent attacks on children going to and from school and to reduce vandalism in parks and other public areas. Cadets wear uniforms all day. Before and after school hours, they patrol areas within several blocks of schools. Because they wear their uniforms in school, the cadets also serve as positive role models for their peers. In addition, they provide police

with information concerning suspicious circumstances, criminal incidents, abandoned cars, vacant buildings, and hazardous conditions.

The senior citizen escort service is designed to permit the elderly to move freely throughout the community without fear of being victimized. Cadets ride buses and walk with the elderly while they shop, bank, and visit physicians. The program pre-pays cadets' bus fare in order to facilitate their movement throughout the city. Uniforms and identification cards notify bus drivers to permit their travel.

The program also operates several other projects, among these is one that emphasizes academic excellence. Over 200 high school students are involved in this project. Participants are required to maintain a 2.4 grade point average and are allowed to take college courses for credit while in high school. Ninety percent of them have graduated from high school; none of them have become pregnant or fathered children; and there are no reports of participants abusing drugs.

The Junior Police Cadet program's performance is monitored through police reports and feedback from the elderly and schools. According to Moss, this program reduces inner-city crime. Police reports indicate that less than one half percent of the program participants have been arrested on suspicion of committing a crime. No elderly person has been victimized while being escorted by a cadet, and school reports indicate that following high school graduation program participants are continuing their education in vocational schools or colleges or are employed by local businesses. Moss stated: "These youngsters are going on to live good, law-abiding lives."

Case Example:

A 9th grader was living in a low-income neighborhood with his mother and two siblings. He was attending school on a regular basis and was maintaining a B grade average. He heard about the program while at school and requested permission to participate.

He was accepted and successfully completed the program. After graduation from high school, he went on to college. During the summer months of his college years, he was hired by the program to supervise high school students. Following graduation from college, he entered the military service as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Army Security Intelligence.

This program participant is now 22 years of age. He maintains that the program gave him a sense of direction and maturity. He attributes his success to the program and the role models it provided.

Replication:

The site visit team reported that this program probably can be replicated in other cities. The salient program features amenable to replication include: 1) the commitment of the police officers operating the program; 2) the support of police executives; and 3) cooperative working relationships with other public agencies and private organizations.

Although all urban areas have large numbers of high school and college students, most cities probably will find that the number of students willing to participate may be far smaller than the number found in Detroit. Detroit's public

schools require that high school students complete 200 hours of community service prior to graduation. Each year, thousands of students need to locate opportunities to perform community service. The Detroit Police Department is able to capitalize on this unique graduation requirement.

In the absence of a mandatory high school requirement to complete community service, other incentives, such as wages or career exploration, must be provided to encourage student participation. In Detroit, cadets volunteering services during the school year are considered first for a smaller number of paid summer positions. Where funds are not available to provide paid summer jobs, the opportunity to explore career options may encourage youth to participate in similar programs.

This program is a large scale operation; 17 police officers and the third deputy chief are assigned to it and over 4,000 youngsters each year serve as junior cadets. Replication would be a major undertaking, requiring the unswerving support of police administrators and patrol officers.

Although the program's budget does not reflect the costs of police personnel, office space and vehicles, one can reasonably assume that these costs exceed a half million dollars each year. A police chief would have to be convinced of the program's effectiveness before committing scarce resources to it.

Patrol officers must also be convinced. They will either be assigned to work directly with the young cadets or interact with them on a regular basis. Program staff gain other officers confidence by emphasizing that it is not a "make work" or recreational program, but rather a program that prepares youngsters to be responsible adults and helps reduce crime.

In addition, the program requires the support of private citizens, school officials, and local businesses. The elderly need to be assured that program participants are carefully selected and reliable. School officials need to enthusiastically endorse this program and actively encourage student participation. Finally, local business, as well as local philanthropic organizations, must be convinced that they should invest in this idea because private sector dollars are needed to operate important program features.

Also of crucial importance to replication is the presence of a highly skilled and very personable administrator. A large number of individuals with very diverse backgrounds, representing a wide variety of community institutions, must be well coordinated in a highly complex, very comprehensive, community-wide effort. Absence of an appropriate administrator could spell disaster.

Although the number of crimes prevented by this program is unclear, this program probably helps reduce inner-city crime by deterring potential offenders from assaulting children and senior citizens who are under escort. In addition, program staff indicated that only a tiny fraction of the program participants are known to have been arrested. This suggests that the program may reduce the effects of negative community and peer influences, and, thereby, reduce crime.

Program Contact:

Thomas E. Moss, Sr., Third Deputy Chief, Detroit Police Department, 1300 Beaubien Street, Detroit, Michigan 48226. Telephone: 313-596-2670.

3. Positive Interaction, Dispute Resolution, and Inhalant Abuse Programs— Houston Police Department Houston, Texas

Problem Addressed:

Houston is a sprawling metropolis, covering more than 560 square miles. Members of every racial, ethnic, and cultural group live within its borders. The very rich, the very poor, the long-time resident, and the recent immigrant can be found in large numbers residing in one or more of Houston's hundred plus neighborhoods.

Each neighborhood is unique. The demographic characteristics of the populations differ, as do their problems and resources for addressing them. Crime, fear of crime, interpersonal disputes, and drug abuse are among the problems facing many Houston neighborhoods. The nature and extent of these problems and neighborhood responses to them differ markedly.

The challenges facing the Houston Police Department include developing an approach that provides law enforcement services consistent with the expectations of all Houston residents and devising mechanisms that allow it to provide these services in a cost effective and efficient manner. The Houston Police Department addresses these challenges through a proactive, neighborhood-oriented policing strategy.

Program's Approach:

The Houston Police Department is implementing a multifaceted, long-term crime control strategy that is designed to reduce crime and fear of crime and improve the quality of life experienced by Houston residents. A major component of this approach brings together existing community resources in new ways.

Police officials and neighborhood residents systematically exchange ideas. Neighborhood residents are actively involved in aspects of policing directly affecting the quality of community life. And police deliver services in a rich variety of ways that reinforce the strengths of Houston neighborhoods.

The Houston Police Department operates a unique blend of unprecedented programs as part of its novel approach to policing. Three of these programs are discussed below because they provide concrete examples of the strategy and techniques employed.

Program Development:

Much of the credit for the design and implementation of the Houston Police Department approach is due Dr. Lee Brown, who serves as its chief of police. When Dr. Brown assumed his post, one of his pressing challenges was to restore the department's deteriorating credibility with the community. A myriad of citizen complaints alleging police use of excessive force, racial discrimination in hiring police officers, and other forms of illegal behavior strained relations between the police department and the community. Increased crime rates also contributed to an erosion of confidence in the police department.

Gaining the community's confidence and controlling crime were complicated by the great diversity and stark differences among Houston neighborhoods.

Because Brown is an exceptionally skilled police administrator, holding a doctorate degree in criminology and having decades of law enforcement experience, he was able to carefully guide the department through extraordinarily rough waters and simultaneously chart the department's future direction. His plan included changing the manner in which police services are delivered, expanding police officers' roles, creating new opportunities for community input into the police department's decision-making processes, and conducting research to evaluate the plan's effects.

With these objectives serving as a catalyst, an impressive array of programs flourished. Among them are the Positive Interaction Program (PIP), the Dispute Resolution Program, and the Inhalant Abuse Program. They are staffed by Houston police officers and primarily funded by local and state governments.

All three programs are specifically designed to improve the cooperative working relationships between police and various segments of the community and to reduce crime and fear of crime. They involve police officers in activities that help improve the quality of life. They also involve a broad cross-section of the community in police decisions affecting the quality of life at the neighborhood level. As a result, the police department's agenda is substantially influenced by community perceptions of crime and delinquency, as well as by community perceptions about the actions police and community members should take to resolve the problems identified.

Program Implementation:

(1) Positive Interaction Program (PIP).

According to the Houston Police Department, the purposes of this program are to identify community leaders with whom the police can work to reduce crime and the fear of crime, and to develop activities that facilitate citizen participation in the establishment of police priorities at the neighborhood level. Civic leaders concur, viewing the program as one that: 1) enhances communication between citizens and the police; 2) increases their understanding of laws and how these laws work for them; 3) informs them about their role in solving crimes; 4) familiarizes them with the operations of the police department; 5) makes police officials available for discussion of their concerns; and 6) affirms that they have some influence over the manner in which police services are provided.

Essentially, the program organizes the organizers. Police officials and civic leaders meet on a monthly basis to discuss how neighborhood problems can be resolved and provide reports about the meetings to their respective organizations. Appropriate responses then are planned by the police department and civic organizations.

Although one of the program's primary objectives is to resolve neighborhood problems, this is not the only result. According to a newsletter published by one of the civic groups, "One of the most important things to come out of this program, is the friendship that has come about between the citizens and the Houston police officers."

(2) Dispute Resolution Program Implementation.

This program is designed to prevent violence between family members, friends, neighbors, and high school students. It is part of the Ingrando House Project that seeks to prevent and resolve crime-related problems. Many service recipients are African-American.

Dispute resolution services are provided by police officers who have been trained in mediation and conflict resolution techniques by members of the Houston Bar Association. These officers review disturbance-call reports involving fights, threats, and assaults. They interview disputing parties and schedule mediation session appointments, which are structured to help resolve grievances without violence. Participation in mediation is voluntary. Where agreements are reached, pending charges may be dismissed.

Disputants are also referred to the program by patrol officers, school officials, and public housing project managers.

(3) Inhalant Abuse Program Implementation.

The goal of this program is to reduce juveniles' use of inhalants (e.g., sniffing glue) through education, police-community cooperation, law enforcement, and intervention. Many of the Houston juveniles using inhalants are Mexican-American.

Program staff educate other police officers, school officials, social workers, and parents about: 1) the nature and extent of the inhalant abuse problem; 2) detection methods; and 3) prevention strategies. Program staff foster police-community cooperation by jointly developing, with other public agencies and private organizations, inhalant abuse prevention techniques.

The law enforcement component encourages merchant compliance with laws governing the sale of abusable substances. Intervention usually occurs through counseling those who are "at-risk" of substance abuse and through provision of recreational activities for neighborhood youngsters. Youngsters voluntarily participate in program activities. When visiting program offices, they frequently seek staff advice on a variety of other problems.

Although program staff receive training in counseling techniques, they refer inhalant abusers to appropriate treatment agencies. The list of other community resources is quite extensive because many public agencies and private organizations have offered program staff assistance in working with youth abusing inhalants or other intoxicants.

Case Example:

Over 30 civic leaders participate in monthly meetings with police through the Positive Interaction Program. Joyce Thielepape is among this group. Ms. Thielepape is a civic leader who serves as the chairperson of a neighborhood organization located in the southeast section of Houston. Over 15,000 families belong to this organization.

Ms. Thielepape was concerned about a number of neighborhood problems, including crime. She would regularly visit the police station located in her neigh-

borhood, and she would even call the police chief in his downtown office. She advised police officials of neighborhood problems and requested their assistance.

She was invited by the police department to participate in its Positive Interaction Program, and subsequently was named chairperson of its southeast branch. As chairperson, she attends program meetings, reports to her civic group, and coordinates informational and recreational activities for police officers and civic group members.

During the site visit, a team member participated in one of the activities coordinated by Ms. Thielepape. Approximately 20 senior citizens were observed taking an evening field trip sponsored by the Positive Interaction Program. The seniors gathered in a church parking lot and were met by a representative of the local bus company's security force. The bus, provided free of charge to the senior citizens, drove to the hangar where the police department's helicopters are stored. Police officers provided a guided tour of the facility and described helicopter division operations. After the tour, the group was returned to the church parking lot.

Enroute to and from the helicopter hangar, there was a considerable amount of laughing, giggling, and exchanging stories about grandchildren. The seniors had a delightful time, as did the bus driver and police officers. The seniors seemed particularly happy that they could travel about the city at night, see its beautiful buildings, and meet with long-time friends. One could reasonably argue that this field trip improved the quality of their lives, if only briefly, and strengthened their relationships with the police department.

Replication:

The site visit team reported that these programs probably can be replicated in other sites. Civic leaders wishing to be consulted on police strategies can be found in every urban area. Many demand that they be allowed to participate. Most, if not all urban communities welcome opportunities for early intervention to prevent violence between residents. And no urban areas have been spared the troubling problem of teenagers abusing drugs and other intoxicating substances.

Replication of the Positive Interaction Program requires the enthusiastic support of civic leaders. Maintaining their support will be difficult where the police department fails to incorporate some of their suggestions.

The Dispute Resolution Program may need external validation of its worth, particularly during the initial implementation phases. In Houston, the police department's relationship with the local bar association confers a certain amount of acceptability.

Also, the Inhalant Abuse Program requires the cooperation of other public agencies and private organizations. In addition, it needs the confidence and respect of parents and youngsters.

These three programs are only a small part of a much larger strategy designed to change the nature of policing. Attempts to replicate them as though they are autonomous from the philosophy from which they emerged probably would be fruitless.

To effectively implement any of these programs or techniques, adoption of the

basic philosophy on which they are based may be required. The Houston Police Department advocates that the police department must have a new attitude about the people it serves and about the neighborhoods in which they reside. Their fresh approach 1) provides opportunities for police officers and community members to systematically exchange ideas; 2) develops mechanisms whereby community members are actively involved in police decisions; and 3) brings together existing community resources in new ways.

Also of crucial importance to replication is careful selection of the police officers assigned to staff program offices. Their positive and constructive attitudes toward the individuals and neighborhoods served gain community members' confidence and encourage their cooperation with police.

Whether these programs actually reduce crime is not a settled question. It may be too early to draw firm conclusions concerning their effects because they are relatively recent innovations and only part of a complex, long-term strategy. Given the nature of the problems and the manner in which the police department addresses them, it may be necessary to look far beyond crime rates to evaluate the bold new approach adopted by the Houston Police Department.

Program Contact:

Chief of Police, Houston Police Department, 61 Reisner Street, Houston, Texas 77002. Telephone: 713-222-3311.

H. COURT PROGRAMS

1. Community Dispute Resolution Centers— Unified Court System of the State of New York Albany, New York

Problem Addressed:

The criminal court system is overburdened because the number of cases it must handle greatly exceeds the amount of resources it possesses. It can take months or years, thousands of dollars, and hundreds of hours of work before a single simple case is disposed. During the lengthy delays, minor disputes often escalate into major conflicts, in part, because individuals frequently do not know how to resolve their problems.

Many of the cases in the queue can be appropriately handled outside the court system through mediation, conciliation, or arbitration. Since the turn of this century, labor disputes have been resolved using these techniques. Juvenile and criminal justice officials only recently began exploring the possibilities of settling disputes without the delay and expense of judicial intervention.

Fear of violating constitutionally-guaranteed procedural due process rights may have contributed to criminal courts' reluctance to forego the formalities. However, crushing caseloads have served as a catalyst for some communities to experiment with promising alternatives. Over 300 mediation, conciliation, and arbitration programs currently are handling criminal justice-related cases. One of the largest and most impressive programs is operated by the Unified Court System of the State of New York.

Program's Approach:

The Unified Court System of the State of New York contracts with 32 independent, community-based, non-profit organizations for the following purposes: 1) to provide dispute resolution resources for local communities; 2) to prevent the escalation of disputes into more serious civil or criminal matters; 3) to relieve the courts of matters not requiring the formalities of judicial intervention; and 4) to teach individuals how to resolve their problems through mediation. The organizations with which the Unified Court System contracts are called dispute resolution centers.

Program Development:

In the early 1970s, several mediation programs were established in the State of New York. They and others lobbied the state legislature to pass a bill supporting the institutionalization of alternative dispute resolution forums. In 1981, such a bill was passed because legislators were convinced that mediation was a cost-effective approach to helping people help themselves resolve disputes and was a viable means to relieve court congestion. In 1986, another bill was passed authorizing the centers to hear selected felony complaints.

The two bills authorized dispute resolution centers to hear a wide variety of criminal and civil complaints, including aggravated harassment, assault, breach of contract, consumer/merchant, criminal trespass, domestic arguments, employer/employee, forgery, fraud/bad check, landlord/tenant, noise, personal/real property, reckless endangerment, school problems, theft of services, and ordinance violations.

The legislature also appropriated over one million dollars in 1981 to fund the Community Dispute Resolution Centers program. It currently appropriates over two million dollars each year.

Program Implementation:

The Community Dispute Resolution Centers program is operated under the direction of the Office of Court Administration of the Unified Court System of the State of New York. The program is a permanent component of the Unified Court System.

The program has four staff members. Dr. Thomas Christian serves as the program director. He is responsible for program administration and coordination and serves as a liaison between the Unified Court System and the organizations with which it contracts. He is assisted by an assistant director, a court analyst, and a secretary.

Before an organization can provide alternative dispute resolution services, it must contract with the Unified Court System. Local organizations request a contract. Contracts are awarded to those demonstrating that they are private non-profit organizations, that dispute resolution services are needed in their geographical areas, that local funding sources are available, and that local government agencies and other private organizations support their proposed participation in the program. Thirty-two organizations have received contracts to provide dispute resolution services to all 62 counties in the State of New York.

Organizations obtaining contracts are eligible to receive up to 50 percent of their operating expenses from the Unified Court System. The remaining costs must be raised from local sources. Private foundations, local philanthropic organizations, United Way and other groups provide matching funds.

Cases are referred to the local dispute resolution centers by police officers, district attorneys, judges, probation officers, and legal aid offices. Some clients are self-referred.

The centers offer services free of charge (one center charges a three dollar fee). Those seeking services do so on a voluntary basis.

Each case is screened to determine whether it is suitable for mediation. Center staff describe the services offered and options available to the disputants. Disputants are advised of their right to seek redress of their grievances in a court of law and to be represented by legal counsel. Where both parties to the dispute agree to mediation, a hearing is scheduled.

The hearing is conducted by a volunteer mediator who has received at least 25 hours of classroom training and completed an apprenticeship. The mediator works with the disputants to help them reach a mutually agreeable settlement. The terms and conditions of the settlement are reduced to writing. Both parties sign the settlement agreement. Center staff monitor compliance with the agreement and

provide assistance when the contract is breached. In those instances where the parties fail to abide by the conditions of the contract, the case can be handled by the court.

The program's 1988 data indicate that over 93,000 people were served by the centers; over 18,000 mediations, conciliations, and arbitrations were conducted. In 1984, the program completed a research project. The findings indicate that over 90 percent of the individuals served were satisfied with the program. Dr. Christian noted that surveys, examining individuals' satisfaction with the manner in which their disputes were resolved by the courts, found that less than half of the respondents indicated they were satisfied. He attributes the differences to "the fact that mediation provides the opportunity for face to face communication, a constructive expression of emotions, and the preset goal of mutually agreeable solutions."

Case Example:

The Dispute Resolution Center, located in Rochester, New York, initially was founded by the American Arbitration Association in 1973. It was New York's first dispute resolution center and the nation's third. In 1979, the center became a separate, private, nonprofit organization governed by a local board of directors comprised of people from various parts of the city. In other words, it became an independent community-based organization.

In 1982, it was the first local center with which the Unified Court System contracted to provide dispute resolution services. The center's 1989 budget is approximately \$600,000. Of this amount approximately \$210,000 is provided by the Unified Court System. Other sources of funds include client fees (each client pays a \$3 fee unless s/he is indigent), foundations, and donations.

The center provides dispute resolution services in six New York counties. It is staffed by a dozen full-time employees and four part-time employees. Nearly 150 professionals serve as volunteer mediators and arbitrators. Andrew Thomas serves as the center director. He is responsible for center administration, staff supervision, program development, and coordination of board activities. He also serves as a liaison with the Unified Court System.

Staff at the center believe that it should help people find mutually acceptable and permanent solutions for their disagreements. More importantly, however, they believe that people should be taught how to avoid future conflict and how to resolve conflict without violence. In their view, "Although conflict cannot be eliminated, it can be managed in order to maximize its constructive or growthful components."

The center operates a 4-A program, which offers a forum wherein disputes can be heard, differing opinions discussed, and solutions identified. A trained mediator is involved. Over 1,200 cases each year are referred to this program.

To help juveniles, their families, and school administrators resolve problems through informal discussions, a juvenile mediation program is offered. Nearly 250 cases each year are heard by this program.

The center also operates a family dispute mediation program. Married persons are assisted with separation- and divorce-related problems. Only a few of these types of cases are handled.

In addition, the center has a community service component. This component

provides conflict resolution training and technical assistance to public agencies and private organizations for a fee. It generates income for the program which is used to offset other center expenses.

Replication:

The site visit team concluded that this program probably can be replicated in other states. Most state court dockets are crowded. Also, some type of mediation program using volunteers can be found in each state.

Replication to any large degree, however, will require legislative support for the notion that community-based organizations should be given concurrent jurisdiction with courts to resolve certain types of disputes. Convincing the legislature to pass enabling legislation will not be an easy task. It will be far more difficult in those states not having a unified court system. Many states have decentralized court systems — they are county-based with little operational coordination provided by the state.

Replication efforts also might be hampered to the extent community residents prefer to resolve disputes through coercive rather than through negotiative means. Many people are unwilling to sit at a table with their opponent and work out a settlement. When disputes arise, they prefer to say “I’m going to call the cops” — they want to force the opponent to behave in a certain manner. This attitude may be due, in part, to their perception that: 1) dispute resolution is exclusively a governmental function; 2) the government is a coercive institution (e.g., the government forces people to pay their taxes, to place money in parking meters, to send their children to school); and 3) the government’s power, will, and decisions cannot be successfully challenged (e.g., “you can’t beat city hall” or “you must do what the court orders”).

The New York dispute resolution centers send several messages, including one that encourages people to assume responsibility for resolving many of their conflicts. This means that disputants must work together to find solutions. Those unfamiliar with this approach might find it a difficult proposition to accept. Yet, experience shows that when given an option, many prefer resolving disputes through mediation because it is less costly in terms of time and money than the courts.

New York also advocates that community-based organizations are appropriate entities to operate dispute resolution centers. In other words, it believes that the state should confer upon inner-city residents the power or authority to help their neighbors resolve conflicts, and that adequate financial resources should be allocated so that this work can be accomplished.

One should note, however, that New York is not saying that it should spend more money to resolve disputes. Rather it argues that it saves money because community-based organizations provide needed services at a lower cost. In essence, New York sends the message that investing a couple of million dollars each year in a public-private sector partnership makes sense and that this basic principle can be applied to dispute resolution.

This is an exciting bold new approach to the administration of justice that holds great promise for reducing inner-city crime. If violence and other forms of crime result when minor disputes are not quickly resolved, this program may reduce

crime because cases are heard within an average of 14 days from intake. This may prevent hostilities from escalating to violent confrontations. The program also identifies underlying causes of the disputes and makes referrals to other social service agencies. Where an underlying problem, such as drug abuse, is identified and treated, it may prevent one's continued involvement in crime.

Although reducing court caseloads, spending less money, and preventing crime are goals, the program's greatest promise may lie in its potential long-range impact. This program involves inner-city residents in decision-making processes that affect their lives. To the extent that individuals can participate fully in the resolution of disputes they have with others, their quality of life is improved. Meaningful participation helps reduce feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness.

The usefulness of this approach was eloquently summarized by the Honorable Lawrence H. Cooke (1984), Chief Judge of the State of New York. He stated:

The paths of dispute resolution are never set in concrete; they are for each age to establish for itself. But society, by its very nature and to avoid self destruction, requires adequate avenues to justice. In our time, mediation is one of them. ... mediation must in this decade be accorded its rightful place in society."

Program Contact:

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2. Deferred Prosecution/First Offenders Unit— Dane County District Attorney's Office Madison, Wisconsin

Problem Addressed:

Individuals who are labelled delinquent or criminal may begin to identify with a deviant image. Labelling may also contribute to secondary deviation, poor self-concept, and adversely affect subsequent educational and employment opportunities (Lemert 1951; Becker 1963). For some offenders, it may be in society's and the offender's best interests to forego prosecution and punishment, particularly where the offender is willing to accept responsibility for delinquent or criminal behavior and to refrain from it in the future.

Many offenders, however, need more than diversion from the courts. They also need treatment and rehabilitation in order to avoid further involvement in crime. They require diversion to structured programs that help them address the problems that may have contributed to their illegal behavior.

Program's Approach:

The primary goal of the Deferred Prosecution/First Offenders Unit is to prevent offenders' further involvement in crime by deferring prosecution upon the condition that they satisfactorily complete appropriate treatment and rehabilitation programs. Although hundreds of diversion programs currently operate throughout the United States, this program is unique in several respects.

First, there is enabling legislation giving the prosecutor authority to establish a program whereby misdemeanants and certain felons can be handled outside the traditional criminal justice apparatus. Second, the program uses a network of other public agencies and private organizations to help fulfill its mandate. Third, the program contains crime prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation components. And, fourth, it increases the options available to police.

Program Development:

The program started in 1973 and was called the Dane County First Offender's School. A \$10,000 seed grant was provided by the Wisconsin Council on Criminal Justice to cover the program's operational costs. The program was staffed by a part-time director who was also employed as a full-time police officer by an area village.

Juveniles, probationers, and first-time misdemeanants were eligible for program participation. Only those having committed one nonviolent misdemeanor were allowed to participate. Offenders could avoid prosecution by: 1) signing an agreement to attend a four-week, 16-hour "school;" 2) remaining arrest free during this four month period; 3) receiving counseling; and 4) paying restitution. The "school" essentially was designed to give offenders some insight into their behavior and to encourage them to live law-abiding lives.

By 1981, the program expanded the types of offenders eligible for participation to include those who were second-time nonviolent felony offenders; it lengthened the duration of the diversion contracts, added its community service component,

and increased its staff. In 1984, the program began accepting those having committed violent crimes against family members (e.g., incest and spousal assault). Although the program has expanded its operations, its focus and approach virtually remain the same as they were at its inception.

Program Implementation:

The program is administered by the county district attorney's office. This office determines which cases are referred to the program. Where the alleged offenses are felonies, the district attorney will review each complaint on a case-by-case basis and make a decision about the appropriateness of referral. Where the offenses are misdemeanors, the cases are automatically referred to the program. Approximately half of the cases are referred to the program after the offender has been arrested, but before he is formally charged with a crime.

Program staff include a director, three counselors, a volunteer counselor, and a student intern. The director is responsible for managing the program, supervising staff, reviewing referred cases, and determining whether referred cases will be accepted by the program. The counselors are responsible for interviewing offenders, formulating diversion contracts, and supervising offenders. The volunteer counselor serves as a liaison between the program, other government agencies, and private organizations. This counselor also locates community service placements for offenders. The student intern is a college student who assists counselors with their caseloads.

The program's 1989 budget is \$217,000. Program costs are offset by the fees offenders must pay to participate. Over \$50,000 was collected in fees last year.

Until 1988, approximately 1,500 offenders participated in the program each year. A new spousal assault bill was passed by the state legislature and went into effect in 1989. As a result, the number of cases referred to and accepted by the program has increased by over 30 percent.

Although the majority of cases are referred by the district attorney's office, many retail theft cases are referred by police officers. Police officers usually have two options available: to arrest or not to arrest. When an officer decides to make an arrest, he or she must also draft a complaint and make court appearances. This program provides a third option. Police officers may choose not to make an arrest and recommend that the district attorney refer the case to the deferred prosecution unit.

Following referral, program staff conduct group or individual intake sessions. Group intake sessions are held for a number of offenders who have committed similar misdemeanor offenses (e.g., shoplifting). Individual intake sessions are held for offenders charged with felonies or sensitive crimes such as incest or domestic violence.

During intake, the offenders are advised of the program and screened to determine their suitability for participation. During screening, appropriate public and private agencies are also identified. Offenders who are permitted to participate in the program are referred to these agencies for placement and monitoring. Suitability for program participation is based on:

- the nature of the current offense;
- prior criminal record;
- admission of guilt;
- offender attitude;
- whether offender is dangerous to himself or the community;
- likelihood of offender repeating the crime;
- whether offender will benefit from the treatment process;
- agreement to participate in the treatment program prescribed (e.g., drug counseling, anti-aggression training);
 - willingness to abide by the conditions of the diversion contract (e.g., complete a set number of community service hours, participate in substance abuse assessment, obtain a GED by end of contract, search for work each week, participate in police department's ridealong program, pay restitution, write answers to essay questions that are designed to give offender better insight into himself, criminal justice agencies, and society); and
 - payment of a \$10 monthly fee for each month participating in the program.

When offenders are refused admission into the program, their cases are returned to the district attorney's office for prosecution. Those accepted are required to sign and adhere to the conditions of a diversion contract. This contract is drafted by program staff.

The type and length of the contract is determined by the nature and severity of the offense. For example, where the alleged offense involves aggravated battery (a felony), the contract may run between 18 and 24 months and require 150 hours of community service, full restitution, alternatives-to-aggression training, a complete psychological assessment, a promise of no weapons possession if a weapon was used during commission of offense, no contact with victim if victim and defendant are separated, no further abuse to victim, monthly telephone contact with program staff, bi-monthly personal contact with intake counselor, adherence to any existing temporary restraining orders, plus payment of the monthly fee.

After satisfactory completion of the program, the offender's case is dismissed, and he may request that his criminal record be expunged. In the event the offender fails to complete the program, he is terminated and the case is returned to the district attorney's office for prosecution.

A substantial portion of the program participants are shoplifters. An all-day long "retail theft workshop" is held on Saturdays. During this workshop, participants view a movie concerning the myths of shoplifting and participate in small group discussions led by program staff, police officers, probation officers, prison inmates, and ex-offenders.

The purpose of the workshop is to stop shoplifting by helping offenders and criminal justice personnel gain insights into criminal behavior through discussion of factors (e.g., marital problems, depression, unemployment, substance abuse, greed) that may have contributed to the behavior. The consequences of committing crime are examined, and offenders discuss their experiences with others who have committed similar offenses. The workshop is also designed to help offenders feel better about themselves and accept responsibility for their behavior.

An integral component of the program is voluntary community service. According to Louis Cooper, the program director at the time of the site visit, such service is not employed as a means to punish offenders. Its purposes are to repay the community for the crimes committed and alter offender behavior patterns, thereby reducing the likelihood of recidivism. Offenders are also encouraged to improve their educational levels and employment opportunities.

The consequences of this diversion program include conservation of police, prosecutorial, judicial, and correctional resources. According to staff, only a small number of program participants have failed to complete their diversion contracts. As a result, police officers are not required to spend countless hours waiting to testify, prosecutors can devote their time to preparation of more serious and complex cases, court dockets are relieved, and scarce jail space is reserved for the most dangerous offenders.

Program staff also noted several other benefits. For example, sanctions for criminal conduct are administered closer to the time when the offenses occurred. In addition, offenders' lives are minimally disrupted because they can continue to pursue their occupations and fulfill family obligations.

Case Example:

A father was arrested by the police for battering his 13-year-old child. A complaint was filed with the district attorney's office, which interviewed the victim and referred the case to the program.

Program staff conducted an individual intake session. They found that the father had bruised the child, the home was very stressful, the father was remorseful, and the family wanted to stay together and work through its problems. Program staff agreed to allow the father to participate in the program.

The father's diversion contract runs for 18 months. He is required to attend individual and family counseling sessions, be assessed for alcohol and drug problems, attend parenting classes, complete community service, and contact the program director on a monthly basis. He has not yet completed his contract, but should he fail to abide by its conditions, his case will be returned to the district attorney's office for prosecution.

Replication:

The site visit concluded that this program probably can be replicated by every court system in the United States without much difficulty and with little controversy. However, enabling legislation is required in order to provide the district attorney with the flexibility needed to determine which cases can be appropriately handled by alternative means. Legislators in other states may be willing to adopt this approach because case control remains within the court system, specifically within the prosecutor's office.

The site visit team was not able to determine whether this program reduces inner-city crime. The program's success rate might be due to the fact that only those likely to succeed are accepted. The question presented is whether those succeeding would have done so in the absence of the program.

Given the number of offenders participating, the program appears to help the county reduce the amount of money required to operate its criminal justice system. It would cost much more to process offenders through the county court system and incarcerate them in the county jail. The requirement that participants pay a monthly fee, reduces the county's actual costs for program operation by nearly 25 percent.

In many programs, the leader is a vital component; not so in the present case. Since its inception, three district attorneys have supervised the Deferred Prosecution program and it has had four different directors. It has become institutionalized. As a result, personality is far less an important factor than process.

The vast majority of staff time is spent delivering services to program participants and identifying other public agencies and private organizations willing to cooperate. As a result, the program has an extensive network of agencies and organizations on which it can rely for community service placements, including the Wisconsin State Historical Society and the local home for physically handicapped individuals. Many of these agencies and organizations are strapped for funds and cannot afford to hire additional employees. Since the program needs community service placements, both the program and the groups with which it works benefit.

Program participants also benefit. Many have meaningful experiences during their community service. One organization director stated that a program participant continued to volunteer after his community service contract was completed.

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I. CORRECTIONS PROGRAM

Volunteers in Parole—
State Bar of California
San Francisco, California

Problem Addressed:

The number of offenders incarcerated for lengthy periods in juvenile and adult correctional institutions is steadily increasing. Because the vast majority of those incarcerated are released on parole, the number of individuals parole offices must supervise is also steadily increasing. In California alone, there are currently over 50,000 individuals on parole; projections indicate that by 1992 there will be over 90,000 (Van Zomeran 1989). Across this nation, most parole offices are extremely strained by increasingly heavy caseloads; it is not unusual to find an official supervising 150 individuals.

Many of the individuals supervised are youthful offenders without family, friends, permanent housing, employment, or other resources. These teenagers and young adults are uneducated and illiterate, unmarried parents of small children, struggling with drug or alcohol dependency, stigmatized by lengthy criminal records, suspicious, fearful, and uncertain. They frequently commit new crimes or violate the conditions of their parole because adequate support systems are unavailable (Van Zomeran 1989). The Volunteers in Parole program (VIP) is designed to provide a support system for young parolees and ease their transition from incarceration to productive citizenship.

Program's Approach:

Modeled after the Big Brothers and Big Sisters programs, VIP seeks to reduce the recidivism of youthful parolees, aged 15 to 23. It matches them with attorneys who volunteer eight hours per month of their time. VIP encourages parolees to discover their abilities, develop skills, organize time, budget income, and participate in constructive leisure time activities.

VIP's approach is similar to other programs; for example, the Connecticut Prison Association, using a grant from the American Bar Association, enlisted the volunteer support of young lawyers to work with parolees and others having legal problems. The Volunteers in Tennessee Corrections program, with a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, used 30 volunteer attorneys to work as aides to parole counselors. These lawyers assisted parolees in locating housing and employment, and offered general emotional support as a "helping friend" (Fox 1977).

Corrections has a long history of employing the services of volunteers who "fill gaps between governmental social services and the actual needs." Volunteers frequently serve as "a buddy who can spend time with the offender in a variety of ways" (Fox 1977).

Lawyers are used by VIP because they: 1) understand the legal system; 2) are familiar with community resources and have referral skills; 3) are experienced in

dealing with bureaucracies; 4) are not intimidated by the sophistication of parolees; and 5) have an office where they can conveniently meet with parolees and privately discuss their concerns. VIP also uses lawyers because they are licensed to practice law. The licensing process ensures that individuals selected to work with troubled youth are of good moral character. And lawyers are used because parolees frequently need questions answered about their relationship to juvenile and criminal justice agencies, leases, contracts, and other legal matters.

Program Development:

Many offenders are incarcerated, released on parole, and re-incarcerated for committing new crimes or for violating the conditions of their parole. This phenomenon is generally called recidivism; some call it the revolving door.

In 1969, former U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger recommended that attorneys should help make the correctional system something more than a revolving door. As a result, VIP was established in Los Angeles and Santa Clara in 1972. The program currently operates in seven counties throughout the State of California, and is sponsored by the California Youth Authority, the State Bar of California, and local bar associations.

Program Implementation:

VIP's organizational structure includes an advisory board, the State-Wide Steering Committee, which comprises program staff, California Youth Authority officials, and volunteer attorneys. VIP also receives direction and guidance from the Board of Governors of the State Bar of California.

Mary Van Zomeran serves as VIP's executive director. She is responsible for coordinating the activities of the seven program offices located throughout the state.

Each of the program's offices has a full-time director and part-time clerical worker. The directors are primarily responsible for coordinating volunteer recruitment efforts and matching lawyers with parolees. Their office space is donated by the California Youth Authority.

VIP's 1989 annual budget is \$317,000. Funds are obtained from the California Youth Authority. The money is given to the State Bar of California, which houses and operates VIP and hires program staff.

Since 1972, between 200 and 240 matches have been made each year. A recently completed 24-month follow-up study, conducted by the California Youth Authority on VIP's Los Angeles office, found that 38 percent of the program participants recidivated. Other Los Angeles area parolee programs experienced a 60 percent recidivism rate; the state-wide recidivism rate is nearly 50 percent. According to Norman Skonovd (1989), "VIP's data are encouraging indicators of success" (Skonovd 1989).

While recidivism rates are important indicators of program success, they are not the only evidence of the program's viability. The matches benefit parolees and lawyers. Parolees benefit because volunteer lawyers provide positive role models, friendship, and advice. Lawyers take parolees to sporting events, help them locate employment, and assist them with their studies. They also provide inspiration and encourage hope, increasing the likelihood that the youthful parolees will become

law-abiding citizens.

The lawyers benefit from program participation because they gain insight into the impact of juvenile and criminal justice agencies and have the satisfaction of knowing that they helped troubled youth. The president of the State Bar of California remarked that his experience as a VIP volunteer lawyer “makes me proud to say I am a lawyer.”

The community also benefits. Parolees have, for example, volunteered their services to the elderly, taking them for walks, providing companionship, and participating in special events.

In addition to attorney-parolee matches, the program conducts street law classes, informal lectures offered to parolees and other youthful ex-offenders. Presentations are also made to community groups and public and private agencies. In addition, VIP and the California Youth Authority recently produced a 20-minute videotape that is used to recruit lawyers and educate the public about VIP.

Case Example:

A 14-year-old youngster was sentenced to the California Youth Authority and was incarcerated for three and a half years. Correctional officials did not believe that he would successfully complete parole. When was paroled to San Francisco, this teenager found himself without family, friends, or financial resources.

He heard about VIP and asked to participate in the program. He was matched with a young lawyer who frequently met him for lunch and discussed his future plans. He developed a friendship with this lawyer, obtained a job, and started college.

He currently is enrolled in college and has not been re-incarcerated. This youngster told the site visit team that his success is due to the advice and friendship provided by the lawyer. The lawyer stated that he found the experience rewarding because he “learned a lot” and “obtained a sense of community.”

Replication:

VIP's 17-year history strongly supports the notion that it can be replicated in various sites throughout California. In 1972, the program was offered in two counties; it currently operates in seven. However, two of the three site visit team members expressed serious reservations about the program's transferability to sites outside California. (All three team members hold law degrees; two are practicing lawyers.)

Team members agreed that evidence indicates the program is able to rely on the remarkable commitment of an extraordinary combination of public and private resources. They also agreed that the program uses an uncomplicated and direct approach to dealing with one of the most difficult challenges faced by the juvenile and criminal justice systems. And they agreed that the program has obtained amazing results with limited resources.

Because so much cooperation is required between the State Bar of California, the California Youth Authority, local bar associations, volunteer attorneys, and parole officers, two site visit team members were skeptical about whether it would be possible to replicate this unique combination of resources and marshal them on a

statewide basis in other jurisdictions. The third team member concluded it would be difficult to replicate this program, but it could be accomplished where skilled volunteer coordinators are used and corrections officials are cooperative.

Other potential obstacles to program replication include the need for state-wide sponsorship. According to program director Van Zomeran, local resources frequently are unavailable and parolees seldom garner public support, regardless of their age.

The site visit team also noted that the program does not provide any training for lawyers, just an information packet. Lawyers are recruited by current volunteers and through brochures that include a letter from a judge or other respected member of the bar. Inexperienced volunteers might not be equipped to deal with streetwise youth, and may be discouraged by behavior a better trained volunteer would overcome. This could result not only in a loss of volunteers, but in a loss of community and governmental support for the program as well.

In addition to lack of training, supervision of volunteers is minimal, although this is not an unusual characteristic of volunteer programs. Fox (1977) explains: "Because volunteers are unpaid and their services are based on their desire to serve, they cannot be supervised, but it is important that they be coordinated." VIP volunteers are well coordinated. Staff regularly contact volunteers, sponsor a host of recreational activities for parolees and volunteers, and publish a newsletter.

Despite these obstacles, the site visit team agreed that VIP holds great promise for reducing inner-city crime and its effects because the program's basic components have been successfully replicated in different settings. The program is based upon the Big Brother/Big Sister model, which has been successfully implemented in every major urban area. The concept of adults helping children is widely accepted, and volunteer attorneys have been employed in many settings.

Because volunteers are used and offices are donated, program costs are relatively low. Thus, those attempting replication should not find financing a major impediment.

One of the most promising aspects of this program is its focus on improving the quality of life experienced by troubled youngsters. It reaches to the heart of what many consider the root causes of recidivism (i.e., lack of adequate support networks). The program supplies a "safety net" for those members of our society most likely to fail.

Whether this program reduces inner-city crime is unclear, however, recidivism rates appear lower than comparable programs. Given the cost of incarceration, should only a small number of the matches result in a reduction of the number of youth being returned to detention facilities or prisons, the State of California probably saved millions of dollars by investing in this program.

Program Contact:

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III. SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDINGS and RECOMMENDATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

All of the site visits mentioned in this report were related to the symposium in several ways. First, the directors of the 18 programs selected for site visits were invited to attend the National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner City Crime, at the project's expense. Second, additional symposium participants were identified during the site visits, among these were public officials and private sector volunteers working with the programs visited. Third, the site visit teams were familiarized with the particular perspectives of the programs and those people working with them. The site visit experiences influenced the manner in which the symposium was organized.

During the symposium, dozens of recommendations concerning the future agenda of urban crime control policy and research were proposed by speakers, panelists, and other symposium participants. A consensus was not reached by all participants on all recommendations. It was agreed, however, that each recommendation had some merit and should be included in this report.

Many of the recommendations are based upon several interrelated premises. First, crime is a symptom of other social problems. Second, community institutions can reduce the extent to which poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, substandard housing, and poor nutrition and health influence individual behavior, particularly where new patterns of collaboration between public and private sectors are present. Third, although financial resources are needed if inner cities are to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles, money alone will not remedy the complex problems they face.

Participant recommendations reflect the view that this nation must begin to reexamine basic notions about inner-city residents, the institutions and organizations that serve them, the problems they face, and the solutions for these problems. According to James K. Stewart, director of the National Institute of Justice, inner-city residents and the community organizations that serve them should not be viewed simply as consumers of expensive social services, and, therefore, liabilities. Rather, they should be seen as assets and a great national treasure.

Mayor of San Antonio and Police Foundation board member Henry Cisneros, emphasized that the future agenda of urban crime control research and policymaking should include a central role for all community institutions. Many panelists argued that community-based organizations currently are prevented from assuming this central role. In their view, community-based organizations should be transformed from often-ignored, seldom-advised, peripheral bodies, to the central coordinating agencies for social services provided to inner-city residents. These participants claim that self-determination and community control are essential elements of crime prevention in the inner city and should be incorporated as priorities in the future agenda because, as Atlanta City Councilman Hosea Williams concisely stated, "Nobody will save our communities but us."

Many panelists also maintained that a central decision-making role must be fashioned for inner-city residents. They contend that inner-city residents are more familiar than others with the challenges facing their communities and should thus help define the problems and decide which approaches are reasonable.

Symposium participants recommended that community institutions at the local level should develop and implement strategies to prevent crime. The family unit should be sustained. Youth should be discouraged from dropping out of school. Churches and other religious organizations should address the problems of the inner city. Employment-driven programs that help break cycles of poverty and welfare dependency should be adopted. Civic and self-help groups should address crime problems, particularly drug abuse and homicide. Entertainers should provide positive role models for youngsters. News media should provide public service announcements as a means to inform citizens about what can be done to prevent crime. And juvenile and criminal justice agencies, particularly the police, should work with other community institutions.

According to Hubert Williams, president of the Police Foundation, police departments alone cannot eliminate crime. He recommended that police should establish links with community groups. James Stewart referred to these links as partnerships. Stewart urged that police develop partnerships with community organizations and businesses. Mayor Cisneros advocated bridging the gap between police and community because "the police will not be successful until we begin to rebuild the network of community institutions in neighborhoods and cities where the social fabric has begun to unravel." He also recommended hiring more and better police.

The judges attending the symposium recommended that judges continue to consider unusual mitigating or aggravating circumstances when rendering sentences. They explained that although sentencing guidelines are useful tools, they do not relieve a judge of his or her responsibility to fashion an appropriate sentence for each offender appearing before the court. In their view, sentencing guidelines are restrictive, narrow, and reduce the discretion judges need to determine appropriate sentences. Although the sentencing guidelines are designed in theory to address these issues, participants' perceptions were that exceptions are rarely used.

Others maintained that corrections should focus on rehabilitation and treatment rather than warehousing and punishment. They noted that overcrowding strains correctional agencies' resources, particularly those earmarked for rehabilitation and treatment. Participants also were concerned about recidivism rates and maintained that these rates might be reduced where offenders are required to participate in educational and drug treatment programs during their incarceration.

Many participants expressed concern about raising funds to continue current programs and to implement new ones. These participants suggested that funding sources move toward multi-year funding for established community-based groups. They also proposed that public and private grants be provided for innovative programs.

Some of the participants addressed the issue of replicating programs across geographical areas and ethnic groups. While they acknowledged that certain elements of broad-based formulas may be applicable to many inner cities, they

suggested that crime reduction strategies and techniques should be community specific. This idea is consistent with the traditional notion that criminal justice agencies reflect the values, customs, aspirations and resources of the particular jurisdictions in which they operate. It differs markedly from many current approaches that attempt to apply inflexible and externally developed models to all inner-city neighborhoods.

For research, symposium participants recommended that future projects assess the effects of public policies on specific crime problems, identify factors that prevent individuals from committing crimes, and study the successes of community institutions to determine how their operations can be improved. Robert Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, stated that the money earmarked to address crime problems has not been spent where it should have been. He recommended that the future research agenda should address the maldistribution of funds earmarked to address crime. Woodson also urged researchers to study the successes of programs, to ask "how do these programs do what they do," and to obtain community input into crime prevention and control research.

Rose Ochi, executive assistant to the Mayor of Los Angeles and director of that city's Criminal Justice Planning office, mentioned that research does not measure the love, devotion, dedication, and energy of those working to reduce crime in inner cities. She recommended attention to these factors because policymakers need to know that successful program implementation depends upon the people who make the programs work. James Stewart also noted that these variables have not been quantified and that they, as well as a sense of community, probably are the variables that make a difference. Thus, the future agenda of urban crime control research should encourage collaboration between researchers and practitioners and the development of methods that help measure key variables.

Many of the symposium participants expressed a desire to continue the dialogue begun at the symposium. Some suggested that the federal government should provide funding so that similar symposia can be sponsored on an annual basis. Nearly 70 of the symposium participants agreed to begin a new organization, entitled the National Inner-City Crime Prevention/Intervention Association. This association will attempt to: 1) address major urban crime problems, 2) facilitate communication among community-based crime prevention/intervention programs, and 3) provide technical assistance to those attempting to replicate successful programs.

B. DRUG ABUSE

1. Adult family members, particularly parents, should teach children coping skills and provide positive role models by refraining from alcohol and drug abuse.

2. Schools and other educational institutions should develop curricula designed to dispel myths about drug use. Drug prevention education programs, similar to SPECDA in New York City, should be adopted.

3. Civic and self-help groups should encourage community support for and involvement in drug abuse treatment and prevention programs.

4. Treatment programs that address the causes of drug abuse, such as the Soul-O-House Drug Abuse Program in Newark, should be adopted.

5. The entertainment and news media industries should work with public agencies and private organizations to enhance the educational campaign against substance abuse and promote a broader range of role models to include elected officials and community leaders.

6. Congress should modify anti-drug abuse legislation so that funds are channeled directly to cities and community-based organizations in order to decrease administrative costs and increase direct service delivery to drug abusers and those at risk of becoming drug abusers. Research is needed to determine which programs work to reduce drug abuse.

7. Assets seized or forfeited by drug dealers should be used to establish drug education programs.

8. Legislators should enact laws that a) enhance penalties for adults convicted of selling drugs near schools, and b) divert first-time juvenile offenders to “shock probation camps.”

9. Prisons should establish therapeutic wings or sections designed to provide inmates with intensive drug treatment.

10. More treatment facilities for substance abusers should be established.

C. YOUTH GANGS

1. Parents should be held accountable for their children’s behavior and required to participate, with their children, in programs designed to prevent or discourage youth gang membership.

2. Schools and educational programs should develop curricula that discourage youth (grades 3 through 6) from joining gangs. These curricula should use a model similar to that employed by the Community Youth Gang Services Project in Los Angeles.

3. Inner-city communities should be encouraged to establish urban boystowns, similar to the model developed by the House of UMOJA in Philadelphia. In addition to providing housing, these boystowns should offer a variety of educational, employment, and recreational services and maintain cooperative working relationships with juvenile justice agencies, businesses, and human service agencies.

4. Newspapers should exercise caution when publishing stories about youth gang violence. Gang members regularly read newspapers and often perceive articles concerning their violent activities as certificates of notoriety and success.

5. Federal, state, and local governments should expand summer youth employment programs and establish year-round jobs programs emphasizing community service and neighborhood improvement projects such as graffiti removal. These programs should employ gang members and youth at risk of becoming gang members. Ample supervisory positions also should be allocated.

6. A national task force on gangs should be established by a consortium of community-based organizations working to reduce youth gang violence. It should be funded by private foundations and corporations, and work with federal and local government agencies. It should: a) analyze youth gang violence, b) develop a comprehensive plan to eliminate youth gang violence and gang warfare, and c) provide technical assistance to public and private agencies working to eliminate these problems. The task force should consist of representatives of various community institutions and operate under the direction of a national coalition of community-based organizations.

7. A national research and training institute on gang violence and membership reduction should be established and operated under the auspices of a national coalition of community-based organizations. The institute should study the issue of conflict resolution without violence, and collect and analyze data pertaining to gangs, gang-related crime, and gang violence prevention programs. It also should periodically survey gang violence reduction programs, which should in turn submit questions for inclusion in the survey instruments. The institute should disseminate the findings to public and private agencies through publications and formal training programs. Juvenile and criminal justice officials should be encouraged to attend these training programs.

D. SEXUAL ABUSE and EXPLOITATION

1. A sensitive-crimes and sexual-assault unit should be established by police departments and prosecutor offices. Such a unit should provide a coordinated community response to sexual abuse between family members. Deferred prosecution should be considered as an alternative to incarceration, particularly where incarceration would have an adverse impact on the family.

2. When dealing with young incest victims, social service agencies should tailor services to the needs of the individual victim rather than base services on a set of rigid guidelines.

3. Social service agency policies should be consistent with the intent, as well as the letter, of law designed to provide assistance to troubled children. Social service agencies should provide placement, residence, and emancipation for street children. When developing programs, social service agencies should solicit input from and incorporate suggestions made by members of the targeted population.

4. Inner-city communities should be encouraged to establish programs similar to Children of the Night in Hollywood, which provides housing and needed services to

child prostitutes who are often ineligible to receive services from traditional social service agencies. Innovative private sector funding partnerships also should be developed.

5. Projects similar to the Special Project on Training Professionals in Sexual Exploitation Prevention of the Developmentally Disabled in New York City should be adopted. This project seeks to increase public awareness about sexual exploitation of the developmentally disabled; to train human service and criminal justice professionals to meet the special needs of the developmentally disabled; and to stimulate thinking about ways to establish local networks of medical, psychological, and legal assistance to the developmentally disabled.

6. Community-based programs designed to reduce sexual abuse and exploitation should work closely with law enforcement agencies.

7. News media should focus on the larger problem of sexual abuse and exploitation, its causes, and programs designed to reduce it, rather than merely highlighting or sensationalizing individual tragedies.

8. Inner-city communities should be encouraged to establish treatment facilities for victims of sexual abuse. These facilities would offer services similar to those provided by rape crisis centers. However, they would serve a broader clientele - victims of rape, incest, prostitution, pornography, and pedophilia.

E. CRIMES AGAINST INNER-CITY BUSINESSES

1. Businesses should establish business training and entrepreneurial projects for high school dropouts, gang members, and youth at risk of becoming gang members. These projects should be based upon the Junior Achievement model that familiarizes youth with business through a variety of business-oriented activities.

2. Businesses should provide grants to community-based organizations to enable them to develop innovative programs that reduce intergroup conflict and crimes against inner-city businesses. A series of workshops and a mediation mechanism should be among the programs developed. The workshops should focus on promoting cross-cultural understanding between the Asian-American business community and inner-city residents. A community-based mediation mechanism should be established to resolve disputes between merchants and inner-city residents.

3. Businesses should invest financial and personnel resources in inner-city neighborhoods and schools. They should implement "shadow" programs whereby inner-city youngsters are matched with local business people and follow them all day, for at least two days per month. These programs would teach youngsters how businesses operate. More importantly, they would foster respect among youth for business people and encourage youth to refrain from victimizing businesses.

F. ARSON

1. Police and fire departments should place a higher priority on arson prevention.
2. Police and fire departments should use the predictive formulas developed by arson prevention programs.
3. Police and fire departments should work closely with prosecutors to develop guidelines for investigating and prosecuting arson cases.
4. Building inspectors should regularly check buildings for building code violations.
5. Legislators should enact statutes that require back property taxes be paid out of fire insurance proceeds and abandoned buildings be placed in receiverships.
6. Mayors should establish arson prevention task forces which include representatives from police and fire departments, building inspectors, insurance companies, property owners, community-based organizations, and tenant associations. These task forces should develop strategies and techniques that prevent arson. Insurance companies and property owners should co-sponsor these task forces' projects.
7. Tenants should form associations or organizations, similar to the People's Firehouse in New York City, which: a) educate tenants about building codes and code enforcement procedures; b) teach tenants how to identify arson factors; c) encourage owner compliance with codes to prevent building deterioration; d) inform tenants of their occupancy rights following fires; and e) organize juvenile fire-setter prevention programs.
8. Banks and local governments should invest in and refurbish deteriorated buildings in order to prevent arson.
9. Insurance companies should offer equity insurance policies that insure against loss in property value due to social circumstances.
10. Police and fire departments, as well as property owners, should work with community-based organizations that are currently operating or attempting to establish arson prevention programs. Public and private sector funds should be given to community-based organizations so that they can rehabilitate deteriorating buildings.
11. Because arson adversely affects housing and commercial revitalization, housing and community development organizations should establish arson prevention programs, vacant buildings should be rehabilitated, and resident management should be encouraged.

G. CRIMES AGAINST *the* ELDERLY

1. Programs similar to Cleveland's Community Re-Entry and the Detroit Police Department Junior Police Cadet Section should be adopted by inner-city communities. Such programs raise public awareness concerning crimes against the elderly; foster an attitude of help, safety, and caring toward the elderly; form partnerships and alliances to protect the elderly; and teach youth to appreciate and respect the elderly.

2. Police should help reduce senior citizen fear of crime by providing them with information about the extent of crime in their neighborhoods.

3. Senior citizen advisory councils should be established. These councils should: a) provide support systems for the elderly; b) encourage elderly to participate in community activities; c) operate programs that reduce the elderly's victimization and fear of crime; d) match senior citizens with youth who will assist them with shopping, banking, letter writing, and other activities; and e) advise service providers of the elderly's needs.

4. Public agencies and private organizations should provide financial and personnel resources to help senior citizens develop programs to increase their participation in community life.

H. FAMILIES *and* FRIENDS

1. The concept of family should be defined more broadly to include extended family structures. The family typically has been viewed as a nuclear family, i.e., two parents and their children. In the inner city, many other family forms exist. A number of families are headed by single parents, while numerous households are comprised of several generations.

2. Inner-city communities should establish education and training programs for mothers who will in turn be able to teach their children problem-solving skills. Inner-city communities should establish or provide adequate and well run day-care facilities. This may require establishing new programs or modifying existing ones.

3. Youth leaders, many of whom may be involved in delinquent or criminal activity, should be identified, targeted for leadership development, and provided an opportunity to use their skills in socially acceptable ways.

4. "Human resource banks," consisting of parents, youth, and professional child care workers, should be established in inner-city communities. They should be designed to provide emotional, educational, recreational, and economic growth support services to youth.

5. Inner-city communities should establish parent support groups, particularly for new and/or single parents or those with troubled children.

I. SCHOOLS

1. Schools and other community institutions should work to prevent youth from dropping out of school. They should stress the relevance of education as it pertains to employment opportunities, self-development, and one's ability to successfully negotiate his or her way through our complex social, economic, and political systems.

2. Schools should help students organize peer support groups or clubs that promote educational attainment, leadership development, and community service.

3. Schools should work with families and community-based groups to improve as well as to reinforce the importance and relevance of education.

4. Schools should establish advisory committees that comprise teachers, students, and parents who discuss and resolve school-related problems and develop alternative forms of discipline.

5. Schools should develop curricula that teach students about values, sexuality, career choices, drug abuse, practical law, conflict resolution without violence, mediation, and juvenile justice agencies.

6. Schools should teach students the disciplines of work as well as basic academic skills.

7. The federal government should encourage elementary and secondary schools to teach children life skills such as time management, goal setting, decision-making, nutrition, physical fitness, parenting, the dynamics of family and community, and nonviolent conflict resolution.

8. Educational and training programs should be developed for police officers and social service professionals. These programs should teach about cultural differences and prepare participants to respond to the special needs of various population segments. Research is needed to develop effective educational and training programs.

J. CHURCHES and other RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

1. Churches and other religious organizations should sponsor programs, such as Centro Sister Isolina Ferre Programa del Dispensario San Antonio in Ponce, Puerto Rico, that help revitalize inner-city neighborhoods through education, advocacy, and community development.

2. Churches and other religious organizations should sponsor programs, similar to Community Re-Entry in Cleveland, Ohio, that prevent drug abuse and violent crime and provide opportunities for ex-offenders and senior citizens to participate in

3. Churches and other religious organizations should sponsor programs to improve the quality of life of inner-city residents. Programs that expose youngsters to positive experiences outside public housing projects should be adopted.

4. Churches and other religious organizations should work to eliminate racism and sexism.

K. BUSINESSES *and* EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

1. Business leaders should help inner-city business owners and residents interested in business ownership to develop the entrepreneurial skills needed to survive in today's quickly changing and extremely competitive national and international marketplaces.

2. Businesses should help inner-city residents develop the skills necessary to work in growth-oriented, technology-driven industrial sectors.

3. Businesses should promote the formation of domestic and international joint ventures likely to create more jobs and be better capitalized than "mom and pop" operations.

4. Businesses should support collaborative partnerships between African-American and Asian-American trade organizations and other organizations engaged in economic development.

5. Businesses should seek investment opportunities in inner-city communities to enhance the economic viability of these communities. Businesses should also promote the idea that a community's economic life can be improved through crime prevention.

6. Banks and other financial institutions should extend lines of credit to and capitalize community-based businesses.

7. Government agencies, particularly those at the local level, should contract with community-based businesses for goods and services.

8. The federal government should make equity investments in community-based businesses, enabling them to expand operations and offer permanent full-time employment opportunities for inner-city residents.

L. CIVIC *and* SELF-HELP GROUPS

1. Civic and self-help groups should establish urban youth leagues to promote academic achievement and life skills development. Men should be encouraged to participate because male role models are essential to aid youth in their "rites of passage" to adulthood.

2. Civic and self-help groups should establish mentor programs to provide positive role models, build character, bond children to community institutions, and expose children to experiences and places beyond public housing projects.

3. "Community councils" should be established for the purpose of developing community responses to community problems. These councils should consist of senior citizens, educators, ministers, business people, civic leaders, and youth.

M. ENTERTAINMENT *and* NEWS MEDIA

1. Entertainers should participate in community organizations' fund-raising events and present positive role models for youth.

2. News media should cosponsor activities with community-based organizations.

3. Newspaper editors should conduct training sessions to teach the fundamentals of newspaper production to community-based organizations attempting to develop community newsletters or other written means of communication.

4. News media should exercise caution when covering crime-related incidents. When publishing stories about victims and children who are runaways, news media should refrain from using their names and faces. The filing of criminal complaints and indictments should not be characterized as evidence of guilt. The media should report acquittals as well as indictments.

5. News media should cover positive aspects of inner-city neighborhoods.

N. POLICE

1. Police departments should make crime prevention a priority.

2. Police departments should work with other community institutions to improve the quality of life of inner-city residents.

3. Police departments should adopt a style of policing that: a) presents opportunities for police to reinforce the concept of neighborhood and become part of it by sharing residents' problems; and b) makes it possible for residents to work with police on order maintenance as well as crime problems.

4. Police departments should reduce the social distance between police and inner-city residents by organizing the department according to the needs of the community. Police departments should ascertain these needs through monthly meetings with "police chief/community advisory committees" and by recruiting and hiring minority group members sensitive to problems in the community.

6. Police departments should enhance patrol officer crime prevention roles and provide the flexibility needed to develop innovative responses to inner-city problems.

7. Police departments should expand police training programs to include training in mediation techniques.

O. COURTS

1. Court officials should educate the public about the operations and limitations of juvenile and criminal justice agencies and invite citizens to visit courts and meet with judges.

2. When appropriate, prosecutors and judges should encourage criminal litigants to settle grievances outside court through mediation and other dispute resolution processes.

3. Judges should continue to tailor sentences to individual offenders rather than rely totally on sentencing guidelines. Sentencing guidelines may discourage judges from fashioning appropriate sentences when such sentences are warranted by the presence of highly unusual mitigating or aggravating circumstances.

4. Judges should use alternatives to incarceration, particularly when the offender is nonviolent. Community service, restitution, drug treatment, and house arrest can be effective sanctions. When it is unlikely that the offender will victimize additional community members or that public order or safety will be compromised, the least restrictive alternative should be selected.

5. Prosecutors, defense attorneys, and judges should encourage legislators to reevaluate statutory definitions of crimes. Legislative definitions of crimes frequently do not reflect the nature of the offense or extent of injuries to victims.

6. Judges' performance should be evaluated on the quality of decisions rendered rather than on the quantity of cases disposed. Judges frequently are criticized because of the backlog of cases on their dockets. However, many of the cases handled by judges present complex legal issues requiring a great deal of time and effort to resolve. When judges' decisions are affirmed on appeal, credit should be given for the quality of work performed.

7. Judges should work with community-based organizations and participate in activities to improve the quality of life of inner-city residents. For example, they can work to support community-based organizations by serving as members of the boards of directors, participating in public service events sponsored by the organizations, or providing advice on how the organization can work more effectively with criminal justice agencies.

P. CORRECTIONS

1. Correctional agencies, particularly community corrections, should provide opportunities for ex-offenders to fully participate in community life. Ex-offenders, who are a part of the crime problem, can become a part of its solution when provided encouragement and guidance by those charged with the responsibility of facilitating their reintegration into the community.

2. Because African-Americans are disproportionately represented as prison inmates, corrections should recruit and hire more African-Americans as corrections planners and correctional officials.

3. Alternatives to incarceration should be used whenever possible; imprisonment is very expensive, causes tremendous human suffering, and is not very effective at rehabilitation.

4. Funds earmarked to build adult prisons and to support the growing "correctional-industrial complex" should be re-allocated and spent on programs that prevent youth involvement in crime.

5. Correctional agencies, particularly community corrections, should provide personal direction, guidance, and support services to ex-offenders. Typically, ex-offenders are supervised only via periodic telephone calls or office visits. Ex-offenders frequently need assistance in resolving personal problems that may be related to their involvement in crime. Correctional agencies may be the best source of this guidance because they have regular contact with ex-offenders and access to other social service agencies to which the ex-offender may be referred.

6. Prisons should prepare inmates for employment through training and work-release programs. The work release placements should be appropriate to the knowledge and skill levels of the offenders, and offenders should be adequately supervised to ensure public safety and prevent further criminal victimization.

7. Parole boards should require prison inmates to complete the equivalent of a high school education as a condition of parole, particularly where they have been sentenced to lengthy prison terms and are capable of fulfilling this requirement. One must be able to read, write and count in order to participate in society. When offenders are illiterate, it is likely that they will recidivate. Therefore, the incentive of early release from prison should be used to encourage offenders to prepare themselves for participation in society.

8. Parole boards should discontinue the practice of returning parolees to prisons for technical violations of parole (e.g., changing jobs without notifying the parole officer) when no new crime has been committed.

9. Half-way houses should provide drug, family, and job counseling services to
10. These houses also should work with state agencies, community based

organizations, and inner-city residents to facilitate ex-offender participation in the community.

10. Juvenile justice agencies should establish diversion programs that permit nonviolent offenders to work in community service projects.

Q. RESEARCH

1. Researchers should study both the successes and failures of criminal justice agencies and other community institutions, rather than just their failures, to determine both how they work and how their operations can be improved.

2. Researchers should identify factors that prevent individuals from committing crimes as well as factors that cause them to commit crimes.

3. Researchers should involve inner-city residents and community-based organizations in certain aspects of their research projects, including problem definition, data collection, interpretation, and final reporting.

4. Researchers should report findings to those people from whom they collect data. Written reports and oral presentations should be made to research subjects and community-based organizations operating crime prevention or intervention programs.

5. Researchers should identify and include key variables or factors in their analyses, e.g., the multi-faceted nature of the approaches employed, the level of staff commitment, the type of problem addressed, and the resources available to address the problem.

6. Researchers should identify indicators of success and develop appropriate measures of the efficacy of particular techniques.

7. Researchers should conduct comprehensive evaluations of the effects of public policies on crime.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The recommendations offered during the National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner-City Crime are based upon several interrelated notions: 1) crime is a symptom of other social problems; 2) all community institutions share responsibility for crime control; and 3) policy makers must reevaluate their notions about crime, its causes, inner-city residents, the communities in which they live, the problems they face, and the solutions to these problems within the context of this society's basic understanding of democracy and application of democratic principles. These recommendations provide guidance for parents, educators, ministers, business people, civic leaders, members of the press, entertainers, and law enforcement and other government officials.

Most of the recommendations are not novel ideas. Many have been advanced for decades by a wide variety of interested parties, ranging from those familiar with the nuances of criminological theory to casual observers. All of the ideas are enlightening, however, given the ideological framework in which they are raised.

To some, democracy is narrowly defined in terms of voting rights. To most, it refers to the ability to participate fully in the social, economic, and political life of their community. To the extent large segments of the population adhere to the latter definition and discover that they are unable to participate fully, the obvious result is that many people will view society as nondemocratic. The full consequence of this view is not readily apparent — the nation's ability to preserve its social, economic, and political systems is seriously threatened. Crime and other forms of socially unacceptable behavior are the manifestations of that threat.

In other words, when large numbers of people are unable to participate fully in the life of their communities, the individual threads that are used to weave the fabric of this great nation are at risk of unraveling. Therefore, inner-city crime reduction requires more than strong families, good schools, and ample jobs. It also requires self-determination, community control, and empowerment.

Currently, this nation's crime control efforts primarily are geared toward reducing crime by improving the operations of juvenile and criminal justice agencies. The cry is for more laws, more penalties, more police, more prosecutors, more judges, more jails, and more prisons. The record clearly indicates that this approach is extremely expensive and its potential effectiveness quite suspect. In the public sector alone, each year over 50 billion dollars are spent to operate juvenile and criminal justice agencies; billions more are spent in the private sector for security personnel and equipment. By all accounts, it is highly unlikely that law enforcement efforts alone will produce a dramatic decrease in the tens of millions of crimes occurring each year.

In essence, symposium participants recommended that the future agenda of urban crime control policy must be based on more compassion. In their view, a more compassionate approach: 1) acknowledges that self-determination, community control, and empowerment are essential elements of crime reduction in the inner city and incorporates them as high priorities on the future agenda of urban crime control policy; and 2) fashions a central role for inner-city residents and the community-based organizations serving them when problems are defined, strategies developed, and techniques selected.

Inner-city residents do know what is best for their communities. Therefore, recognition that inner-city residents must participate when priorities are established and programs implemented may be one of the most important ingredients in successful crime control strategies.

Inner-city crime is not just the inner cities' problem. The nature and extent of crime are influenced by national trends, a shifting economy, and changing demographics. Local public policies frequently are shaped by what occurs at the national level. Fifteen dollar-per-hour factory jobs are being replaced with minimum wage fast food restaurant jobs. And America's population is aging - there may be more senior citizens than teenagers by the year 2000.

The federal government has an important role to play in inner-city crime reduction efforts. It should continue to provide leadership and guidance on how people can help themselves. This does not mean that the federal government should spend more money. Financial resources alone will not remedy the complex problems facing inner cities. Better results probably can be obtained by spending less money more wisely.

For example, federal government authorities recently proposed spending several billion dollars to build additional prisons. It will cost billions more to operate them. The proposed prisons probably will provide beds for less than 10,000 offenders. Assuming that current trends continue, it will cost over 50 million dollars to build each 450-bed prison, it will cost nearly \$20,000 per year to incarcerate each offender, the proposed prisons will be overcrowded before the ink is dry on the building construction blueprints, and most of the offenders incarcerated in these prisons will recidivate.

On the other hand, the total annual costs of all 18 programs described in this report amount to far less than the building construction costs of one small prison. These programs serve well over 20,000 people each year. And the programs report that most of those served never commence or successfully terminate their involvement in illegal activities. Consequently, one can reasonably argue that the cause-removing approaches employed by the 18 programs described in this report merit serious consideration because they may be more cost effective than those crime control strategies that primarily rely on apprehension, adjudication, and incarceration of offenders.

Juvenile and criminal justice agencies do play an important crime control role. However, they should not be viewed as the first and only crime control mechanism. Other community institutions should share responsibility for crime control, assume active roles, and be given adequate financial resources to implement their programs.

The key question, therefore, is not "How much more money should we spend?" It is rather, "In which ideas should we invest?" In other words, should we forego building at least one small prison so that these funds can be invested in community-based programs working to prevent crime by eradicating its causes?

Inner-city crime can be reduced. This goal cannot be accomplished solely by spending billions of dollars to place bandages around the symptoms of society's ills. A new attitude is required; one that embraces a willingness to include new participants in decision-making processes, and accepts new roles for current actors.

During the National Symposium on Community Institutions and Inner-City Crime Project, we did observe that new patterns of cooperation between the public and private sectors are emerging as more individuals and organizations move from a posture of despair and cursing the darkness to one of hope and lighting candles. This new optimism signals a need to reevaluate our current policies on how and to whom funds are given and the purposes for which available financial and personnel resources are allocated. It also suggests viewing resolution of the crime problem from a holistic perspective and avoiding artificial distinctions among community institutions.

The 18 programs discussed in this report, as well as the hundreds of others participating in the symposium project, are examples of some of this nation's most outstanding inner-city crime reduction efforts. These programs hold great promise for the future because they work to eliminate the causes of crime. They build on the strengths of their communities by marshalling existing resources and coordinating efforts with public agencies and private organizations. These programs also incorporate natural support systems. Their paid staff and volunteers work with other community institutions in a cooperative effort facilitated by community leaders living in the affected neighborhoods. The recommendations of their program directors and other symposium participants are deserving of serious consideration.

As this nation shapes the future agenda of urban crime control policy and research, it should recognize the important role that all community institutions and inner-city residents play. It should begin to build on their strengths rather than criticize their weaknesses. As San Antonio's Mayor Henry Cisneros reminded symposium participants, foregoing familiar routes and venturing down untrodden paths may be our only hope.

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Dr. Sulton received a bachelor's degree in psychology from Washington State University—Pullman; master's degree in criminal justice from the State University of New York—Albany; doctorate degree in criminology and criminal justice from the University of Maryland—College Park; and law degree from the University of Wisconsin—Madison. She also studied in Mexico and Spain and holds a private pilot's license.

Dr. Sulton has taught for over ten years at several colleges and universities, including Spelman College in Atlanta and Howard University in Washington, D.C. She also has taught in a police training academy and in numerous prisons. Dr. Sulton has received numerous awards for her participation in community-based civic and self-help organizations.

She currently practices law in Madison, Wisconsin and frequently speaks at crime prevention and economic development seminars.

