

# ***Juvenile Violence: Prosecutors Resource Guide***

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***Reducing Youth Gun Violence***

This report's first section consists of an Executive Summary, summarizing current Federal and State legislation designed to reduce youth gun violence and describing state-of-the-art prevention and intervention programs, as well as Federal and local partnerships in implementing these laws and programs. The second section is a Directory of Programs, Organizations, and Research aimed at reducing gun violence.



## ***Gangs***

### ***Gangs***

This fact sheet provides responses to gang-related questions.

### ***Gang Suppression and Intervention: Community Models***

This research summary presents a framework for creating promising approaches for reducing the problem of youth gangs. The approaches apply to both chronic and emerging gang problems and look at the roles of the family, community, schools, police, court, and corrections in addressing the gang problem.

### ***Gang Suppression and Intervention: Problem and Response***

This research summary provides initial findings from research on the youth gang problem. It describes a range of institutional responses and presents recommendations for promising approaches, policies, and programs.

### ***Prosecuting Gangs: A National Assessment***

This research brief presents results of a nationwide survey of 192 local prosecutors' approaches to gang prosecution, a review of the State legislation targeted at street gang activity, and case studies of prosecution efforts at four sites.

## ***Juvenile Offenders***

### ***How Juveniles Get to Criminal Court***

This bulletin presents statistics on the number of juveniles transferred to adult criminal court through judicial waiver, prosecutorial discretion, and statutory exclusion.

### ***Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A Focus on Violence***

This statistics summary consolidates the most recent information on violent crimes committed by and against juveniles. It presents complex information on juvenile crime using clear, nontechnical writing and easy-to-understand graphics and tables.

### ***Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report Preview***

This report presents material that represents the most reliable and current information available on juvenile offending, juvenile victimization, and the juvenile justice system. It is designed as a series of briefing papers on a wide range of topics.



## ***Response to Juvenile Offenders***

### ***Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders***

This program summary presents OJJDP's comprehensive strategy for dealing with serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. The program can be implemented at the State, county, or local levels. The program background, rationale, principles, and components are set forth in this strategy paper.

### ***Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Offenders***

This bulletin provides an update of the OJJDP Program Summary and its prevention model. It also introduces and summarizes the OJJDP Implementation guide that constitutes an indepth resource tool for systematically and comprehensively addressing rising juvenile crime.

### ***Intensive Aftercare for High Risk Juveniles: A Community Care Model***

This program summary presents a review of programs and literature concerning juvenile prerelease, transition, reintegration, and aftercare. It includes information on assessment and classification for risk and need, descriptions of community, and institution-based programs, and an overview of theory-driven interventions.

### ***Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders: A Comprehensive Strategy***

This fact sheet details OJJDP's comprehensive strategy to reverse the trends in juvenile violence, juvenile victimization, and family disintegration. The strategy is based on supporting research, statistics, and program evaluation information.

## ***Substance Abuse***

### ***Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse: Initial Findings Report***

This research summary presents preliminary findings of longitudinal research on the causes and correlates of juvenile delinquency and examines the age of onset and prevalence of delinquency, drug use, and other problem behaviors and youth relationships to peers and family. Characteristics of effective intervention programs are also described.





# OJJDP Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator

FACT SHEET #16

May 1994

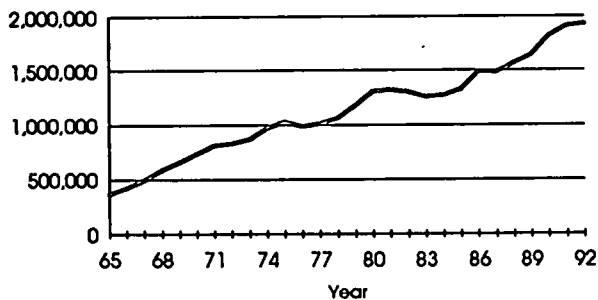
## Are Juveniles Driving the Violent Crime Trends?

Howard N. Snyder, Ph.D.

### Violent crime has increased substantially

The FBI monitors changes in the level of violent crime by tracking the volume of four specific crimes. Combined, these four offenses—murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault—form the FBI's Violent Crime Index, which has become an accepted barometer of violent crime in the U.S. Between 1965 and 1992 the number of Violent Crime Index offenses reported to law enforcement agencies increased by 432%. The increase was relatively constant over this time period. In the latest 10-year period, from 1983 to 1992, the number of reported violent crimes increased by 54%.

Violent Crime Index Offenses Reported in the U.S.



Law enforcement agencies also reported substantial increases in each of the offenses in the Violent Crime Index. However, the size of these changes varied greatly. Therefore, any study of violent crime trends should independently investigate changes within these violent offenses

Percent Change in Reported Crimes

Offense	1965-1992	1983-1992
Violent Crime Index	432%	54%
Murder	141	23
Forcible Rape	297	38
Robbery	465	33
Aggravated Assault	445	73

### How much of the increase in violent crime can be attributed to juveniles?

It is possible, using data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program, to develop a rough estimate of how much of the increase in violent crime was due to crimes committed by juveniles. A crime is classified as cleared (or solved) when at least one person is arrested, charged with the commission of the crime, and turned over to a court for prosecution. Each year law enforcement agencies across the country provide the FBI with the number of crimes reported to them and information on the crimes cleared by arrest. In 1992, for example, law enforcement agencies with jurisdiction over 92% of the Nation reported they cleared 45% of violent crimes. There is no information on perpetrators of the 55% of violent crimes that were not cleared. However, if it is assumed that the offender profile for cleared crimes is fairly similar to the offender profile of all crimes reported to police, then an estimate can be developed of the proportion of crimes committed each year by juveniles (i.e., persons under age 18).

An Estimated 81% of the Increase in Violent Crime Index Between 1983 and 1992 Attributed to Adults

	1983 (thousand)	1992 (thousand)	Change	
			83-92 (thousand)	% of Total
Total Reported Crimes	1,258	1,932	674	100%
% Cleared By Juvenile Arrest	9.5%	12.8%		
Estimated Crimes By Juveniles	119	247	128	19%
% Cleared By Adult Arrest	90.5%	87.2%		
Estimated Crimes By Adults	1,139	1,685	546	81%

These data indicate that 19% of the increase (i.e., 128,000 of the 674,000 increase) in violent crimes in the U.S. between 1983 and 1992 could be attributed to juvenile law-violating behavior. Although juveniles are contributing substantially to the problem, it would be unfair to conclude that juveniles are driving the violent crime trends.

Using a similar approach of combining reported crime and clearance statistics, the juvenile responsibility for the recent increases in murders, forcible rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults can be estimated separately.

Offense	Increase from 1983-1992	
	Number of Crimes	Juvenile Proportion
Violent Crime Index	674,200	19%
Murder	4,500	28
Forcible Rape	30,100	27
Robbery	165,900	27
Aggravated Assault	473,700	17

Juveniles were responsible for 17% of the growth in aggravated assaults between 1983 and 1992. In contrast, the juvenile contributions to recent increases in the number of murders, forcible rapes, and robberies were greater than their overall contribution to the growth in the Violent Crime Index. Between 1983 and 1992 juveniles were responsible for more than one-quarter of the increase in murders, forcible rapes, and robberies.

### For more information

This fact sheet is based on data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and its *Crime in the United States* reports. Copies of the 1992 report may be obtained (1) at a Federal bookstore, (2) by calling the U.S. Government Printing Office at 202/783-3238, or (3) by writing the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

### Is the contribution of juveniles to the growth of violent crime a recent phenomenon?

In the 10-year period between 1974 and 1983 violent crime reported to police in the U.S. increased by 30%. This growth in the number of reported Violent Crime Index offenses can be completely attributed to adults, since the overall number of Violent Crime Index offenses attributed to juveniles in 1974 was equal to the number in 1983. Over this time period, in each of the four components of the Violent Crime Index, the number of crimes attributed to adults increased more, or decreased less, than the number attributed to juveniles. For example, between 1974 and 1983 the overall number of robberies grew by 15%, the result of a 22% increase in robberies committed by adults and a 20% decline in robberies committed by juveniles. During this period the number of murders in the U.S. actually declined by 6%, the result of a 6% decline for adults and a 19% decline for juveniles. In summary, juveniles were far less responsible for the growth in violent crime in the 10 years from 1974 to 1983 than they have been in the last 10 years.

### Conclusions

In the last 10 years adult violence was responsible for more than 80% of the growth in violent crime. However, the juvenile contribution to the violent crime increase was far greater than their contribution to the increases seen in the past. In summary, juveniles are not driving the violent crime trends; however, their responsibility for the growth in violent crime in the U.S. has increased.

This fact sheet was prepared by Howard N. Snyder, National Center for Juvenile Justice. The material was developed for the forthcoming *National Report on Juvenile Offending and Victimization*, a product of the Juvenile Justice Statistics and Systems Development Program funded by OJJDP through grant #90-JN-CX-K003. Barbara Allen-Hagen, Social Science Analyst in OJJDP's Research and Program Development Division, served as Program Manager.





# OJJDP Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator

FACT SHEET #14 May 1994

## Juvenile Violent Crime Arrest Rates 1972-1992

Howard Snyder, Ph.D.

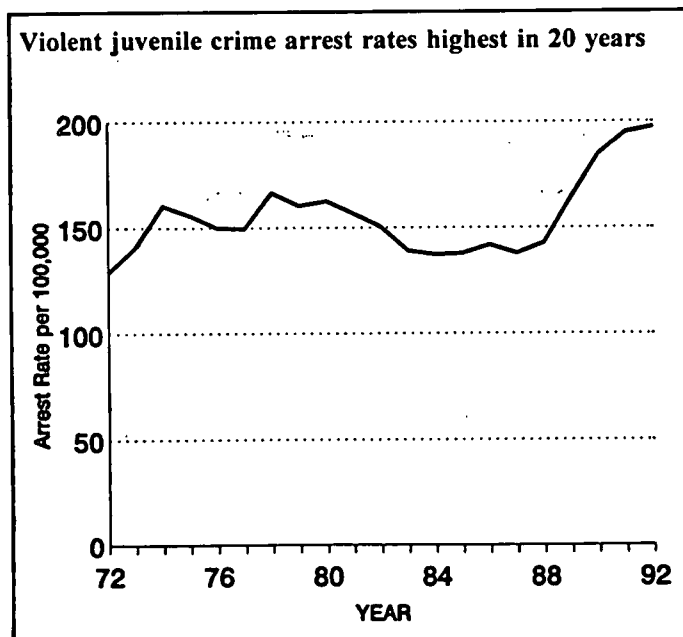
The FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program has become a major social indicator of crime in the U.S. Each year thousands of law enforcement agencies report to the FBI information on crimes and arrests. The Violent Crime Index, a combination of four offenses—murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault—is used as a barometer of violence in the U.S. When the media reports that violent crime is up or down, they are generally reporting changes in the Violent Crime Index.

### Juvenile Violent Crime Arrest Rates

Each year the FBI reports the number of juvenile (defined here as persons under the age of 18) arrests made for every 100,000 juveniles in the population. Since the size of the juvenile population fluctuates over time, arrest rates enable us to compare annual juvenile arrests without having to consider the impact of a changing population base. In 1992, the FBI estimates that there were 198 Violent Crime Index arrests of juveniles for every 100,000 juveniles in the U.S. population.

It must be emphasized that the 198 number is a count of arrests, not of juveniles arrested, because an individual may be arrested more than once in a calendar year for a Violent Crime Index offense.

As the figure in the left column left shows, the rate of juvenile Violent Crime Index arrests remained relatively constant from 1972 through the late-1980s. In fact, the violent crime arrest rate was near its low point for this period in 1987. In 1990, however, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate broke out of its historic range and by 1992 had reached its highest level in the last 20 years. In just five years from 1988 to 1992 the juvenile Violent Crime Index arrest rate increased by 38%. However, juvenile arrest rates in three of the four components of the Violent Crime Index declined between 1991 and 1992, resulting in an overall increase in Violent Crime Index arrest rates of only 1%. It is too early to judge whether this is the beginning of a new trend.



### Murder

Similar to the Violent Crime Index trends, the juvenile murder arrest rate stayed within a small band between 1973 and 1987, averaging annually about 3 juvenile murder arrests for every 100,000 juveniles in the population. However, each year between 1988 and 1991 the juvenile murder arrest rate grew to new highs. By 1991 the rate had reached 5.4 murder arrests for each 100,000 juveniles in the U.S. population, an increase between 1987 and 1991 of 80%. The new 1992 rate of 5.0 is the first decline in seven years.

### Forcible Rape

The juvenile arrest rate for forcible rape gradually increased over the 20-year period. In 1992 there were 9 arrests for every 100,000 juveniles in the U.S. population. Unlike the other three offenses within the Violent Crime Index, abrupt increases in these arrest rates were not seen in the late-1980s.

## Robbery

Unlike any of the other components of the Violent Crime Index, the robbery arrest rate declined substantially between the mid-1970s and the late-1980s. For example, between the high point in 1978 and the low point in 1988, the juvenile robbery arrest rate dropped by 40%. However, after years of decline, the robbery arrest rate increased in 1989, 1990, and again in 1991, increasing a total of 42% and returning to the levels seen in the early-1980s. After three years of increase, the 1992 arrest rate dropped by 3%. It is too early to judge if this is the beginning of a new trend.

## Aggravated Assault

The juvenile aggravated assault arrest rate remained relatively constant from 1974 through the mid-1980s, with the rate at its low point for this period in 1983. In 1987, however, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate broke out of its historic range. Between 1987 and 1992 the juvenile arrest rate increased annually. Over this period the juvenile aggravated assault arrest rate grew by 54%. In 1992 there were 113 juvenile arrests for an aggravated assault for every 100,000 juveniles in the U.S. population.

## Conclusions

While recognizing variations within specific offense categories, the overall juvenile violent crime arrest rate remained relatively constant for most of the last 20 years. In the late-1980s something changed, a change which is bringing more and more juveniles into the justice system charged with a violent offense.

## For more information

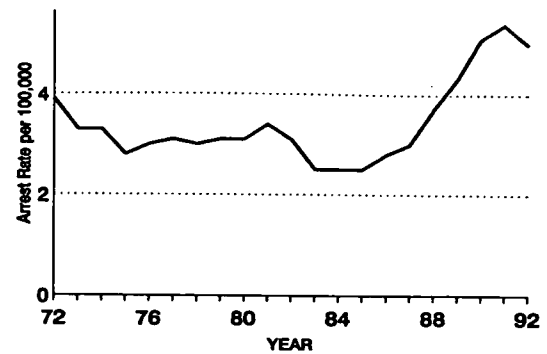
This fact sheet is based on data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program and its report, *Age-Specific Arrest Rates and Race-Specific Arrest Rates for Selected Offenses 1965-1992*, December, 1993. Copies of this report may be obtained by contacting the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program at (202) 324-2775.

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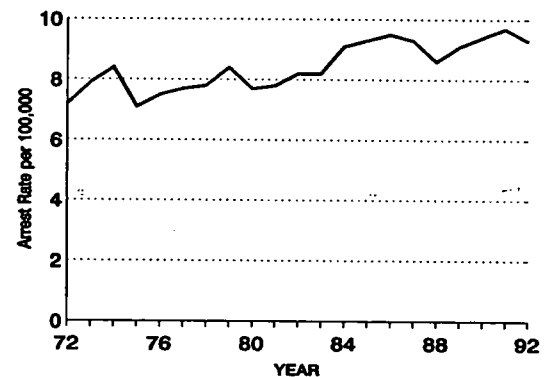
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## Juvenile Violent Crime Arrest Rates

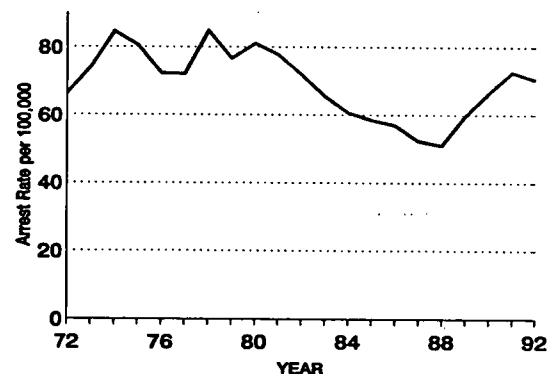
### Murder



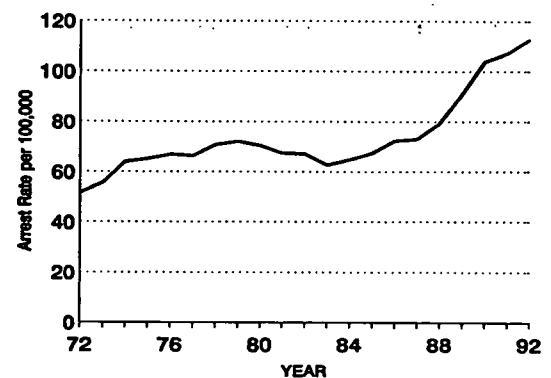
### Rape



### Robbery



### Aggravated Assault





# OJJDP Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator

FACT SHEET #6 February 1994

## DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

by Paul Steiner

*...I urge you to consider this: As you demand tougher penalties for those who choose violence, let us also remember how we came to this sad point. ...We have seen a stunning and simultaneous breakdown of community, family, and work. This has created a vast vacuum which has been filled by violence and drugs and gangs. So I ask you to remember that even as we say no to crime, we must give people, especially our young people something to say yes to.*

President Clinton  
State of The Union Address  
January 25, 1994

### The Need

Public safety is paramount - government has a duty to protect the public from kids who can kill. But it is becoming ever more apparent that increasing police, prosecution, and prisons alone is neither sufficient nor adequately effective in stemming the tide of youth violence and crime. According to the FBI, in 1992 there were an estimated 2.3 million arrests of juveniles - nearly 130,000 of these arrests were for Violent Crime Index Offenses. Arrests of juveniles for violent crime increased 57 percent between 1983 and 1992. Arrests of juveniles for murder increased by 128 percent during this period. In 1988, juvenile arrests accounted for less than eight percent of all murder arrests. By 1992, juveniles accounted for 15 percent. From 1983 to 1991, the population of juveniles from the age of 10 to the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction decreased by nearly four percent, but the number of juveniles held in custody on any given day increased by approximately 20 percent. In 1991, nearly half of the incarcerated population were held in crowded facilities.

By 2005, the total population of youths from 15 to 19 years old will grow by an estimated 23 percent. These statistics indicate the need for a comprehensive prevention strategy that addresses the root causes of delinquency. We can no longer afford to focus only on treating the symptoms while ignoring the disease.

### Congress Responds

In the 1992 reauthorization of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as Amended (JJDP Act) Congress established *Title V - Incentive Grants for Local Delinquency Prevention Programs* in response to the need for local comprehensive delinquency prevention planning and programs for youth who have had or are likely to have contact with the juvenile justice system. In creating a separate Title and appropriation for prevention in the JJDP Act, Congress recognized the need to preserve prevention as a priority of OJJDP and establish a source of funding and technical support dedicated solely to prevention programs on the local level.

### The Title V Delinquency Prevention Program

**Strategy.** Based on the current state of research on the causes and correlates of delinquency, as well as over 15 years experience in implementing delinquency prevention programs, OJJDP has issued a funding guideline for Title V Delinquency Prevention Programs which is based on four precepts. *First*, prevention programs must be based on sound theory supported by positive or promising research results. *Second*, prevention programs must incorporate a system of data collection and analysis to evaluate program outcome and performance. *Third*, prevention efforts cannot be effectively directed by public agencies alone - a dedicated community coalition of citizens, private businesses, and public agencies must direct a collaborative effort which draws on public, private and volunteer resources. *Fourth*, the prevention program must operate pursuant to a comprehensive plan which periodically assesses and prioritizes the risk factors in the community which are associated with the development of delinquent behavior, and implements programs and strategies tailored to address the prioritized risk factors and enhance factors which protect children from the effects of risk factors.

**Risk Factors and Protective Factors.** The prevention strategy described in the Title V funding guideline is based on a simple premise. In order to prevent the development of delinquent behavior in children, the factors that increase the risk of the growth of such behavior need to be identified.

Once these factors are identified, then strategies to address them, including enhancing the protective factors for children to resist the effect of the risk factors, can be planned and implemented. This strategy is based largely on the *Communities that Care* model developed and tested by David Hawkins and Richard Catalano.

The body of research on delinquency and crime has identified a number of factors which are linked with development of delinquent behavior. These factors can be grouped in the following broad categories: the family, the community, the school, the individual and the peer group. Within each of these categories, specific risk factors can be identified, such as child abuse and family disintegration, economic and social deprivation, low neighborhood attachment, parental attitudes condoning law violating behavior, academic failure, truancy, school drop-out, lack of bonding with society, fighting with peers, and early initiation of problem behaviors. The more of these risk factors that a child is exposed to, the more likely it is that delinquent and violent behavior may develop and flourish.

The Title V prevention strategy is designed to reduce identified risk factors while strengthening protective factors. These include healthy beliefs and clear standards for productive, law-abiding behavior, and bonding with adults who adhere to these beliefs and standards.

**Funding.** Title V authorizes OJJDP to make grants to States to be transmitted through the State Advisory Groups (SAGs) to qualified units of local government. The 1994 appropriation for Title V is \$13 million. OJJDP proposes to award these funds to States based on a formula determined by each State's population of youth below the maximum age limit for original juvenile court delinquency jurisdiction, with a minimum award of \$75,000. States will then subgrant their Title V funds to localities or combinations of localities through a competitive process. The number and size of the grants will be determined by the SAG. Title V funds must be matched by the State or localities with 50 percent of the amount of the grant. The match may be made in cash or the value of in-kind contributions.

**Projected Funding Timetable.** OJJDP anticipates that Title V funds will be awarded to participating States by June 1994, with subgrants to be made to units of local government by December 1994. Grants may be awarded for project periods of 12 to 36 months, with an initial award for up to one year. Future funding is contingent upon Congressional action.

**Local Eligibility Requirements.** In order to be eligible to apply for a Title V subgrant from the State, a locality must meet three requirements: (1) Receive a certification of compliance with the JJDP Act Formula Grants mandates from the SAG; (2) Convene or designate a Prevention Policy Board; (3) Submit a three year, comprehensive delinquency prevention plan to the State.

**Local Application and Three Year Comprehensive Delinquency Prevention Plan.** The funding guideline prepared by OJJDP provides detailed information on the requirements for the local application and prevention plan. These requirements include:

- Evidence of the commitment of key community leaders to the delinquency prevention effort;
- An assessment of the community's readiness to adopt a comprehensive delinquency prevention strategy;
- An assessment and prioritization of the risk factors in the community and a description of the strategy designed to address those risk factors;
- Identification of resources and promising approaches;
- A strategy to mobilize the community to implement the prevention strategy;
- A plan for the collection of performance and outcome data.

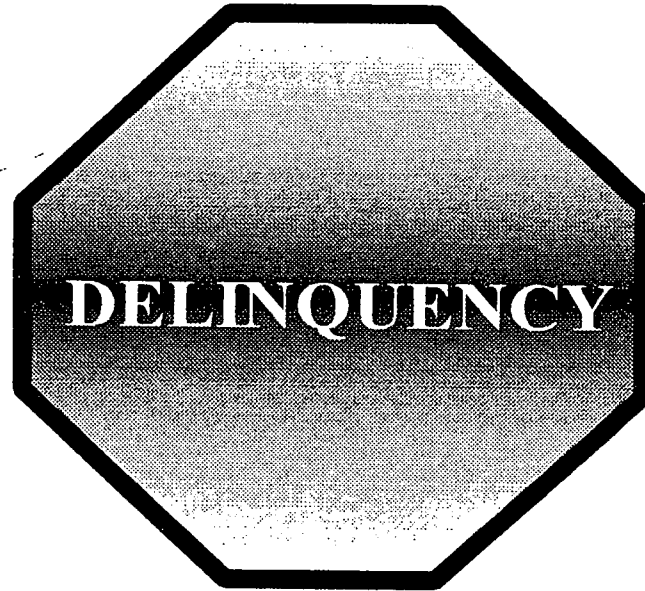
**Training and Technical Assistance.** Training and technical assistance is available for communities interested in developing a comprehensive delinquency prevention plan and applying for Title V funds from the State. The training and technical assistance will focus on the principles and process of risk-focused prevention. Training will be available starting in April and continue through 1994, at up to 45 sites across the nation. This training will be conducted in two phases. The first phase consists of a one day orientation for key community leaders on the research base for risk-focused prevention and strategies for implementing a comprehensive prevention program. The second phase consists of a three day workshop on risk and resource assessment for community prevention teams. The training is provided at no cost to participants other than the cost of travel and lodging. Localities planning to apply for Title V funds should take advantage of this training opportunity.

Technical assistance will also be available to localities developing Title V prevention strategies through the State agency administering the Title V program. Examples of this assistance include expert advice on topics such as community mobilization, developing Policy Prevention Boards, risk and resource assessment, enhancing protective factors in the community, and media relations.

#### For More Information...

on the funding guideline, training, and other prevention resources,

Contact: The Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse  
1600 Research Boulevard  
Rockville, MD 20850  
Attention: Title V Prevention  
Telephone 1-800-638-8736



# **PREVENTION WORKS**

**OFFICE OF JUVENILE JUSTICE  
AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION**

**May 1995**



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# INTRODUCTION

The number of juvenile violent crime arrests will double by the year 2010 if the current arrest and population trends continue. Can our communities bear another 260,000 such arrests each year? Can we afford to lose a generation of youth to crime and violence? Can we bear the costs to the victims of juvenile violence?

If we are to increase public safety in our society, an aggressive, proactive response to juvenile crime and violence is needed. We know the following about effective delinquency prevention strategies:

- Juvenile crime—and ultimately adult crime—can be prevented and reduced.
- Lasting reductions in crime and violence require a long-term national investment in both law enforcement and prevention activities.
- Decades of research have provided a strong foundation for effective delinquency prevention. We know what to do and how to do it.

## **IT'S TIME TO APPLY THIS RESEARCH TO PROTECT OUR COMMUNITIES.**

Effective delinquency prevention interrupts the processes that produce youthful deviant and delinquent behavior and encourages those processes that support healthy development of children. Understanding the roles of risk and protective factors helps us understand how we can prevent delinquency. Not surprisingly, the greater a child's exposure to risk factors, the greater his or her chances are of becoming delinquent. However, even a child exposed to multiple risk factors can avoid delinquency if he or she is shielded by enough protective factors. Our challenge is to help communities recognize both types of factors and to aid them in establishing programs that reduce risk and help youth become productive, law-abiding adults.

## **THERE ARE EFFECTIVE PREVENTION PROGRAM APPROACHES AVAILABLE TO ASSIST COMMUNITIES.**

**Community policing prevents delinquency.** Higher levels of drug problems and juvenile delinquency and violence occur in communities where people feel little attachment to the community and where there is low surveillance of public places. Community police officers can bridge this gap by connecting high-risk youth to delinquency prevention programs.

**Safe and effective schools prevent delinquency.** Strategies that encourage commitment to school and academic success reduce delinquency among high-risk students. Programs that promote reading skills can help reduce delinquency because reading failure as early as first grade has been found to increase the likelihood of becoming involved in delinquency. Enhancing school safety by eliminating guns and other weapons that create a climate of fear is fundamental to creating an effective learning environment.

**Family strengthening prevents delinquency.** Prevention strategies that help families develop good family management practices—including providing clear expectations and consistent discipline to children—can work with high-risk and dysfunctional families. Home visitation programs that offer intensive support to mothers at risk of abusing their newborns have produced a 75% reduction in cases of child abuse and neglect, thus breaking a violent cycle in which the abused too often grow up to become offenders involved in violent behavior.

**Youth development programs prevent delinquency.** Nine out of 10 juveniles involved in gangs for 3 or more years reported committing serious crimes, compared with only 3 out of 10 nongang youth who were in positive peer pressure environments. Programs that introduce positive peer pressure environments can have significant impacts. Boys and Girls Clubs of America target high-risk youth in 64 public housing complexes across the Nation. This program has helped reduce the juvenile crime rate in these areas by 13%.

## **THE ROLE OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

The Department of Justice (DOJ) is committed to helping improve law enforcement and criminal and juvenile justice systems at the State and local levels. Achieving public safety requires a comprehensive strategy that combines increased enforcement and sanctions with effective prevention programs, focused on reducing risk factors and increasing protective factors for juveniles. DOJ's delinquency prevention activities focus on the following areas:

- Protecting public safety.
- Conducting research and developing and evaluating model State and local programs.
- Disseminating information about effective and promising approaches and juvenile crime trends.
- Providing training and technical assistance to State and local groups.
- Facilitating Federal, State, and local coordination, both "top down" and "bottom up."

Because of its focus on the full perspective of the justice system, DOJ is uniquely positioned to provide leadership in this area. In each State and community, the justice system must work in concert with other systems, including health, human services, and education. For all of these partners, the shared goal is to prevent juveniles from becoming involved in the juvenile and criminal justice systems. That is why delinquency prevention is—and should be—the business of DOJ, just as health promotion and disease prevention is the business of the Department of Health and Human Services.

Because resources are limited, all systems must work together to serve juveniles under their purview. Coordinated efforts by health, human services, education, and justice agencies can provide a comprehensive approach to prevention that meets the needs of juveniles and their families effectively and economically.

Comprehensive efforts to save our children from delinquency and violence must be pursued with the same vigor we apply to preventing other life-threatening conditions. It is only through such a commitment that we can hope to stem the tide of violence and delinquency plaguing young people and communities across this Nation.

## **OVERVIEW**

America is facing a juvenile violence crisis. The number of violent arrests of youth under age 18 has increased dramatically: 36% between 1989 and 1993, more than 4 times the increase reported for adults. During that period, juvenile arrests for homicide increased by 45%, while adult homicide arrests increased by only 6% (FBI, *Uniform Crime Reports*, 1994). In order to assist State and local governments in ensuring public safety, the Department of Justice must aggressively support enforcement of laws as well as effective efforts to prevent delinquency.

As the chief Federal agency dealing with the administration of justice for both adults and children, DOJ, through its enforcement programs, U.S. Attorneys, and the Office of Justice Programs and its five program bureaus, has developed an extraordinary network of programs and services to help States and local communities throughout the Nation fulfill their primary missions to prevent delinquency and deal with juvenile offenders in the most constructive ways possible. Through both research and practical experience in the field, DOJ programs help to identify effective strategies and approaches for working with juveniles who are at risk of delinquency or who are in the juvenile justice system.

## **PREVENTION IS THE KEY TO PUBLIC SAFETY**

Today's epidemic of juvenile violence requires a national investment in public safety. This investment must include more police efforts through community-oriented policing, more corrections space, and "prevention that works." Delinquency prevention represents a long-term investment in reducing delinquency and crime and is a critical component of a comprehensive approach to crime control and increased public safety.

As noted above, if we allow juvenile violence rates to rise at the same pace as they have over the last decade, it is estimated that by the year 2010 the number of juvenile arrests for violent crime will more than double the 1992 level (NCJJ, 1995). Public safety will be threatened if we do not implement effective delinquency prevention programs now. Otherwise, prohibitive levels of funding will be necessary to incarcerate these youth, a less effective and more costly solution than investment in prevention.

We recognize that increased law enforcement efforts and the transfer of some violent or intractable juveniles to adult criminal court are necessary to protect public safety. However, research has demonstrated that these steps need to be components of a well-balanced plan of action that includes prevention. While the short-term goal of controlling juvenile crime can in part be achieved through enhanced law enforcement and prosecution efforts, the long-term solution to achieving public safety is possible only by preventing juveniles from becoming involved in crime and violence in the first place.

This report highlights effective prevention programs and strategies, outlines the roles of DOJ and its component agencies, and illustrates ways in which interagency prevention efforts can address delinquency and its prevention. The discussion of these strategies demonstrates that preventing delinquency begins even before the child's birth, that it requires an interdisciplinary approach, and that many agencies outside DOJ must be part of the prevention effort.

Successful delinquency prevention interrupts the processes that may otherwise produce deviant and delinquent behavior. Delinquency prevention also seeks to keep youth who become involved in the juvenile justice system out of the criminal justice system. When delinquent juveniles move on to the adult criminal justice system, the cost to society is great in both human and financial terms. Any intervention that prevents a juvenile from becoming involved in the justice system saves our society money, prevents more people from becoming victims (with all the attendant costs), and helps prevent the next generation from becoming offenders.

In the early 1970's, many observers of the juvenile justice system thought that there were few or no effective delinquency prevention programs. However, we now know that a number of programs have been effective in preventing juvenile delinquency and violence through reducing risk factors and increasing protective factors. According to Alan Kazdin

(1994) of Yale University, "Within the last decade . . . a number of programs have shown that antisocial behavior can be reduced with preventive interventions. Improved results appear to have resulted from better understanding of the emergence of antisocial behavior, implementation of comprehensive and protracted intervention programs, and more careful evaluation of long-term intervention effects." This report describes many such programs.

We know that prevention can be effective. We now have the scientific knowledge base to identify factors that put children at risk of becoming delinquent as well as protective factors that help them remain or become law abiding and productive citizens. Research of the last 30 years has identified those factors. Delinquency prevention based on a risk-focused model maximizes our chance of preventing delinquency. Outcome-focused planning can help ensure that programs not only reduce risk factors and increase protective factors, but also hold programs accountable for changing the levels of risk they are designed to address.

Delinquency prevention is cost effective. The total cost of the violent crime career of a young adult 18 to 23 years old is estimated to be \$1.1 million (Cohen, 1994). The average cost of incarcerating a juvenile for one year is approximately \$34,000. By contrast, Head Start's preschool intervention program costs only \$4,300 per year per child. Perry Pre-school, a program based on Head Start, has been shown to be an effective delinquency prevention program. Research on delinquency prevention programs in California (Lipsey, 1984) showed that every \$1.00 spent on prevention produced direct savings of \$1.40 to the law enforcement and juvenile justice system.

## **WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPLES FOR EFFECTIVE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION AND EARLY INTERVENTION?**

The following principles are based on findings from thorough evaluations and well-designed research studies. Effective delinquency prevention efforts:

- Address the highest priority problem areas and strengths (risk and protective factors) to which children in a particular community are exposed.
- Focus most strongly on populations exposed to a number of risk factors.
- Address problem areas and strengths early and at appropriate developmental stages.

- Address multiple risk factors in multiple settings such as family, schools, and peer groups.
- Offer comprehensive interventions across many systems, including health and education, and deal simultaneously with many aspects of juveniles' lives.
- Are intensive, often involving multiple contacts weekly or even daily with at-risk juveniles.
- Build on juveniles' strengths rather than focus on their deficiencies.
- Deal with juveniles in the context of their relationships to and with others rather than focus solely on the individual.

Programs that embody these principles are discussed in OJJDP's *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders* (Howell, 1995). This guide lays the foundation for a national commitment of public and private resources to reduce juvenile violence and victimization in our Nation. It includes both prevention and early intervention components. Prevention should be available throughout childhood and adolescence, and it should address both at-risk populations and at-risk youth. At-risk youth may need intervention services early in their delinquent careers to prevent further involvement in the juvenile justice system. Collaboration between the juvenile justice system and other service systems, including mental health, health care, child welfare, law enforcement, and education, is essential in this process.

Simultaneously, three particularly important protective factors must be increased: individual characteristics (having a resilient temperament or a positive social orientation); bonding (positive relationships that promote close bonds); and healthy beliefs and clear standards of behavior (set by families, schools, and peer groups) (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992).

## WHAT ARE RISK AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS?

Thirty years of research has shown that the most effective prevention strategies are those that focus on risk and protective factors that fall into five broad categories -- the juvenile, the community, the family, the peer group, and the school (Hawkins, 1995). Moreover, these factors tend to accumulate and interact with one another over time.

**Risk factors.** There is no single risk factor for delinquency or for violent behavior. Many risk factors have been identified, and they can be grouped into four major categories: community, family, school, and individual/peer (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992).

Community-related risk factors:

- Availability of drugs.
- Availability of firearms.
- Community laws and norms favorable toward drug use, firearms, and crime.
- Media portrayals of violence.
- Transitions and mobility.
- Low neighborhood attachment and community disorganization.
- Extreme economic deprivation.

Family-related risk factors:

- Family history of problem behavior.
- Family management problems.
- Family conflict.
- Favorable parental attitudes concerning crime and involvement in crime.

School-related risk factors:

- Early and persistent antisocial behavior.
- Academic failure in elementary school.
- Lack of commitment to school.

Individual and peer-related risk factors:

- Alienation and rebelliousness.
- Friends who engage in a problem behavior.
- Favorable attitudes toward the problem behavior.
- Early initiation of the problem behavior.
- Constitutional factors. (For example, the makeup of an individual, including the role of heredity, in addiction.)

Chart 1 (see page 9), based on Hawkins and Catalano's work (1995), summarizes 30 years of research on risk factors for co-occurring problem behaviors, including delinquency. A check mark indicates that empirical research clearly supports the presence of a particular risk factor increasing the chances an adolescent will exhibit a particular problem behavior. The lack of a check mark means that this item is under study and currently the definitive answer is not yet known (Hawkins and Catalano, 1995).

**Protective factors.** Some juveniles exposed to multiple risk factors do not become juvenile delinquents, school dropouts, or teenage parents. There are important aspects of their lives that protect them against risk factors. Protective factors either reduce the impact of risks or change the way a person responds to them. One key strategy to counter risk factors is

to enhance protective factors that promote positive behavior, health, well-being, and personal success. Research suggests three basic categories of protective factors (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992).

- Individual characteristics such as having a resilient temperament or a positive social orientation.
- Positive relationships that promote close bonds. Warm relationships with family members, teachers, and other adults who encourage and recognize a youth's competence and close friendships with peers fall into this category.
- Schools, families and peer groups that teach their children healthy beliefs and that set clear standards. Some examples of healthy beliefs include believing it is good for children to be drug- and crime-free and to do well in school.

Hawkins and Catalano (1992) developed a system of procedures that organizes knowledge about prevention strategies into a comprehensive approach communities can use to make a systematic analysis of local risk factors and then find ways to reduce these risks and enhance protective factors. These methods typically consist of prevention programs known to be effective in reducing risk factors for delinquency and other co-occurring problem behaviors.

Researchers (Thornberry et al., 1995) in OJJDP's Program of Research on Causes and Correlates of Delinquency found that, individually, each protective factor had only a small impact on reducing delinquency. Collectively, however, the presence of multiple protective factors had a sizeable impact on reducing delinquency. Of the high-risk juveniles (those with five or more risk factors in their environment) in the Rochester, New York site, 80% with fewer than six protective factors reported involvement in serious delinquency. In contrast, only 25% of those non-risk juveniles with nine or more protective factors in their environment reported involvement in serious delinquency.

These data demonstrate that while increased law enforcement efforts and vigorous prosecution are necessary, they must be components of a well-balanced action plan that includes prevention. Short-term prevention goals can be achieved partially through enhanced law enforcement, but in the long-term public safety is best served by preventing juveniles from becoming involved in crime in the first place.



Adolescent Problem Behaviors

Risk Factors Associated with Adolescent Problem Behaviors

Source: Hawkins and Catalano (1995)

Risk Factors

	Substance Abuse	Delinquency	Teen Pregnancy	School Drop-Out	Violence
<b>Community</b>					
Availability of Drugs	✓				
Availability of Firearms		✓			✓
Community Laws and Norms Favorable Toward Drug Use, Firearms, and Crime	✓	✓			✓
Media Portrayals of Violence					✓
Transitions and Mobility	✓	✓		✓	
Low Neighborhood Attachment and Community Disorganization	✓	✓			✓
Extreme Economic Deprivation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Family</b>					
Family History of the Problem Behavior	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Family Management Problems	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Family Conflict	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Favorable Parental Attitudes and Involvement in the Problem Behavior	✓	✓			✓
<b>School</b>					
Early and Persistent Antisocial Behavior	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Academic Failure Beginning in Elementary School	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lack of Commitment to School	✓	✓	✓	✓	
<b>Individual/Peer</b>					
Alienation and Rebelliousness	✓	✓		✓	
Friends Who Engage in a Problem Behavior	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Favorable Attitudes Toward the Problem Behavior	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Early Initiation of the Problem Behavior	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Constitutional Factors	✓	✓			✓

## **WHAT SYSTEMS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTING DELINQUENCY PREVENTION?**

Service systems available to youth include health care, human services, education, and justice. Each has a unique but important role in delinquency prevention. In an environment of shrinking resources, a cost-effective and efficient comprehensive system of services to meet juveniles' needs becomes essential.

The health system is responsible for immunizations to prevent disease, the human service system is responsible for protecting children from child abuse through parental support programs, the education system is responsible for teaching children to read and avoiding illiteracy, and the justice system is responsible for many of the failures of the other systems (see Figure 1, page 11).

Unfortunately, these systems are too often fragmented, locally directed, and funded and mandated by States with a modest Federal overlay. State and local jurisdictions have responsibility for dealing with the immediate manifestations of delinquency problems. The longer term impact is felt not just locally, but nationally as well, and it reaches far beyond the administration of justice, juvenile or adult.

The justice system has a unique perspective and responsibility to work with the other systems to develop strategies that provide a continuum of care for children and that prevent juveniles from becoming involved in the juvenile justice system or graduating to the criminal justice system. The Federal government, through DOJ, has a critical and unique role in translating research into practice and coordinating Federal efforts at the State and local levels to disseminate information, provide training and technical assistance, and conduct research on promising programs.

All these systems must work together to serve juveniles under their purview. Major new prevention initiatives that are comprehensive in scope must be supported at all levels of government and across all disciplines, be centered in the community and feature a commitment to defeat juvenile crime and violence comparable to that which this country has made when faced with life-threatening childhood diseases, such as polio.

# HOW PREVENTION SYSTEMS WORK

HEALTH

HUMAN SERVICES

EDUCATION

JUVENILE JUSTICE



CHILDREN



PREVENTING

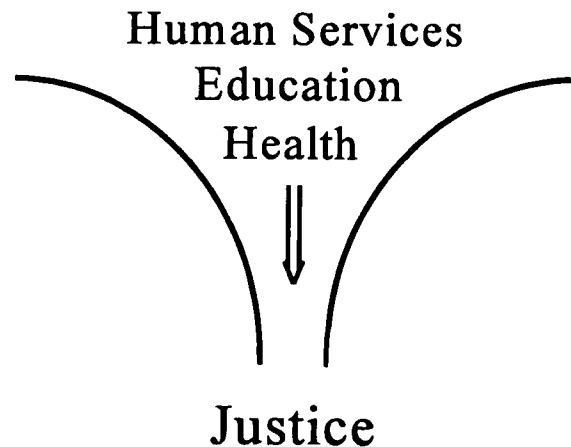


<b>WHAT:</b>	Disease	Child Abuse	Illiteracy	Delinquency
<b>HOW:</b>	Health Education Immunization Physical Examination Prenatal Care	Family Preservation Parent Training Substance Abuse Counseling Support Services	Capacity Building Teaching Reading Learning Readiness Addressing Learning Disabilities	Comprehensive Strategies Interdisciplinary Prevention Efforts



RESULTING IN  
HEALTHY YOUTH

Justice often gets the failures of the other systems.



# **WHAT WORKS IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION?**

Research shows that many delinquency prevention programs are effective. Other programs show evidence of success, but they have not been evaluated. Some delinquency prevention programs are not effective or require support from multiple systems to be truly effective, and if implemented inappropriately, they can be counterproductive.

Prevention involves a continuum of care that starts at the beginning of a child's life and continues through late adolescence. This continuum can be described in terms of a developmental stage in the life cycle (e.g., ages 0 to 4) or by the focus of the strategy (e.g., individual or community). This report frames prevention in terms of developmental stages of the individual and emphasizes strategies aimed at the school, the family, and the community that can be effective at each developmental stage. Research supporting effective and promising programs is summarized and model programs are noted. A program or strategy was placed in the promising rather than effective category if there was any question as to the sufficiency of the scientific evidence of its effectiveness. We chose to err on the side of stringency. Programs or strategies were also selected as promising if they were based on risk/protective factors, showed positive results from their evaluations, or received Gould-Wysinger awards. The report then turns to the need for broad-based school, community and family programs that serve multiple stages and gives examples of effective programs in each setting. The energies and attention of a wide range of agencies and organizations are clearly required if the promise of prevention is to be realized.

## **DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES**

According to Hawkins (1995), risks affecting children from conception through age 6 are related to the individual, the family, and the community. Increased exposure or exposure to more risk factors, especially early in childhood, increases risk of crime and violence exponentially.

Some of the prevention programs noted in this review are under the purview of health, human service, or other nonjustice systems. These programs have shown a powerful effect on adolescent delinquency or on predelinquent behavior and its correlates among younger children. DOJ views these programs as part of a complete delinquency prevention continuum that crosses system lines at all levels of government.

The most dramatic of these prevention programs are early interventions targeting children and their families in the first 5 years of life (Mendel, 1995). Tolan and Guerra's (1994) review of violence research suggests that predatory and psychopathological violence may

be more effectively treated by early interventions and that family-focused interventions are among the most promising to date. Community-based risk factors are also known to influence children throughout childhood. Children living in economically deprived areas characterized by extreme poverty, poor living conditions and high unemployment are more likely to engage in crime. Children living in disorganized neighborhoods with high rates of crime, high population density, physical deterioration, lack of natural surveillance of public places, and low levels of attachment to the neighborhood are more susceptible to violent and other criminal behavior. Prevention strategies for children from conception to age 6 should target families and children in these neighborhoods (American Psychological Association, 1994).

The earliest stage at which delinquency prevention can be effective is when a child is still in the womb. At the earliest stages, conception to age 6, prevention strategies can be effective in preventing crime and violence in adolescence and young adulthood. Prevention efforts must also continue during later childhood and adolescence in order to reinforce the benefits of these early prevention programs.

The first three developmental stages are centered in the family. The last two stages include family services, but emphasize the increasing influence of schools, peers, and communities.

### **STAGE 1: PRENATAL/PERINATAL - Healthy Families, Healthy Babies**

#### **Research**

Prebirth and newborn prenatal and perinatal difficulties are statistically related to increases in crime in later life. Some of those difficulties include preterm delivery, low birth weight and anoxia, and minor physical abnormalities. Brain damage from infectious disease, traumatic head injury, or pre/postnatal exposure to toxins such as heavy metals, alcohol, tobacco, or other drugs are also risk factors. Brain damage impairs reasoning and impulse control, which may be a factor in increased delinquency. Poor parenting skills are evident early in a child's life and also contribute to risk through early abuse and ineffective parenting.

Strategies to reduce these risks include community-level services such as prenatal care and family interventions such as treatment for maternal substance abuse, parent training, and home visitation. For example, prenatal and infancy nurse home visitation improved a wide range of maternal and child health outcomes among poor unmarried teenage women bearing first children in Elmira, New York (Olds, 1993). Home visits lead to teenage mothers having heavier babies, and postnatal home visits decrease recorded physical abuse and neglect of children during the first 2 years of life.

The prevention value of these strategies is clear. Being physically abused or neglected as a child predicts later violent offending (Thornberry, 1994; Widom, 1989).

### **Effective Programs**

- Pre- and perinatal medical care has been shown to reduce delinquency-related risk factors such as head injuries, exposure to toxins, maternal substance use, and perinatal difficulties.
- Intensive health education for pregnant mothers and mothers with young children has been associated with significant reductions in risk factors.
- Prenatal and infancy nurse home visitation has been shown to decrease child abuse and enhance effective parenting in Elmira, New York (Olds, 1993).

### **Promising Programs**

*Healthy Start in Hawaii.* Reduces child abuse by offering prenatal and post-birth counseling to high-risk parents. Research by NIJ.

*Anti-Drug Initiative in Chicago Housing Authority.* Reduces drug use and related violence in public housing. Research by NIJ.

*Project New Beginnings, Los Angeles, CA.* Offers substance abuse counseling to pregnant women and early intervention services to children. (Appears in PAVNET)

<p><b>STAGE 2: BIRTH TO AGE 4 - Family and child bonding, parenting skills, learning readiness, and social skills development</b></p>
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### **Research**

Prevention programs for this age group have a potentially enormous effect on adolescent delinquency and predelinquent behavior among younger children. Interventions targeting children and their families in the first 5 years of life may be the most powerful delinquency prevention strategies that exist (Mendel, 1995).

The most important factor in this age group is the family environment. A healthy family environment promotes attachment, effective family functioning, and social and academic readiness. Poor family management practices can result in children being at increased risk of crime. These practices include parents' failure to establish clear expectations for children's

behavior, failure to supervise and monitor children, and excessively severe, harsh, or inconsistent punishment or child abuse and neglect. Parent training can reduce poor family management and a child's early aggressive behaviors and "conduct" problems. Programs designed to enhance parent-child interactions promote attachment and bonding to the family. These services are particularly critical in disadvantaged settings with scarce resources and low levels of community support.

This section looks at three risk factor areas: health risks, parenting skills, and learning readiness.

**Health risks.** Health education for mothers of young children may reduce mothers' substance abuse, resulting in healthier, less-impaired babies.

Immunization protects children against many of the diseases that can result in associated brain damage.

**Parenting skills.** Home visitors' promotion of social service use and assistance to mothers in achieving their educational and occupational goals can help counter families' economic deprivation (Olds, 1993).

Violent or aggressive family conflict increases risk for crime and violence. Children who grow up in an environment of conflict among family members are more likely to exhibit problem behaviors.

Parental attitudes and involvement in crime affect the attitudes and behavior of children. Children whose parents are aggressive and who witness or are victims of violence in the home are more likely to become aggressive and violent when they become adolescents and young adults.

**Learning readiness.** Cognitive development activities that help children prepare to enter school can be carried out with a home visitor or with a parent. These activities emphasize language development or a variety of other conceptual skills.

Providing toys or books through an early education program can help with learning readiness.

### **Effective Programs**

Unless otherwise noted, the following programs were reviewed by Hawkins and his colleagues.

*Perry High/Scope Preschool Program Model.* Fosters social and intellectual development in children ages 3 to 4. Participants were far less likely to commit crime than controls: 31

percent arrested compared to 51% of controls (High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 1993).

*Behavioral Training.* Decreases negative parenting and the coercive style of interacting that promotes child aggression and later delinquency (Tolan and Guerra, 1994).

*The Home Visiting Program in Elmira, New York.* Provides a wide range of maternal and child health services to poor, unmarried teenage women bearing first children in this semi-rural county. An investment in this type of home-visitation program for low-income women and children can pay for itself by the time the child is 4 years old. The pre-natal and postpartum program costs about \$3,200 for 2 1/2 years of home visitation. Low-income women (those most likely to use government services) used \$3,300 less in other government services during the first 4 years after delivery of their first child than did their low-income counterparts in the comparison group. About 80% of the cost savings were from reduced Food Stamp and Aid to Families with Dependant Children payments. One-third of the cost saving came from the reduction in unintended subsequent pregnancies.

### **Promising Programs**

*Parents as Teachers.* Parents learn parenting activities and children are screened for health problems.

<b>STAGE 3: AGES 4-6 - Learning readiness and social competence</b>
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### **Research**

Early antisocial behavior predicts later criminal behavior and violence. Children who display antisocial behavior, including aggression, negative moods, and temper tantrums have a higher risk of criminal and violent behavior (Institute of Medicine, 1994).

Laws and norms favorable to crime and substance abuse; availability of weapons, alcohol, and other drugs; transitions and mobility; and exposure to media violence can also have an adverse effect on children in this age group.

Another predictor of delinquency is academic failure. Efforts to promote cognitive development from ages 4 to 6 have a lasting effect on academic performance. Learning readiness programs, such as Head Start, are helpful.



## **Effective Programs**

Unless otherwise noted, the following programs were reviewed by Hawkins and his colleagues (1995).

*Reductions in Class Size for Kindergarten and First Grade.* Helps improve school performance.

*Interpersonal Cognitive Problem Solving (ICPS).* Decreases impulsivity and inhibition. This training program produced significant effects on behavioral adjustment, including aggressive and socially inappropriate behaviors and problem-solving skills.

*PATHS Curriculum.* Reduces early antisocial behavior by integrating emotional, cognitive and behavioral skill development in young children.

## **Promising Programs**

*Bright Future.* Offers academic and social support to African-American youth ages 5 to 15). Reviewed by OJJDP.

<b>Stage 4: AGES 7 to 12 Education, good family support = successful child</b>
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## **Research**

According to Brewer and Hawkins (1995), transitions from elementary school to middle school can influence delinquency for this age group. Increased availability of firearms increases the chance of youth in this age range becoming involved in homicide rather than fist fights and verbal arguments. Moreover, young people failing academically and lacking commitment to school are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior than those seeing academic success as valued and viable.

Alienation and rebelliousness, association with peers who engage in delinquency and violence, favorable attitudes toward delinquency, early initiation of delinquency and violence, alcohol intoxication, and constitutional factors all can be precursors to delinquent behavior.

Beyond avoiding negative influences, young people need to bond to a social unit. To do so, youth need the following forms of support:

- Skills necessary to effectively take advantage of the opportunities with which they

are provided.

- Meaningful, challenging opportunities to contribute to their family, school, peers, and community in developmentally appropriate ways.
- Recognition of their efforts to both signify their individual worth and to provide an incentive to continue those efforts.

### **Effective Programs**

Unless otherwise noted, these programs were reviewed by Brewer and Hawkins (1995).

*Cooperative Learning.* Students help each other learn and assess one another's progress in preparing for tests and teacher assessments by working in a team of four to five members with mixed skill levels.

*Tutoring.* One-on-one remedial and preventive tutoring of elementary and middle school students.

*Ability Grouping Within Classes in Elementary Schools.* Students are grouped together on the basis of skill levels for particular subjects.

### **Promising Programs**

*The Community Board Program.* Develops and implements mediation and conflict resolution programs for children, youth, and families in the schools.

*Drug Abuse Resistance Education.* Prevents substance abuse among youth through education programs taught by police professionals. Research by BJA.

*Family Ties.* Strengthens family functions by offering intensive services to youth in their home.

*Cambodian Family Youth Program.* Develops self-esteem and life skills among youth ages 5 to 12. Reviewed by OJJDP.

*Child Development Project.* Fosters competencies and commitments in children that they will need to eventually live out adult roles in a competent, caring and responsible manner.

*Second Step Curriculum.* Teaches skills in empathy, appropriate social behavior, interpersonal problem solving, and anger management through discussion, modeling, and role playing of particular skills.

*Walbridge Caring Communities.* Provides home-school therapy to youth at risk of being removed from home.

**STAGE 5: ADOLESCENCE (AGES 13 to 18) - Continuing school, positive peer models, and opportunities for work for later adolescents = successful youth.**

## **Research**

Thornberry (1994) found that adolescents who have been victims of child maltreatment are more likely to report involvement in youth violence than nonmaltreated subjects. Adolescents growing up in homes with violence between partners, generalized hostility, or child maltreatment also have higher rates of self-reported violence. The highest rates of violence were reported by youth from multiple violent families. In these families, over three-quarters of the adolescents self-reported violent behavior. Children exposed to multiple forms of family violence reported more than twice the rate of youth violence as those from nonviolent families.

Research points to a strong correlation between delinquency and drug use and associating with delinquent, drug-using peers. Membership in a violent gang also increases delinquency (Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, 1994).

Tolan and Guerra (1994) conclude that there is little evidence that interventions focused on peer relations in this age group are effective in decreasing antisocial or violent behavior. The efficacy of peer mediation and conflict resolution has not been determined because of a lack of research.

## **Effective Programs**

Unless otherwise noted, these programs were reviewed by Brewer and Hawkins (1995).

*Louisiana State Youth Opportunities Unlimited.* Provides education and training to youth through vocational training and employment, with an intensive educational component.

*Boys and Girls Clubs.* Provides after school activities to youth, including recreation, mentoring, and targeted gang prevention. According to Columbia University, this program has reduced the juvenile crime rate by 13%. (Mendel, 1995).

## **Promising Programs**

*Bethesda Day Treatment.* Offers services and work experience to dependent and delinquent youth. Reviewed by OJJDP.

*Resolving Conflict Creatively Program.* Teaches children the basics of nonviolent conflict resolution. Reviewed by BJA.

*Homebuilders.* Offers family preservation services to youth at risk of being removed from the home.

*Cities in Schools.* Offers school dropout prevention services.

Brewer and Hawkins note that preventing youth in this age group from joining gangs and intervening in crisis conflict situations between existing gangs is an important intervention.

*Ohio's Early Dropout and Violence Prevention Program.* Targets African-American males with high-risk behavior for intensive support services.

*THRIVE (Truancy Habits Reduced Increasing Valuable Education).* Provides social service intervention to truant juveniles.

Offering youth employment and vocational training programs with an intensive educational component is a successful strategy.

*Student Conflict Resolution Experts.* Offers training to students in conflict resolution.

*Tennessee's Family Trouble Center.* Offers families counseling services to reduce the incidence of domestic violence.

*Washington's Yakima GANG Prevention/Intervention Coalition.* Provides prevention/intervention activities for at-risk youth.

*Wisconsin's Project Bootstrap, Inc.* Offers a violence-free environment to at-risk youth and educates them about methods to keep their lives free of violence.

## **PROGRAMS FOR ALL AGES**

<b>Community Programs</b>
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### **Research**

The community is where bonds must be forged and foundations laid for children. Children and adolescents spend much of their time in school; thus, the community and the school are two other lenses through which we can look to see the contexts of prevention programs. The

community provides the context for healthy child development. To have a healthy community, all of its components should be involved in prevention. Complex problems must be addressed to help at-risk youth, and it is unlikely that isolated efforts by individuals will have a significant impact. Therefore, cooperation among the various community members is essential. Cooperation builds community (Crime Prevention Coalition, 1992).

According to Brewer and Hawkins (1995), risk factors in the community include extreme economic deprivation, community disorganization and low neighborhood attachment, transitions and mobility, and availability of firearms.

### **Effective Programs**

*Children at Risk Project.* Helps high-risk youth in high-risk neighborhoods by building on neighborhoods' strengths, cultural background, and history. Reviewed by NIJ.

### **Promising Programs**

Unless otherwise noted, these programs were reviewed by Brewer and Hawkins (1995).

*Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Offenders.* Outlines a continuum of services communities can offer youth, including immediate and intermediate sanctions and secured care. Reviewed by OJJDP.

*The Community Board Program.* Develops and implements mediation and conflict resolution programs for children, youth, and families. Reviewed by BJA.

*Cornerstone Project.* Provides training for and engages youth in positive activities. Reviewed by OJJDP.

*Partnerships Against Violence Network. (PAVNET)* Integrates information concerning ideas and resources available and removes barriers to information sharing that communities face through an unprecedented coalition of some U.S. government agencies.

*Partnership for Learning, Inc.* Offers screening services for first-time juvenile offenders in order to identify those diagnosed as learning disabled.

*Restrictions on the Sale, Purchase, and Transfer of Guns.* Reduces the number of guns available to potential offenders.

*Regulations on the Place and Manner of Carrying Firearms.* Reduces the number of individuals who carry and use firearms in public.

*Community Policing.* Promotes better law enforcement through decentralizing policing that

is organized at the community or neighborhood level.

*Communities That Care.* Prevents delinquency through a system of risk-focused prevention involving the entire community.

*Mandatory Sentencing Laws for Felonies Involving a Firearm.* Imposes more stringent sentences for offenders who use or carry a firearm during the commission of a felony.

*Operation Weed and Seed.* Offers law enforcement and community revitalization agencies an innovative, comprehensive and integral multiagency approach to controlling and preventing violent crime, drug abuse, and gang activity in targeted high-crime neighborhoods across the Nation. Supported by BJA.

*Community Responses to Drug Abuse.* Develops and implements effective community-wide strategies that local groups adopt to reduce drug abuse and improve the quality of life in their neighborhoods. Evaluated by NIJ.

*Project PACT.* Assists communities in planning and coordinating services for youth using a multiagency approach.

*Police-Assisted Community Enforcement.* Creates and maintains safe and healthy communities.

*Title V of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act.* Offers grants to units of local government for a broad range of delinquency prevention programs and activities.

### School-Based Programs

#### Research

It is commonly known that academic failure and lack of commitment to school are risk factors that increase delinquency. According to Brewer and Hawkins (1995), boys who are aggressive in grades K-3 are at higher risk for delinquency and substance abuse. Beginning in the late elementary grades, academic failure increases the risk of drug abuse, delinquency, violence, pregnancy, and school dropout. According to Brewer and Hawkins (1995), interventions that involve classroom organization, management, and instructional strategies seek to promote the protective factors of active participation actively in learning, development of skills to establish positive social relationships, and bonding to school and prosocial peers. Tolan and Guerra (1994) suggest that increasing parental involvement in schools and assessing parents' access to teachers also holds promise.

## **Promising Programs**

Unless otherwise noted, these programs were reviewed by Brewer and Hawkins (1995).

*SMART Program.* Reduces crime problems by giving school administrators specific proactive methods, techniques, and approaches to resolve law and disciplinary violations in schools. Research by NIJ.

*School Development Program.* Identifies and assesses problems and opportunities in the school, develops and allocates resources, and creates and evaluates programs to address problems and identify opportunities.

*Metal Detectors in Schools.* Reduces violence by keeping guns, knives, and other metal weapons out of the classroom.

<b>Family Programs</b>
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## **Research**

The issue of family risk factors is interwoven throughout this discussion of developmental stages. There are specific examples, however, of families increasing risk factors for their children. For example, children who grow up in an environment of conflict among family members are more likely to have problem behaviors than children raised in families without significant conflict (Yoshikawa, 1994). Positive parental attitudes toward and involvement in crime and substance abuse affect the attitudes and behavior of their children, who will be more likely to engage in crime and substance abuse. Children whose parents are aggressive and children who witness or are victims of violence in the home are more likely to become aggressive and violent themselves in adolescence and young adulthood, according to Farrington (1991).

Drug and alcohol treatment programs that help parents recover from substance abuse can reduce risk factors, as can family preservation/family support services. These services are usually comprehensive and have different combinations of interventions including such parent training and programs that promote parent-child interaction and bonding (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992).

## **Promising Programs**

*Gang, Drug, and Dropout Intervention Program.* Intervenes with at-risk youth through a home visitation program run by community counselors and volunteers. Reviewed by OJJDP.

*Homebuilders Program.* Offers intensive family preservation program to avert the unnecessary placement of children into foster, group, or institutional care.

*Home for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency.* Offers support services and shelter to girls removed from their homes because of sexual abuse or abandonment. Reviewed by OJJDP.

*Glendale Community Improvement Association.* Offers gang prevention and community strengthening services.

## **SOME PROGRAM STRATEGIES MUST BE APPLIED WITH CARE**

Not every delinquency prevention strategy has been successful in reducing delinquency. The following descriptions of prevention strategies reflect OJJDP's interest in supporting implementation of only those programs that have been proven successful through impact evaluations or programs deemed to be promising. There is sufficient research and data available to support programs and strategies that *are* effective and worthy of replication without perpetuating programs that, however superficially attractive, do not get the job done.

The following are examples of program strategies that have not yet been found to be effective in preventing juvenile delinquency. In general, very little program development has occurred in these areas. Additionally, it is recognized that while some programs may not be effective with respect to delinquency prevention, they may still be of benefit for other purposes.

Initial evaluations of the following programs *suggest* that they are not effective (Hawkins, 1995):

**Mentoring relationships that are noncontingent and uncritically supportive.** Mentoring programs designed primarily to provide moral support do not have desired effects on such outcomes as academic achievement, school attendance, dropout rates, and various aspects of child behavior, including misconduct or employment. To be effective, such programs should make supportive relationships (including approval of behavior) contingent upon performance criteria in the areas listed above.

**Gang streetworkers.** Programs that seek to redirect existing gangs and gang members toward more prosocial activities through the efforts of "street workers" appear to be counterproductive when these activities are not part of a



comprehensive program incorporating other approaches and services, such as employment training and assistance finding jobs.

**Firearm training and mandatory firearm ownership.** None of the evaluations to date of firearm training programs or mandatory gun ownership laws (e.g., in Kennesaw, Georgia, every household is required to maintain a firearm) has demonstrated any significant intervention effects on crime or violence. There needs to be more research in this area, particularly studies of recent attempts to reduce suicide and accidental shootings through gun safety programs.

**Guardian Angels.** Only one citizen patrol strategy has been evaluated experimentally: the Guardian Angels' patrol in San Diego. This evaluation did not find that the Guardian Angels' patrol reduced violent crimes. Although the program appeared to reduce property crimes, the difference was not statistically significant.

Evaluations of other programs showed no or negative effects on risk and protective factors for delinquency and violence. These ineffective programs include (Hawkins, 1995):

**Special educational placements for disruptive, emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, and/or educable developmentally disabled elementary school students.** While special education placements have been found to be ineffective in preventing delinquency among disruptive, disturbed, learning disabled, and educable developmentally disabled students, these placements might enhance academic achievement, attendance, and school behavior among disruptive secondary school students.

**Peer counseling.** Gary Gottfredson (1987) reviewed evaluations of peer group counseling programs designed as treatment programs, variously referred to as "guided group interaction," "positive peer culture," and "peer culture development." The available evidence from true and quasi-experimental evaluations indicates that peer counseling in elementary and secondary schools has no or even negative effects on delinquency and associated risk factors, including academic failure, alienation and rebelliousness, lack of commitment to school, and association with delinquency/violent peers.

# **THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE PLAYS A PIVOTAL ROLE IN DELINQUENCY PREVENTION**

The Office of Justice Programs (OJP) has a mandate to improve the law enforcement, criminal, and juvenile justice systems response to crime and delinquency at the State and local levels. This mission supports the Department of Justice (DOJ) goal of increasing public safety. DOJ offers unique leadership based on its national perspective; ability to fund, replicate and disseminate information about programs that work; ability to support pragmatically grounded research; ability to provide training and technical assistance; and ability to help States and localities coordinate efforts and share experiences.

These roles are uniquely Federal. They leave the significant operational functions in State rather than national hands while avoiding duplicative efforts and ensuring that lessons are widely shared. Federal research provides vital information for use by all State and local programs, and technical assistance across State lines enriches programs around the Nation. Cross-site and cross-State information sharing and comparisons would be expensive and nearly impossible without a Federal coordinating role.

DOJ has been actively involved in identifying and supporting delinquency prevention strategies that work. Based on the latest research and evaluation findings on risk factors related to early and persistent delinquency, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), in the Office of Justice Programs, has designed a strategy to develop, test, and implement delinquency prevention programs that will help ensure the future of our children. Comprehensive community-based initiatives are being launched through the leadership of citizens, local law enforcement, justice officials, and a variety of other agencies under OJJDP's Title V, Incentive Grants for Local Delinquency Prevention Programs, initiative. These community-based efforts are the catalysts for creating a continuum of prevention and intervention strategies that promise to make a difference in the lives of children who are at the greatest risk of violent futures.

DOJ can facilitate bringing together law enforcement agencies, the juvenile justice system, other criminal justice agencies, and the community. Community policing, the largest current Federal community crime prevention initiative, grew out of research funded by DOJ. The success of community policing depends, in part, on the ability to identify and locally embrace effective prevention programs that can help such high-risk populations as truants and drug users. Community policing relies on knowing about effective programs and strategies to prevent youth from becoming more deeply entrenched in the juvenile justice system and moving on to the criminal justice system.

Federal, State, and local officials have supported prevention as a critical part of a national anti-crime initiative. They know that just building more prisons is not an affordable solution to the crime problem and that delinquency prevention strategies that work must be part of any rational approach. There are several reasons why prevention makes sense. First, we know from numerous studies that serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders are more likely than other youngsters to become adult career criminals. By preventing delinquency, we can reduce the volume of both juvenile *and* adult crime. Second, evaluations of prevention programs show that many are effective in preventing delinquency and reducing crime. Just as health promotion and disease prevention is the business of HHS, delinquency prevention is—and should be—the business of DOJ in concert with other Federal, State, and local agencies.

DOJ programs can bring criminal and juvenile justice system agencies together with other community groups to prevent crime and delinquency both in the immediate and long-term context. These linkages and resources can generate collaboration between criminal and juvenile justice agencies, community members, and local organizations, resulting in a cost-effective and focused response to preventing crime. This collaborative approach is a way of dealing with crime before it can get a stranglehold on communities. Law enforcement agencies actively promote a wide range of prevention strategies, even when they are not running the programs. Police organizations encourage the engagement of local community organizations in addressing crime's causes and view these programs as vital resources in comprehensive community-focused problem solving. Programs that decrease delinquency also reduce demand on a multitude of justice resources that, in many high-crime jurisdictions, are stretched to the limit.

Within DOJ, the component agencies of the Office of Justice Programs have joined in a partnership to address delinquency prevention. OJJDP and the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) develop, test, evaluate, and implement delinquency prevention programs. OJJDP also performs research to determine the causes and correlates of crime and delinquency. The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) conducts additional research and evaluations. The Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) focuses on awareness, rights, and treatment for victims of juvenile crime and juvenile crime victims. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) provides information on national trends in criminal victimization and other key data. Together, these agencies are a primary source of information, funding, technical assistance and training for individuals and organizations in neighborhoods, communities, churches, agencies, and businesses across America who are seeking to reduce or prevent violence and other crimes.

Recognizing that prevention requires collaboration at national as well as local levels, Federal agencies are forging collaborative approaches to delinquency prevention. The Administration's Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities initiative is a premier example of collaborative efforts among Federal, State and local governments. This program helps communities develop multiagency plans to change the ways they do business. The

Empowerment initiative requires a "bottom-up" planning process that involves not only economic development offices and other government agencies in deciding what is best for the community, but also local citizens. The initiative also requires a complementary effort at the Federal level to ensure equity across community sites, provide training and technical assistance, and enhance coordination of efforts.

Community strategies embodied in programs like PACT (Pulling America's Communities Together), a multiagency effort launched in 1993 by DOJ and five other Federal departments, mobilize the police, justice agencies, business and community leaders, schools, and social service agencies to develop coordinated solutions to stop violence before it starts. In the four jurisdictions where it has been launched, PACT relies not only on the collaboration of local community leaders and agencies to develop coordinated solutions to violence, but also on the collaboration of many different Federal agencies. They provide targeted information and technical assistance to communities, based not on Federal directives but on local priorities. Prevention is a key component of the PACT program.

The Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, chaired by the Attorney General, is building upon these experiences, using available research and evaluation findings to guide new efforts. In accordance with the Attorney General's deep commitment to forging a balanced approach to crime control, the Council is developing a Juvenile Justice Action Plan. This plan describes promising prevention programs and practices and provides guidelines for evaluating their effectiveness. The Action Plan also outlines the elements of successful public and private partnership models and other strategies for collaboration at the Federal, State and local level. This work will complement the efforts of the President's Crime Prevention Council.

## CONCLUSION

Clearly, prevention can curb crime and delinquency. If programs target high-risk children and their parents early in life, and if they provide intensive and extended (2 years or more) counseling, education, and parenting assistance via highly skilled youth development professionals, prevention efforts yield powerful reductions in later aggressiveness, delinquency, and criminal behavior (Mendel, 1995).

A substantial body of knowledge regarding delinquency prevention has been accumulated over the past 30 years, and prevention strategies are approaching the level of science. However, more knowledge is needed of what works, for whom, and under what conditions. Tolan and Guerra (1994) have emphasized the need to tie funding to

demonstrated program effectiveness. Otherwise, they contend, "it is likely that reviews in 10 or 20 years will have to draw the same tentative conclusions we have made."

The continuing Federal role in prevention is manifold. It must: continue to support States and local communities through information development and dissemination in an iterative process that flows from local communities to the States to the Federal government and then back again; support research and disseminate findings to States and local governments; and coordinate prevention strategy among Federal agencies as well as among State and local governments.

One of the major roles of the Justice Department is to develop, through research and evaluation of programs, new knowledge about crime and its causes, as well as strategies that prevent crime. In recent years, new prevention strategies have emerged that focus on stopping offending behavior before it begins by targeting conditions and factors that may cause individuals to engage in criminal and violent behavior. These community strategies mobilize law enforcement, justice agencies, business and community leaders, schools, and health and social service agencies to develop coordinated solutions to stop violence before it starts.

Another principal feature of these new endeavors, in addition to collaboration, is their growing reliance on a critical mass of research and evaluation findings. This expanding body of literature on risk and protective factors related to early and continued delinquent and violent behavior is helping communities define their problems and set priorities. The synthesis of empirical evaluations of a wide range of programs serves as an invaluable tool for communities developing a continuum of prevention and intervention strategies for at-risk youth. Through these evaluations it is known which programs have been proven effective or promising in reducing risk factors associated with delinquent and criminal careers and which enhance protective factors contributing to more resilient youth. Without a serious commitment to implementing effective programs, old mistakes made in the name of prevention will be repeated. Additional emphasis and resources to provide onsite, community-based evaluations will enable communities to determine what works for their local needs. Federal seed money is helping State and local governments find the answers to make informed decisions regarding program continuations.

During FY 1995 OJP will support a variety of models that work with the community, and will develop local programs based on evaluation and field research. OJP will also support Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities, Title V Prevention, PACT, Comprehensive Communities, Weed and Seed (a broad-based interdisciplinary program to reduce violent crime) and a newly developed OJJDP program, SafeFutures, that builds upon these existing program models. These community-based initiatives recognize the need for a long-term commitment to system-wide solutions to achieve long-term results.

The next section illustrates the broad range of prevention programs that are eligible for

funding under the 1994 Crime Act and is followed by a section referencing research cited in this report. Appendix A provides a detailed description of prevention and early intervention strategies noted earlier in this report.

Careful design, rigorous implementation, and continuous refinement of delinquency prevention and treatment programs, combined with sound evaluation and research, offers America's brightest hope to contain the crime epidemic and perhaps even begin to bring it under control (Mendel, 1995).

## **CRIME ACT PREVENTION PROGRAMS**

The following are subtitles of the Crime Act of 1994 (P.L. 103—322), under which some of the above mentioned effective and promising strategies could be funded. Following each program is a code which means that the programs are targeted either at the community (C), family (F), individual (I), peer group (P), or school (S).

### **P.L. 103—322**

#### ***Title I: Public Safety and Policing***

- \* Community Policing (C)
- \* Police-Assisted Community Enforcement (C)

#### ***Title III: Crime Prevention***

##### ***- Subtitle A, Secs. 30101—30104, Ounce of Prevention Council and Grant Program:***

- \* Bright Future Project (C)
- \* Cambodian Family Youth Program (F)
- \* Parents as Teachers (F)
- \* Project New Beginnings (I)

##### ***- Subtitle B, Secs. 30201—30208, Local Crime Prevention Block Grant Program:***

- \* Anti-Drug Initiative in Chicago Housing Authority (C)
- \* Boys and Girls Clubs of America (nationwide) (P)
- \* Child Development Project (S)
- \* Cities in Schools (S)
- \* Elmira, New York, Home Visitation Program (F)
- \* Glendale Community Improvement Association (C)
- \* Resolving Conflict Creatively Project (RCCP) (S)

- \* Tennessee's Family Trouble Center (F)
- \* Washington's Yakima Gang Prevention/Intervention Coalition (C)
- \* Wisconsin's Project Bootstrap, Inc. (C)
- \* Gang, Drug, and Dropout Intervention Program (C)

*- Subtitle C, Secs. 30301—30306, Model Intensive Grant Programs:*

- \* Bethesda Day Treatment (I)
- \* The Community Board Program (C)
- \* Communities That Care (C)
- \* Community Responses to Drug Abuse (C)
- \* The Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent and Chronic Juvenile Offenders (C)
- \* Healthy Start in Hawaii (F)
- \* Operation Weed and Seed (C)
- \* Project PACT (Pulling America's Communities Together) (C)
- \* Student Conflict Resolution Experts (SCORE) (I)
- \* Title V of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (C)

*- Subtitle D, Sec. 30401, Community Schools Youth Services and Supervision Grant Program:*

- \* The Cornerstone Project (C)
- \* Partnership for Learning, Inc. (C)

*- Subtitle D, Sec. 30402, Family and Community Endeavor Schools Grant Program:*

- \* Ability Grouping Within Classes in Elementary Schools (S)
- \* The Community Board Program (C)
- \* Ohio's Early Dropout and Violence Prevention Program (C)
- \* THRIVE (I)

*- Subtitle G, Secs. 30701—30702, Assistance for Delinquent and At-Risk Youth:*

- \* Home for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (C)
- \* Louisiana State Youth Opportunities Unlimited (I)
- \* Walbridge Caring Communities (S)

*- Subtitle J, Secs. 31001—31002, Local Partnership Act:*

- \* Cooperative Learning (S)
- \* Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) Program (S)
- \* Elmira, New York, Home Visitation Program (F)
- \* Family Ties (F)
- \* Homebuilders's (F)
- \* Interpersonal Cognitive Problem Solving (ICPS) Curriculum (I)
- \* Metal Detectors in the Schools (S)

- \* PAVNET (C)
- \* Police Assisted Community Enforcement (C)
- \* Perry High/Scope Preschool Program (F)
- \* Providing Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) Curriculum (S)
- \* Reductions in Class Size for Kindergarten and First-Grade Classes (S)
- \* School Development Program (S)
- \* SMART Program (S)

*- Subtitle Q, Secs. 31701—31708, Community Based Justice Grants for  
Prosecutors:*

- \* Children At Risk (CAR) Program (C)
- \* Second Step Curriculum (S)

***Title XIV: Youth Violence***

- \* Mandatory Sentencing Law for Felonies Involving a Firearm (C)
- \* Regulations on the Place and Manner of Carrying Firearms (C)
- \* Restrictions on the Sale, Purchase and Transfer of Guns (C)



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**APPENDIX A**



## **PROGRAM DESCRIPTIONS**

This is a list, in alphabetical order, of programs and strategies referenced in this report that are effective (proven by research to prevent delinquency or violence) or promising (preliminary research results are in and they appear to hold some promise). This list is not all inclusive nor is it meant to be. Rather, the list is a representative sample of effective or promising delinquency prevention programs and strategies from across the country.

A program or strategy was placed in the promising rather than effective category if there was any question as to the sufficiency of the scientific evidence of its effectiveness. We chose to err on the side of stringency. Programs or strategies were also selected as promising if they were based on risk/protective factors, showed positive results from their evaluations, or received Gould-Wysinger awards. Gould-Wysinger Award winners, chosen by juvenile justice professionals across the country, are marked by an asterisk\*.

### **Ability Grouping Within Classes in Elementary Schools (School)**

This strategy is based on ability grouping within classes in elementary schools. The target population is elementary school students. The risk factors addressed are academic failure and lack of commitment to school. The protective factor addressed is opportunities to participate actively in learning. Students within elementary school classes are grouped together for instruction and study on the basis of their skill levels for particular subjects.

**Contact:** Johns Hopkins University, Center of Social Organization of Schools, Baltimore, MD 21218, (410) 516-7570.

### **Anti-Drug Initiative in Chicago Housing Authority (Community)**

The Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) is characterized by high rates of murder, sexual assault, teenage pregnancy, high school dropouts, and infant mortality. To regain control and improve the living environment, CHA implemented an operation to sweep public housing clean of drugs and crime and improve the quality of life for residents. The approach combines features that researchers and policy makers feel are essential for successful crime prevention in public housing: it is collaborative, involving local police, CHA police and security, CHA management, social service providers, and residents; it is comprehensive, including law enforcement, management improvements, increased security, resident patrols, and drug prevention and intervention services; and it is designed to help residents develop self-esteem and concern for their living environment.

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) is funding an evaluation of CHA's anti-drug initiative; preliminary results indicate that the program improved overall safety and reduced drug trafficking in one development and has reduced drug-related violence in another. Final

evaluation results are expected in late 1995, and should provide much-needed guidance for public housing agencies in other cities attempting to design their own anti-drug initiatives.

**Contact:** Teresa Lipo, 626 West Jackson, Sixth Floor, Chicago, Illinois 60661, (312) 791-8500.

### **Bethesda Day Treatment (Individual)\***

The Bethesda Day Treatment Program in West Milton, Pennsylvania, is an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) originated program. Initiated with OJJDP formula grant funds, the program is currently funded through county service contracts.

Bethesda Day Treatment Center's services include intensive supervision, counseling, and coordination of a range of services necessary to develop skills that enable youth to function appropriately in the community. Services are client, group and family-focused. Client-focused services include intake, casework, service and treatment planning, individual counseling, intensive supervision, and study skills. Group focused services include group counseling, life and job skills training, cultural enrichment, and physical education. Family focused activities include family counseling, home visits, parent counseling, and family intervention services.

The program provides delinquent and dependent youth ages 10 to 17 with up to 55 hours of services without removing them from their homes. A unique feature of the program requires work experience for all clients of working age, with 75 percent of their paychecks directed toward payment of fines, court costs, and restitution. This intensive treatment program has shown promising results: A preliminary study revealed recidivism rates far lower than State and national norms.

Fifty-four clients from Union County have been referred to, followed, and discharged from the Bethesda Day Treatment Center since its inception in 1985. (There have been other clients from other referral resources.)

- There was only one case of recidivism involving a delinquent client within a year of discharge from the program.
- There only have been four cases of recidivism involving dependent (status offender ) clients.

Combining the two groups of clients there is a population base of 48 clients discharged for 12 or more months from the treatment program with 5 cases of recidivism within the first 12 months of discharge. This gives an overall recidivism rate of 10.4%.

**Contact:** Dominic Herbst, Managing Director, Bethesda Day Treatment Center, P.O. Box 270, Central Oak Heights, West Milton, PA 17886 (717) 568-1131.



## **Boys and Girls Clubs of America (nationwide) (Peer Group)**

Boys and Girls Clubs have been instrumental in addressing some of the needs of at-risk youths and have been effective in providing an attractive alternative to drug use, dealing, violence, and crime. The Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) recently funded an additional 15 Boys and Girls Clubs in various public housing communities across the United States, many of which are Weed and Seed sites. Ten preexisting clubs received technical assistance, and five new clubs received start-up funding. OJJDP is also providing funding to develop gang prevention strategies.

NIJ is sponsoring an evaluation of these clubs to document their strengths and weaknesses, to assess whether the clubs achieved their goals, and to offer recommendations applicable to individual programs and to other Boys and Girls Clubs. The evaluation will include a cost-benefit analysis that compares the costs of implementing and maintaining the clubs with the benefits derived from them.

Preliminary findings show that planning for future efforts should incorporate serious attention to the following areas:

- Special emphasis programming should have long-term objectives and provide for continuity of services.
- Needs assessment should be stressed.
- Implementation should be emphasized.
- Activities should be coordinated with other agencies and organizations that are providing services within the target areas.
- Provisions should be established for obtaining the input of residents on a continual basis.
- Activities related to medical screening should be carefully monitored.
- Educational enhancement programs should exercise caution in the use of incentives to reward performance.
- Continuous education and staff training should be required.
- It is important to keep accurate and continuous records.
- The overall objective should be to include youth in all club activities.

There are now a total of 64 clubs providing after school activities in public housing developments across the country. They have been effective in increasing rates of school

attendance and improving academic performance. According to a Columbia University study, Boys and Girls Clubs in public housing have reduced the juvenile crime rate in those areas by 13 percent.

**Contact:** Boys and Girls Clubs of America, 771 First Avenue, New York, New York, 10017, (292) 557-7755.

### **Cambodian Family Youth Program (Family)\***

The Cambodian Family Youth Program of Santa Ana, California, offers a positive alternative to the streets for inner-city youth ages 5 to 12. Although the Cambodian Family project has been in operation since 1982, OJJDP began funding its prevention/intervention program in 1990. Staff and volunteers help elementary and intermediate school students develop self-esteem and life skills in a community where drugs, gangs, and crime are commonplace. With modest funding, the Cambodian Youth Program provides a safe haven amidst the ghetto. In a community where 40 percent of the population is Cambodian, the program helps Cambodian children bridge the social, generational, and language gap between their ancestral and adopted nations. The program targets children with four of the following risk factors: school and family problems, drug use, family criminality, stealing patterns, aggressiveness, truancy, poor parental involvement and conduct disorders in multiple settings.

Through an internal evaluation, improved behavior and reduced aggression among participants has been observed. Since the program's inception, the Cambodian gang population in the area has not increased.

**Contact:** Rifka Hirsch, Executive Director, The Cambodian Family, 1111 East Wakeham Avenue, Suite E, Santa Ana, CA 92705, (714) 571-1966.

### **Child Development Project (School)**

The Child Development Project (CDP) is a school and home program aimed at fostering competencies and commitments in children that they will need to eventually carry out adult roles in a competent, caring and responsible manner. CDP is designed to be a vehicle for making comprehensive improvements in elementary schools, and for linking school and home so that teachers and parents become effective partners in rearing and educating children.

CDP began with extensive piloting and rigorous longitudinal evaluation of the program in two northern California school districts. It is now being implemented and evaluated in six additional school districts across the country: Dade County, FL; Louisville, KY; White Plains, NY; San Francisco, CA; Cupertino, CA and Salinas CA.

CDP consists of a combination of strategies including: reading and language arts curriculum; cooperative learning; classroom management and discipline techniques; extensive menu of home-school activities; school service programs.

One set of recent findings from the six participating districts concerns CDP's effects on substance abuse and violent behavior. As compared with students in 12 matched comparison schools, students in 12 CDP schools in these districts showed:

- Decreasing involvement in certain types of violent behavior, notably carrying a weapon to school and gang fighting.
- Significantly lowered use of alcohol and marijuana.

Specifically, in the four schools that implemented the program the most, there was a 5% decline in gang fighting compared to a 3% increase in the comparison schools as well as a 12% decline in those students carrying a weapon versus no change in the comparison schools.

**Contact:** Developmental Studies Center, 200 Embarcadero, Suite 305, Oakland, CA 94606 (510) 464-3670.

#### **Children at Risk Program (Community)**

Children at Risk (CAR), funded by BJA, NIJ, OJJDP and a consortium of private sources, is an intensive 2-year intervention for high-risk youth in high-risk neighborhoods. Communities develop CAR programs by building on the strengths, cultural background, and history of the target neighborhood. Each program includes eight components, considered key to comprehensive prevention: (1) case management; (2) family services; (3) education services; (4) after school and summer activities; (5) mentoring; (6) incentives; (7) community policing and enhanced enforcement; and (8) criminal/juvenile justice intervention.

The program and evaluation (funded by NIJ) are ongoing in five cities (Austin, Bridgeport, Memphis, Savannah, and Seattle). Preliminary analysis of initial findings reflect promising effects. In the first 12 months after joining the program CAR youth had fewer contacts with police than youth in a randomly assigned control group (41% versus 69%). CAR youth also had fewer contacts with juvenile court (34% versus 71%). The most recent finding is that 88 percent of CAR youth were promoted to the next grade, compared to 72 percent of youth in the control group.

**Contact:** Mary Nakashian, Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA), Columbia University, 152 West 57th St., New York, NY 10019, (212) 841-5230.

### **Cities in Schools (School)**

This Cities in Schools (CIS) dropout prevention program funded by OJJDP in collaboration with the Departments of Health and Human Services, Commerce and Defense, has 665 sites in 197 communities nationwide. It brings resources to and reaches over 97,000 youth and their families. The program is based on the idea that children and adolescents have a large number of problems due to the breakdown of the family, the physical decline of neighborhoods, and the decrease of job opportunities, and places community services providers in schools. Evaluations have shown that CIS students perform at significantly higher levels than do similar students. The preliminary report of outcome data on CIS students for 1992-93 indicated significant success in keeping students in school. A longitudinal study which tracked CIS students who entered the program during the 1989-1990 and 1990-1991 school years found that by 1993 nearly 80 percent were still in school. Seventy percent of students with high absenteeism prior to entering CIS improved their attendance. Also, 60 percent of the students whose grade point averages were unsatisfactory improved their GPA in the single year in which they joined CIS.

**Contact:** Bonnie Nance Frazier, 1199 North Fairfax Street, Suite 300, Alexandria, VA 22314, (703) 519-8999.

### **The Community Board Program (Community)**

The Community Board Program has developed and implemented school-based mediation and conflict resolution programs for children, youth, and families. The program is presented to students in the third through 12th grades who participate in communication, problem-solving, and leadership skills-building activities. Students are selected as "conflict managers" and provide help to settle disputes among their peers. Frequently, escalation of conflicts and the subsequent need for serious disciplinary actions are averted when "conflict managers" help other students express their problems clearly and reach their own resolutions. The program has resulted in decreases in fights, suspensions, and dropout rates, as well as increased self-esteem and development of citizenship skills.

Of the conflicts reported for mediation, 87% were successfully resolved. With a successful resolution both parties agreed on concrete actions that would prevent or reduce future conflicts. Many of these resolutions allowed the disputants to maintain friendships that might have otherwise been disrupted by the conflicts. These results also indicate that the program reduces the amount of conflict among students on the school grounds and prevents physical fights among the students. The program increases the conflict resolution skills, self-esteem, and assertiveness of the peer mediators. It allows the staff that deals with discipline to attend to more immediate and severe student problems.

**Contact:** Jim Halligan, 1540 Market Street, Suite 490, San Francisco, CA 94192, (415) 552-1250.

## **Community Policing (Community)**

Community policing involves policing that:

- is decentralized and organized at the community or neighborhood level;
- relies on tactics which involve more contact with and accountability to citizens (for example, foot patrol, contact with community organizations, permanent teams assigned to particular small geographical areas);
- aims to cultivate community consensus on crime and order issues;
- that broadens the police service role (for example, by emphasizing non-emergency services and responses to citizen complaints)
- seeks to increase citizens' sense of safety and quality of life; and
- stimulates neighborhood organization.

The risk factors addressed are laws and norms tolerant of crime and violence, neighborhood disorganization, and low attachment to neighborhood. The protective factors addressed are healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior, opportunity for involvement with police, and bonding to police.

**Contact:** Drew Diamond, 1726 M Street, N.W., Suite 801, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 833-3305.

## **Communities That Care (Community)**

The Communities That Care process begins by orienting key community leaders, including mayors, city or county council members, lead law enforcement officials, judges, school superintendents, and business, civic and religious leaders, to risk-focused prevention. It helps these leaders assess their community's readiness for a comprehensive risk-focused prevention effort and form or identify a community prevention board. Once the community prevention board is established or an existing group is identified to serve this function, the board is trained to assess the community's risks and existing resources by collecting data on risk indicators and assessing existing programs. After assessment is completed, community boards prioritize the most noxious risk factors, identify programming gaps, and review effective approaches to address priority risk factors. Based on this work, each board develops a strategic plan to implement and evaluate a comprehensive risk reduction strategy tailored to the unique risk and resource profile of its community. The risk factors addressed include community disorganization and laws and norms tolerant of crime and violence. The protective factors addressed include healthy beliefs, clear standards for behavior, and skills for community mobilization.

A five-year process evaluation funded by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) showed that the model is effective in assisting communities in planning and implementing a coordinated set of interventions.

**Contact:** Communities That Care, Developmental Research and Programs, Inc., 130 Nickerson St., Suite 107, Seattle, Washington 98109, (206) 286-1805.

### **Community Responses to Drug Abuse (Community)**

In 1989, the Community Responses to Drug Abuse National Demonstration Program was funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance in 9 sites to develop and implement effective community wide strategies that local groups could adopt to reduce drug abuse and improve the quality of life in their neighborhoods. The National Institute of Justice funded a process and impact evaluation of this demonstration in 1989, conducted by the University of Illinois at Chicago. The process evaluation showed that local community organizations, with technical assistance from the National Crime Prevention Council and the National Training and Information Center, were able to successfully develop and implement a wide variety of anti-drug activities, including campaigning to increase public awareness; developing surveillance and reporting strategies; the closing of drug houses; creating drug-free school zones, youth recreation and social activities, and tutoring programs; and implementing employment and training programs. Many of these programs involved cooperative efforts with local police.

An intensive impact evaluation was conducted in three of the demonstration sites, involving a pretest and post test surveys of citizens in the target and control neighborhoods. Findings showed a number of positive changes in the experimental areas when compared to control areas. Community organizations were effective in increasing levels of citizen awareness of and participation in anti-drug activities. In addition, these community interventions were followed by more informal social interactions among neighborhood residents, more favorable attitudes about the police, and more positive perceptions about their neighborhood as a place to live.

**Contact:** Bureau of Justice Assistance, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20531, (202) 514-6278.

### **The Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders (Community)**

The Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders seeks to prevent and reduce at-risk behavior and delinquency. Key principles include: (1) Strengthening families in their role of providing guidance and discipline and instilling sound values as their children's first and primary teachers; (2) Supporting core social institutions, including schools, churches, and other community-based organizations, to alleviate risk

factors and help children develop their maximum potential; (3) Promoting prevention strategies that reduce the impact of risk factors and enhance the influence of protective factors in the lives of youth at greatest risk of delinquency; (4) Intervening with youth immediately when delinquent behavior first occurs; (5) Establishing a broad spectrum of graduated sanctions that provides accountability and a continuum of services to respond appropriately to the needs of each juvenile offender; and, (6) Identifying and controlling the small segment of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. Implementation of this comprehensive strategy will require all sectors of the community to take part in determining local needs and in planning and implementing programs to meet those needs.

**Contact:** Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20531, (202) 307-5911.

### **Cooperative Learning (School)**

Teachers provide initial instruction to groups of students who are at the same skill level or to the class as a whole. Students then work in a learning team, composed of 4 to 5 members of mixed skill levels, to help each other learn and to assess one another's progress in preparing for tests and teacher assessments. Students take tests individually, without the assistance of teammates. Students receive some type of recognition based on the progress of all team members. When students do not meet a criterion level of mastery, they are provided with specific corrective procedures. The target population is kindergarten through 12th-grade students. The risk factors addressed include academic failure and lack of commitment to school. The protective factors addressed are opportunities to participate actively in learning, skills to establish positive social relationships, and bonding to school and prosocial peers.

**Contact:** Johns Hopkins University, Center of Social Organization of Schools, Baltimore, MD 21218, (410) 516-7570.

### **Cornerstone Project (Community)\***

The Cornerstone Project of Little Rock, Arkansas, began in 1987 and is funded by Federal and local grants, corporate contributions, and philanthropic donations. Federal funds are provided by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Service's Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, and the U.S. Department of Labor, under the Job Training Partnership Act. Cornerstone believes that if youth living in gang- and drug-ridden neighborhoods can feel a part of something positive, they will be empowered to resist negative peer pressure. To provide a positive environment, the project established the Network Center (Neighbors and Education Training).

Final arrangements for the Spring, 1995, assessment data collection are coming into place. While standardized instruments produce mixed results at best, all of the children in the project during the 1994-1995 school year have remained in school. There have been no

pregnancies, there is no one involved in the juvenile justice system and there are three seniors who completed high school in 1994.

**Contact:** Betty Lou Hamlin, Director, The Cornerstone Project, Inc., P.O. Box 2660, Little Rock, AR 72203, (501) 664-0963.

### **Drug Abuse Resistance Education Program (School)**

The Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) program is the most frequently used substance abuse education curricula in the United States; it is in use in over half the school districts in the country. D.A.R.E. is distinctive for its widespread adoption; its use of trained, uniformed police officers in the classroom; and its combination of local control and centralized coordination. D.A.R.E. uses a core curriculum of 17 weekly lessons taught to fifth- and sixth-graders, and has expanded to include programs for middle and high school programs.

A recent study sponsored by NIJ confirmed the prevalence and popularity of D.A.R.E.; revealed that its appeal cuts across racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic lines; and indicated considerable support for expansion of the program. In assessing the D.A.R.E. curriculum and how it is taught, most drug use prevention coordinators gave it higher ratings than they did other programs. Students' receptivity to D.A.R.E. was rated higher than their receptivity for other programs, and coordinators in districts with a large proportion of minority students were especially likely to rate students' receptivity to D.A.R.E. as very high. Meta-analysis of D.A.R.E. programs showed them best at increasing students' knowledge about substance abuse and enhancing their social skills. The effect of D.A.R.E. on attitudes toward drugs, attitudes toward the police, and self-esteem were more modest. Its short-term effects on substance abuse by fifth- and sixth-graders were small, a finding which should be interpreted cautiously because of the small number of studies used for analysis and the low level of drug use among fifth- and sixth-graders.

**Contact:** D.A.R.E. America, 9800 La Cienega Boulevard, Suite 402, Inglewood, CA 90301, (703) 860-DARE.

### **Elmira, New York, Home Visitation Program (Family)**

The Elmira Home Visitation Program helped women improve their health-related behaviors such as stopping the use of cigarettes, alcohol and other drugs; identifying pregnancy complications and using their health-related systems to address these problems. Women also improved their quality of infant care-giving and increased their personal development. Women were encouraged to set small achievable goals and to use problem-solving methods to gain control over the difficulties they encountered. The women's accomplishment, in turn, enhanced their sense of competence in managing future problems.



Frequent home visitation by nurses during pregnancy and the first two years of a child's life, significantly reduces many health and social problems commonly associated with childbearing among adolescent, unmarried, and low-income parents. Other results include:

- 75% reduction in state-verified cases of child abuse and neglect;
- 32% fewer emergency room visits during the second year of life;
- 80% more unmarried women participating in the workforce; and
- unmarried women bearing 43% fewer subsequent children than their counterparts assigned to comparison services.

An investment in this type of home-visitation program for low-income women and children can pay for itself by the time the child is 4 years old. The pre-natal and postpartum program costs about \$3,200 for 2 1/2 years of home visitation. Low-income women (those most likely to use government services) used \$3,300 less in other government services during the first 4 years after delivery of their first child than did their low-income counterparts in the comparison group. About 80% of the cost savings were from reduced Food Stamp and Aid to Families with Dependant Children payments. One-third of the cost saving came from the reduction in unintended subsequent pregnancies. There are future savings based on the years after the first four years that have not yet been calculated.

**Contact:** David Olds, Ph.D., Prevention Research Center, 303 East 17th Avenue, Suite 200, Denver Colo, 80203. (303) 861-1715, ext. 228.

### **Family Ties (Family)\***

Family Ties of New York began providing an alternative to incarceration for youth ages 7 to 16 as a pilot project in Brooklyn in 1989. The program was expanded in 1991 to the Bronx and Manhattan, and further growth is anticipated. The program is underwritten by the City of New York, with the State providing matching funds on a 3 to 1 basis. This program: (1) provides intensive home-based services; (2) conducts an assessment of family, community and educational needs of each juvenile; (3) works to strengthen families; (4) provides family therapy and counseling; and (5) helps reconstruct decision making skills, and anger-management.

Modeled after the Homebuilders program of Tacoma, Washington, Family Ties identifies the needs of each delinquent child and works to strengthen family functions. Risk factors include poor school performance, reading significantly below school level, substance-abusing parents who are HIV positive, and parents who are ill. Protective factors include offering youth solid extended families to support these youth. The school system is supportive and helps youth in the program.

Approximately 8 in 10 of all juveniles who participated in Family Ties during 1991 to 1992 remained uninvolved with the juvenile justice system 6 months later. There was no significant difference between the follow-up rate at 6 months versus 12 months. Over a period of a year or more, the success rate of program participants was 82%. The success rate for those program participants granted probation after the program was 73%. The reinvolvement rates were significantly lower for the program group than for the comparison group. The results revealed there was a good cost-benefit ratio. For every \$1.00 spent on the program almost \$7.00 in savings to the public were generated by averting juvenile placements in state youth detention facilities. In total dollars, the public was saved over \$335,388.00 during a program cycle of 6 weeks on average per group of 32 participants.

**Contact:** Sandra Welsh, Director, Family Ties, 365 Broadway, New York, NY 10013, (212) 925-7779.

### **Gang, Drug, and Dropout Intervention Program (Community)\***

Nuestro Centro (Our Center) began as a grassroots initiative in 1988 when concerned citizens and community activists in Dallas, Texas, decided to take back their streets by converting an abandoned fire station in a predominately minority neighborhood into a community-run youth center. Nuestro Centro's Gang, Drug, and Dropout Intervention Program was inaugurated in 1991 with OJJDP funds. Participants in the after school program are unemployed and undereducated youth affected by drug abuse, gangs, and delinquency. Counselors and volunteers generally live in the neighborhood and make frequent visits to the home each week. The risk factors include school problems, family problems, and physical and sexual abuse. An evaluation based on participants' self-reports showed a good success rate in deterring gang violence and drug use, with 95 percent of participants surveyed involved in educational activities, including school, G.E.D. preparation, and vocational training.

**Contact:** Blanca Martinez, Director, Nuestro Centro, 1735 South Ewing Street, Dallas, TX 75226, (224) 948-8336.

### **Glendale Community Improvement Association (Community)\***

The Glendale Community Mobilization Project has been recognized as a successful gang prevention and community strengthening program. This project has a number of components including: mentoring and job shadowing experience offered to over 200 middle school students; a transition program established for 45 high-risk sixth- and seventh-grade students entering Glendale Middle School; community strengthening through the development of a neighborhood organization, with training provided for over 250 potential block leaders (training video produced); community leader training for individuals to receive specific skills training in gang/drug abuse recognition and effective interventions. Risk factors include

availability of drugs and friends who engage in a problem behavior. Protective factors include individual characteristics and schools that teach their children healthy beliefs.

The target area for the project has the highest concentration of gang members in Utah. It was an early hot spot for Utah's burgeoning gang problem. Since the inception of the project in 1992, crime is down across the board in all major categories 10-30%. Gang-related crime, excluding graffiti is down 38%.

**Contact:** Glendale Community Improvement Association, 327 East 200 South, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84111, (801) 295-7700.

### **Healthy Start In Hawaii (Family)**

The National Institute of Justice has commissioned a review of Healthy Start In Hawaii for a Program In Focus report scheduled for publication in 1995. Healthy Start In Hawaii is a program designed to prevent child abuse by providing prenatal and post birth counseling to high-risk parents. This is an interdisciplinary approach which involves children, their families, and their communities. The goal is to promote child development. The goals of Healthy Start are to: (1) reduce family stress and improve family functioning; (2) improve parenting skills; (3) enhance child health and development; and, (4) prevent abuse and neglect. Healthy Start in Hawaii follows the child until age five with program services which include the early identification of families at risk for child abuse and neglect, community-based home visiting support and intervention services, linkage to a "medical home" and other health care services, and coordination of a wide range of community services.

Early evaluation findings provide evidence that the program is successful in reducing the likelihood of child abuse. Specifically, of 90 persons receiving weekly counseling services in the program, none committed child abuse. After leaving the program, only three committed abuse. In comparison, the abuse rate during the same time period for a population not receiving any services was 4 in 90.

Existing internal outcome evaluation of Healthy Start in Hawaii has been conducted primarily in terms of confirmed cases of abuse and neglect. Between July 1987 and June 1991, 13,477 families were screened and/or assessed, 9,870 of which were determined to be at low risk. Of the 3,607 families at high risk, 1,353 were enrolled in Health Start, 901 were enrolled in less intensive home visiting programs, and another 1,353 were not enrolled, due to limited service capacity. Among the 1,353 Healthy Start families, the confirmed abuse rate was 0.7%; neglect was confirmed in 1.2%. The combined abuse/neglect (CAN) rate was 1.9%. The CAN rate for the at-risk families not served was 5.0%. This represents a 60% reduction in CAN Reports for program participants.

**Contact:** Gladys Wong, Hawaii Family Stress Center, 1833 Kalakaua Avenue, Suite 1001, Honolulu, HI 96815, (808) 946-4771.

### **Homebuilders Program (Family)**

Homebuilders is an intensive family preservation program designed to avert the unnecessary placement of children into foster, group, or institutional care. Caseworkers provide referrals which indicate that, without the program's intervention, immediate out-of-home placement is the most likely course of action for children who are identified as at-risk due to serious child protection, family conflict, and mental health concerns.

Twelve months after entering the program, 88 percent of the children targeted by caseworkers for out-of-home placement remain in their own homes, and child and family functioning have shown significant improvement on standardized measures. In 1987, a similar program in the Bronx, New York, which was designed to test the Homebuilders treatment model in a large urban setting, achieved a high level of success, with 304 children from 157 families served.

**Contact:** David Haapala, Executive Director, Behavioral Sciences Institute, 1901 Markham Avenue N.E., Takoma, WA 98422, (206) 927-7547.

### **Home for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Community)\***

This program provides shelter and other support services to 28 girls, the majority of whom have been removed from their homes because of sexual abuse or abandonment. Most of the girls, who range in age from 4 to 18, have parents who are physically or mentally unable to care for them. The program provides crisis intervention, counseling, tutoring, educational placement, community services, and recreational and social activities. The risk factors addressed include: family problems; school problems; abandonment; and sexual abuse. The protective factors addressed include: positive relationships that promote close bonds; individual characteristics such as having a resilient temperament; and healthy beliefs and clear standards. A process evaluation is currently being conducted.

In the past year, the program has acquired its own building and the staff now includes a psychologist, a social worker, and four instructors. The risk factors addressed include family problems, school problems, abandonment, and sexual abuse.

**Contact:** Sister Georgio Reiyu, Santa Ana Institute for Juvenile Development, P.O. Box 554, Adjuntas, PR 00601, (809) 829-2504.

### **Interpersonal Cognitive Problem Solving (ICPS) Curriculum (Individual)**

The ICPS curriculum seeks to decrease impulsivity and inhibition. The program format consists of daily lessons in the forms of games. Early lessons focus on simple word concepts such as "not," "or," "same," "different," and "because," which are essential for understanding later problem solving skills. The rest of the curriculum emphasizes alternative solutions to

interpersonal problems, consequential thinking, and recognition of and sensitivity to others' feelings. The target population is children aged 4 to 6. The risk factors addressed are early and persistent antisocial behavior. The protective factors addressed are interpersonal problem solving skills, healthy beliefs, and clear standards.

**Contact:** Department of Mental Health Services, Hahnemann Medical University and John F. Kennedy CMH/MR Center, Research and Evaluation Program, Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 762-7000.

### **Louisiana State Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Baton Rouge, LA (Individual)**

Participants in this program live in dormitories on the Louisiana State University campus for 8 weeks during the summer. For half of each weekday, participants receive academic instruction in reading and math and earn high school credit for successful completion of their course work. During the other half of each weekday, participants work at individually chosen, minimum-wage jobs at various sites throughout the university. In the evening hours, youth participate in recreational activities and career, academic, and personal counseling. Weekend activities involve field trips, speakers, tutoring, and parent participation events (parents are provided transportation to and from the university). Other program components include provision of health care to participants, and a requirement that participants open a savings account and deposit a designated amount into the account each pay period. The risk factors addressed are academic failure, alienation and rebelliousness, association with delinquent and violent peers, and lack of commitment to school. The protective factors addressed are opportunities to acquire job experience, job skills, and recognition for work performed. The target population is economically disadvantaged 14- to 16-year-old youth at risk of dropping out of school.

Pre-and post-test evaluation of participants involved in the program from 1987 to 1994 demonstrated significant gains in math, reading, career maturity, and intention to remain in school. This program also produced positive outcomes in the at-risk student participants' level of coping skills.

**Contact:** Dr. Susan Gaston, Coordinator, Louisiana State Youth Opportunities Unlimited, 118 Hatcher Hall, College of Education, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803, (504) 388-1751.

### **Mandatory Sentencing Laws for Felonies Involving a Firearm (Community)**

Mandatory sentencing laws for felonies involving a firearm impose more stringent sentences for offenders who use or carry a firearm during the commission of a felony. The target population is States. The risk factors addressed are laws and norms tolerant of crime and violence. The protective factors addressed are healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior.

Mandatory sentencing laws were studied in 6 cities. It was found that firearm homicides were decreased in each area suggesting that the laws help prevent homicidal violence. This supports the notion that mandatory sentencing reduces firearm homicides. Gun homicides decreased in 10 areas and 6 decreases were statistically significant. The average reduction was 32%.

**Contact:** Violence Research Group, Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-8235, (301) 405-4735.

### **Metal Detectors in the Schools (School)**

In order to reduce the guns, knives, and other metal weapons students bring to school, a team of security officers scans randomly selected students with hand-held metal detectors as they enter the school building. The target population is secondary schools. The risk factors addressed are firearm availability and laws and norms tolerant of crime and violence. The protective factors addressed are healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior.

**Contact:** Ronnie Williams, Chief of Security, Division of School Safety, New York City Public Schools, P.S. 64, Third Floor, 600 East Sixth Street, New York, NY 10009, (212) 979-3320.

### **Ohio's Early Dropout & Violence Prevention Program (Community)**

This program targets African-American males who demonstrate high-risk behavior in targeted elementary schools in Cuyahoga County. The Cleveland Public School District and several surrounding suburban school districts report dropout rates for African-American males to be between 25 and 50 percent. This is not only an educational concern; school failure in turn augments the rate of crime and violence committed by juvenile offenders.

The Early Dropout and Violence Prevention Project (EDVP), a small-scale pilot project now in its fifth year, addresses these issues. Its mission is to provide students and their families with the qualitative and practical support needed to enable students to learn, to encourage them to stay in school, and to reduce their aggressive and delinquent behavior in order to restore the cycle of educational achievement.

The following objectives further the Project's mission:

- Schools identify high-risk students, address the development of pre-dropout behavior, address behavioral problems, and improve the classroom learning environment.
- Families work to improve the parent/child relationship, the parent/teacher relationship, and parent involvement in the educational process.

- Students work to improve attendance, academic performance, behavior, self-esteem, and skills in resisting peer pressure.

To date the project appears to have been successful in achieving its goals. Other schools within the Cleveland School District have sought integration of the program into their schools, and outside districts view the EDVP as a model for establishing their own programs. The program has been well received by parents and teachers who praise it for preparing students to learn and improving classroom behavior. Another indicator of the program's success is that students frequently request to participate in the program. Student demand for services offered by the program is such that the program has not been able to accommodate all students' needs. Early assessment of the initial EDVP quickly determined that the program size would have to be reduced because student needs were greater than anticipated.

Another implementation success has been the maintenance of computerized data for each participant's grade point average, attendance, and tardiness, facilitating tracking of year-to-year progress. During the 1992–1993 school year there were 74 students served. Eighty-five certificates, four plaques, and 22 trophies were presented this school year.

The risk factors are academic failure beginning in elementary school, lack of commitment to school, and early and persistent antisocial behavior. The protective factors include positive relationships that promote close bonds, including warm relationships with family members, teachers, and other adults who encourage and recognize a youth's competence.

**Contact:** Dwayne Douglas, Project Director, Early Dropout and Violence Prevention Program, Task Force on Violent Crime, 614 Superior Avenue West, Suite 300, Cleveland, OH 44113 (326) 781-2944.

### **Operation Weed and Seed (Community)**

Operation Weed and Seed is designed to demonstrate an innovative, comprehensive, and integral multiagency approach to law enforcement and community revitalization for controlling and preventing violent crime, drug abuse, and gang activity in targeted high-crime neighborhoods across the Nation. Weed and Seed operations focus on neighborhoods and include crime prevention, law enforcement, priority prosecution, multiagency action, and community involvement.

The four components of Weed and Seed include: (1) Law Enforcement; (2) Community Policing; (3) Prevention, Early Intervention and Treatment; and, (4) Neighborhood Restoration.

A national evaluation, funded by NIJ, is being conducted to (1) provide comparative, uniform information across sites to determine differences in outcome, and (2) provide detailed information to policymakers and practitioners on the implementation, obstacles, facilitating factors, and effectiveness of central approaches. Baseline data for a national impact evaluation are also being collected using a quasi-experimental design that compares

target neighborhoods to matched comparison neighborhoods within the same jurisdiction that also uses jurisdiction-wide data for comparison purposes. The central sources of data are agency records, interviews of neighborhood residents and businesses, and existing indicators of each site's physical and social health.

Interim findings include the following:

- Some sites encountered initial opposition to the weeding phase but found that their community policing and seeding efforts helped to establish a basis for better communications, mutual trust, and support for the initiative.
- Seeding programs and activities include substance abuse prevention and treatment, alternative activities for youth, education and personal or family development, employment and job training, victim assistance and protective services, health and nutrition, and community crime prevention.

**Contact:** Terry Donahue, Executive Office for Weed and Seed, OJP, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20531, (202) 514-5947.

### **Parents as Teachers (Family)**

In a typical Parents as Teachers (PAT) program, such as the one in National City, California, parents of an infant enroll and remain in the program until the child is 3 years old. During each monthly personal visit, a PAT professional suggests strategies to address individual concerns, such as discipline. Visits can occur in a home or in a center. In addition, children are periodically screened for vision, hearing, and normal growth and development and referred to health and other social services when appropriate. At PAT parent meetings, parent-child activities are planned, and child care is provided while parents hold discussions. This program also offers special services for adolescent parents, including weekly meetings for small groups of teen parents, which begin prenatally.

An independent evaluation of the 1981 pilot program demonstrated that children who participated in PAT were significantly advanced over their peers in language, social development, problem solving, and other intellectual abilities; and parents knew more about child development than nonparticipants. In 1989, a follow-up study showed that PAT children scored significantly higher on standardized measures of reading and math achievement in first grade. A higher proportion of PAT parents initiated contact with teachers and participated in the child's schooling. A 1991 evaluation had similar findings. For example, in the Binghamton City School District, Binghamton, New York which is a rural community with high poverty, 70% of PAT children scored above average on measures of language development as compared to 35% of the control group. Also in Binghamton, welfare dependence within the PAT group dropped by 10%, while dependence nearly doubled for the control group by the child's first birthday.



**Contact:** Mildred Winter, Director, Joy Rouse, Deputy Director, Parents as Teachers National Center, Inc., 9374 Olive Boulevard St. Louis, MO 63132, (314) 432-4330.

### **Partnership for Learning, Inc.**

Partnership for Learning was established in 1991 to screen first-time juvenile offenders who appeared in juvenile court in Baltimore, Maryland, and to identify and assist offenders diagnosed as learning disabled. After first-time offenders have been identified, tested, and interviewed, the requirements for participating in this program are presented. Once an agreement has been executed, the child's case is postponed, and the child is matched with a tutor trained in a special reading and spelling program. Of the children matched with tutors, more than 80% have successfully completed or are actively involved in the program and have not become repeat offenders.

This project is a joint project of the Office of the States Attorney for Baltimore City, the Office of the Public Defender, the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services, the Maryland State Department of Education, the Baltimore City Department of Education, and the Maryland Associates for Dyslexic Adults and Youth.

**Contact:** The Office of the State's Attorney for Baltimore, Maryland. 110 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 21202, (410) 396-4000.

### **Partnerships Against Violence Network (Community)**

Description: Designed in support of the Pulling America's Communities Together (PACT) Project, the Partnerships Against Violence Network (PAVNET) is a new initiative that reflects the level of Federal cooperation and commitment needed to help build safer, less violent communities. PAVNET represents an unprecedented coalition of the U.S. Departments of Agriculture, Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Labor. The goals of Partnerships Against Violence are to integrate information concerning the wide range of ideas and resources available and remove the barriers to information-sharing that communities face in finding out about promising programs and resources available to them in working against violence. The initial components of PAVNET are an online search and retrieval system; a printed directory of approximately 600 programs, 200 information and technical assistance sources, and about 125 funding sources; networking among more than 30 Federal clearinghouses and resource centers; and an Internet mail group.

**Contact:** National Institute of Justice, 633 Indiana Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., (202) 514-6201.

### **Perry Preschool (High/Scope) Program Evaluation, Ypsilanti, MI (Individual)**

The High/Scope Cognitively Oriented curriculum used in the Perry Preschool is designed to foster social and intellectual development in children ages 3 to 4 and continues to be disseminated. The preschool teacher divides the classroom into language-oriented learning centers that encourage children to use, experience, and discover language through activities and play. The teacher and child jointly plan and initiate activities. In addition to early education, the program has a home visitation component in which teachers meet with each mother and child weekly. The teacher encourages the mother to engage the child in activities in a manner consistent with the classroom curriculum. The risk factors addressed are academic failure, lack of commitment to school, and early and persistent antisocial behavior. The protective factors addressed are bonding to teachers, school, and family; opportunities to participate actively in learning; and cognitive and social skills. The target population is children ages 3 to 4. The research on the children in the Perry Pre-school has continued for 31 years, since 1962, and has followed the young people from the time they were 3 until they were 27 years old.

Participants in the Perry Preschool program proved far less likely to commit crimes than a matched control group. By age 19, fourteen years after completing this two-year program of developmental preschool and weekly home visits, only 31 percent of participants had ever been arrested—compared to 51 percent of the control group. By the time they turned 27, one-fifth as many Perry participants as control group members had been arrested five or more times (7% vs. 35%).

**Contact:** Larry Schweinhart, High/Scope Educational Research, 600 North River Street, Ypsilanti, MI 48197, (313) 485-2000.

### **Police Assisted Community Enforcement (Community)**

The City of Norfolk, Virginia, has identified three goals for the Police Assisted Community Enforcement (PACE) program: (1) to create and maintain safe and healthy communities throughout Norfolk; (2) to develop and expand cooperative efforts; and (3) to enhance community-oriented government.

The City of Norfolk, Virginia, forged a partnership between police, human service agencies, and local citizens to combat crime in 10 high-crime neighborhoods. The initiative—which included new youth athletic leagues and a Youth Forum for teens to speak on community problems, as well as other prevention measures—led to a 29 percent drop in crime in targeted neighborhoods. The total decrease from 1991 to 1994 in violent crime was 23 percent.

**Contact:** Police Chief's Office, Police Administration Building, P.O. Box 358, Virginia 23501, (804) 441-2788.

### **Project New Beginnings: A Model Perinatal Substance Abuse/Child Welfare Program (Individual)**

Project New Beginnings was developed at the Children's Institute International in Los Angeles to improve developmental outcomes for children of substance-abusing parents and to prevent child abuse and neglect. By providing intensive drug treatment, parent education, counseling, practical support to pregnant and postpartum women, and early intervention services to children, the project endeavors to promote a child's well-being and preserve and/or reunify families beset with alcohol and drug problems. Approximately 200 alcohol and other drug-involved mothers and their children have been served by the project. The majority have been referred to the program postpartum, following positive toxicology screens. Of the pregnant women who have enrolled in the project, most have had other children already under protective service supervision. Project staff have been involved in training professionals from other agencies, including more than 200 child protective service workers.

Indications of program success include the absence of serious (children dying or life-threatening events) reports of children being abused during or after participation in the program. Of the mothers whose children were placed out of the home when they began the program, approximately 50 percent have successfully reunited and many of the remaining families are still working toward this goal.

**Contact:** Steve Ambrose, Ph.D., Project Director, Children's Institute International, 711 South New Hampshire Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90005, (213) 385-5100.

### **Providing Alternative Thinking Strategies Curriculum (School)**

Providing Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) seeks to reduce early antisocial behavior by integrating emotional, cognitive, and behavior skill development in young children. The curriculum begins with kindergarten children and has four main objectives: (1) control arousal and behavior through self-regulation ("stop and calm down"); (2) develop effective vocabulary and emotion processing to help understand self and others; (3) integrate effective, cognitive, linguistic skills for effective social problem solving; and (4) promote positive self-esteem and effective peer relations. Lessons are developmentally sequenced and include talking, role-playing, modeling by teachers and peers, social and self-reinforcement, attribution training, and verbal mediation.

The target population is children ages 4 to 6. The risk factor addressed is early and persistent antisocial behavior. The protective factors addressed are interpersonal problem solving skills, healthy beliefs, and clear standards for behavior.

This project assessed the impact of an emotion-focused preventive curriculum on children's ability to understand and discuss emotions. Results indicated that a less than one school year

intervention was effective in: (1) improving children's range of effective vocabulary; (2) supporting their ability to provide appropriate personal examples of the experience of basic feelings; (3) supporting their beliefs that they can hide, manage and change their feelings; and, (4) supporting their understanding of cues for recognizing feelings in others. In addition, among children at higher risk (special education), the intervention also significantly improved both their understanding of how others manage and hide their feelings and how feelings can be changed. Finally, among non-special education children, the intervention resulted in improved comprehension of complex feeling states.

**Contact:** Sally Christie, Program Representative, Developmental Research and Programs, 130 Nickerson, Suite 107, Seattle, WA 98109, (206) 286-1805.

### **Pulling America's Communities Together (Community)**

Pulling America's Communities Together (PACT) is an ambitious, systematic Federal effort to address the problem of youth violence in our Nation in partnership with American communities. The Federal agencies represented on the PACT Interagency Working Group include the U.S. Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Labor, as well as the Office of National Drug Control Policy. PACT sites are Metropolitan Atlanta, Metropolitan Denver, the State of Nebraska, and Washington, D.C.

To date, Project PACT has a number of achievements to its credit. It has, among other things,

- Stimulated interagency cooperation at the highest levels.
- Provided a framework for local leaders to think comprehensively about and take a vigorous role in developing solutions to local violence problems.
- Brought together diverse jurisdictions and community groups—some of which had little prior history of collaboration—to work together.
- Produced cooperative local actions, beyond traditional jurisdictional boundaries, to reduce or prevent violence.

**Contact:** Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20531, (202) 307-5911.

### **Reductions in Class Size for Kindergarten and First Grade Classes (School)**

Kindergarten and first grade-class sizes are reduced by more than 20 percent. The target population is kindergarten and first-grade students. The risk factors addressed are academic failure, lack of commitment to school, and early and persistent antisocial behavior. The

protective factors addressed are bonding to teachers and school, and opportunities to participate actively in learning.

**Contact:** Johns Hopkins University, Center of Social Organization of Schools, Baltimore, MD 21218, (410) 516-7570.

### **Regulations on the Place and Manner of Carrying Firearms (Community)**

Regulations on the place and manner of carrying firearms have been enacted by State and local governments in efforts to reduce the number of persons who carry and use firearms in public. The target population is communities. The risk factors addressed are firearm availability and laws and norms tolerant of crime and violence. The protective factors addressed are healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior.

In Washington, D.C., the adoption of the gun-licensing law coincided with an abrupt decline in homicides by firearms (a reduction of 25%) and suicides by firearms (a reduction of 23%). No such decline was observed for homicides or suicides in which guns were not used and no decline was seen in adjacent metropolitan areas where restrictive licensing did not apply. The data suggest that restrictions on access to guns in the District of Columbia prevented an average of 47 deaths each year after the law was implemented.

**Contact:** Dr. Colin Loftin, Violence Research Group, 2220 Lefrak Hall, Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-8235, (301) 405-4735.

### **Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (School)**

Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP) is a New York City K-12 school-based program begun in 1985 that teaches children the basics of nonviolent conflict resolution. Currently 70,000 students are involved in 180 citywide schools. The comprehensive program is taught by classroom teachers. Beyond the formal curriculum, it involves student-led mediation, a parents' program, and a component for administrators.

An evaluation of RCCP also revealed the following achievements: high enthusiasm among teachers; a decrease in name-calling and physical violence among students, as reported by teachers and students; the learning of key concepts of conflict resolution by RCCP students, who were able to apply them to hypothetical situations; and increased student knowledge of conflict resolution techniques in their personal lives. In addition, mediation programs in five schools were examined; there were 107 successful mediations within the 1988-89 school year.

**Contact:** Linda Lantieri, Director, RCCP National Center, 163 Third Avenue, #103 New York, NY 10003, (212) 387-0225.

### **Restrictions on the Sale, Purchase, and Transfer of Guns (Community)**

The aim of restrictions on the sale, purchase, and transfer of guns is to reduce the number of guns available to potential offenders. The target population is communities. The risk factors addressed are firearm availability and laws and norms tolerant of crime and violence. The protective factors addressed are healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior.

**Contact:** Dr. Colin Loftin, Violence Research Group, 2220 Lefrak Hall, Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-8235, (301) 405-4735.

### **School Development Program (School)**

The School Development Program has four primary components: (1) a social calendar that integrates arts and athletic programs into school activities; (2) a parent program in support of school academic and extracurricular activities that fosters interaction among parents, teachers, and other school staff; (3) a multi-disciplinary mental health team that provides consultation, especially for school staff, in managing student behavior problems; and (4) a representative governance and management team composed of school administrators, teachers, support staff, and parents that oversees the implementation of the other three program components. This team identifies and assesses problems and opportunities in the school, develops and allocates resources, creates programs to address problems and opportunities, evaluates these program outcomes, and modifies such programs as necessary. The target population is demoralized inner-city elementary schools that serve disadvantaged students. The risk factors addressed are laws and norms tolerant of delinquency and violence, academic failure, lack of commitment to school, and alienation and rebelliousness. The protective factors addressed are bonding to school, healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior.

**Contact:** Dr. James Comer, Child Study Center, Yale University, 230 South Frontage Road, New Haven, CT 06510-8009, (203) 785-2513.

### **Second Step Curriculum (School)**

The Committee for Children has developed versions of the Second Step curriculum which are specifically tailored to students in preschool/kindergarten, grades 1 to 3, grades 4 and 5, and grades 6 to 8. The curriculum teaches skills in empathy, appropriate social behavior, interpersonal problem solving, and anger management through discussion, modeling, and role playing of particular skills. Trained teachers implement the curriculum, which consists of approximately 30 lessons taught 1 to 3 times per week over a 3- to 6-month period (the number of lessons and length of instruction periods varies across age levels). The version for grades 6 to 8 has 13 to 18 lessons which are taught over 3 to 6 weeks. The target population

is children ages 4 to 14. The risk factors addressed are early and persistent antisocial behavior, and association with delinquent and violent peers. The protective factors addressed are skills to resolve conflict, and healthy beliefs and clear standards.

Pilot studies indicate that Second Step curriculum is effective in imparting social skills knowledge to students in preschool through eighth grade. Students who received the curriculum demonstrated relatively equal increases in social skills knowledge regardless of their age and classroom. Specifically, students who participated in Second Step were more proficient at recognizing others' emotions and more knowledgeable in problem-solving and anger management strategies than students who did not receive the curriculum.

**Contact:** The Committee for Children, 172 20th Avenue, Seattle, WA 98122, (206) 343-1223.

### **SMART Program (School)**

Since 1983, NIJ and the U.S. Department of Education have worked cooperatively to promote and support School Management and Resource Teams (SMART). This program offers school administrators specific proactive methods, techniques, and approaches to resolve law and disciplinary violations in schools; the program also serves as a data collection, assessment and planning tool.

Basic to effective schools is a school improvement process that focuses on academic needs; staff development; parental and community involvement; and maintaining a social climate that is safe, orderly and conducive to learning. SMART provides the strategies for confronting law and discipline violations that impede teaching and learning.

The SMART program has found positive outcomes in schools, with decreases in disciplinary actions, crime, and drug problems. The program has also led to improvements in classroom management and cooperation among schools, law enforcement and youth services agencies.

**Contact:** National Institute of Justice, 633 Indiana Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20531, 202-307-2942..

### **Student Conflict Resolution Experts (School)**

The Student Conflict Resolution Experts (SCORE) program is under is sponsored by the Massachusetts Attorney General's office and has received funding from both OJJDP and BJA. The program trains students from nine high schools and seven middle schools in constructive conflict resolution and peer mediation processes. These students, with supervision from a trained mediator, work to settle disputes before they explode into acts of violence. The Conflict Intervention Teams (CIT) provide short-term emergency mediation services in response to major school crises such as racial violence. Peer mediators are a

representative cross section of the student body, including both negative and positive student leaders. Statistics from the initial 3 years of the SCORE program indicate that 96 percent of the 500 disputes mediated by student mediators resulted in written agreements and that only a handful of these agreements have been broken.

**Contact:** Kathy Grant, Office of the Attorney General, One Ashburton Place, Boston, MA 02108, (617) 727-2200.

### **Tennessee's Family Trouble Center (Family)**

In 1988, the Memphis Police Department received approximately 65,000 domestic disturbance calls, of which 15,000 were recurring calls from the same addresses. These numbers indicated that domestic disturbances were occurring in about 1 in 10 households and were a repeating occurrence in many households. In addition, 78 percent of the homicides in Memphis were linked to domestic disturbances.

Violent family relationships are difficult to escape for both victims and offenders. Combined legal and therapeutic forces are needed to bring about safe and peaceful resolutions. In an effort to better utilize personnel and reduce the number of potentially lethal domestic disturbances, the Memphis Police established the Family Trouble Center.

The goal of the Family Trouble Center is to offer counseling services designed to reduce the incidence of domestic violence, thereby reducing the number of repeat domestic disturbances and homicides. The objectives to achieve this goal include: (1) forming partnerships with police, community service providers, and other government agencies to develop appropriate interventions designed to eliminate domestic violence; (2) providing crisis counseling and referral services to the victims of domestic violence through groups and telephone outreach work; (3) providing court-mandated educational and correctional groups for domestic violence offenders; and (4) enhancing community awareness of domestic violence through presentations and workshops.

Initially, the community was suspicious of the program's association with the police. However, the benefits of this collaboration outweighed their concerns. The Family Trouble Center has nurtured a trusting relationship between the police and the community. The Center's association with the police has been empowering for victims who see a recognized authority interested in their dilemma.

The Center has run 107 anger management groups. Volunteers have contacted over 3,300 victims through their outreach. Approximately 1,060 of those victims have come into the Center for individual support counseling. After the 12-week program, many perpetrators who were reluctant at the beginning of their involvement do not want to terminate the counseling.

A sample of 120 graduates of the Anger Management Program was followed for a year after the program. Of the 120, only 12 were rearrested for domestic assault within that year. This



reflects a success rate of approximately 90%. Also, two doctoral research dissertations have been written based on students' work at the Center. These studies examine both the outreach phone counseling and the components of the Anger Management Program.

One unanticipated success was the long-term impact of the student volunteers. The Center has worked with 40 student volunteers. Often, student volunteers stay in the community after graduation, which has led to an informal network of current and former volunteers who are supportive of the police department and the Family Trouble Center.

Some of the program's future objectives include: (1) increasing staff; (2) separating the Center into two programs, Family Trouble Center Victim Advocacy and Family Trouble Center Court Mandated Counseling; (3) developing Anger Management II and a parenting skills group; (4) developing a speakers' bureau of volunteers and officers to give group presentations; and (5) developing a curriculum for State standards and court-mandated counseling.

**Contact:** Dr. Betty Winter, Manager, Family Trouble Center, Memphis Police Department, 620 South Lauderdale, Memphis, TN 38126 (901) 942-7283.

### **THRIVE (Individual)**

This program provides social service intervention to truant juveniles. Services are designed to divert truant juveniles from the juvenile justice system by helping youth and families access appropriate educational or other community services to break the patterns of truancy and reinforce school attendance. Since 1989, officials report a 30 percent decrease in daytime crime, an increase in school attendance, and a decline in school dropouts.

**Contact:** Pam Harrell, Executive Director, P.O. Box 18674, Oklahoma City, OK 73154, (405) 841-0675.

### **Title V of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act**

Title V of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act authorizes the OJJDP Administrator to make grants, through State advisory groups, to units of local government for a broad range of delinquency prevention programs and activities to benefit youth who have had contact with or are likely to have contact with the juvenile justice system. Services to children, youth, and families include recreation, tutoring and remedial education, work skills, health and mental health, alcohol and substance abuse prevention, leadership development and accountability. Eligible units must be in compliance with OJJDP's Formula Grants Program, must submit a 3-year plan to the State and to the Administrator, must appoint a local policy board empowered to administer the local program, must plan for coordination of services, and must provide a 50 percent case or in-kind match.

**Contact:** Rodney Albert, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W., Room 742, Washington, D.C. 20531. (202) 616-2510.

### **Walbridge Caring Communities Program (WCCP) (Family)**

Walbridge Caring Communities Program (WCCP) was started in 1989 to address the weaknesses of the existing fragmented service delivery system. It began in an elementary school in a high-risk neighborhood in North St. Louis. WCCP seeks to ensure that all children succeed in school, remain out of the juvenile justice system, and do not require any other placements outside the home.

One of WCCP's primary intervention programs is Families First, in which families at risk of having their children removed from home participate in 20 hours a week of home-school therapy for 6 to 10 weeks. For high-risk families not having as many problems as the Families First clients, a case manager serves as a strong link between the school and the home and monitors the needs of the child and family, which may include after school tutoring, parent education, and referral to services outside of WCCP.

An evaluation conducted by Philliber Research Associates in New York indicated that intensive services have a positive impact on children's academic achievement, school behavior, and study habits. The Caring Communities Program is hoping to expand into four more elementary schools and two middle schools in the St. Louis area.

**Contact:** Khatib Waheed, Program Director, Walbridge Caring Communities, 5019 Alcott Avenue St. Louis, MO 63120, (314) 261-8282.

### **Washington's Yakima Gang Prevention/Intervention Coalition (Community)**

The City of Yakima, Washington, suffers from high rates of unemployment, teen pregnancy, and school dropout in its youth population. There is also intergenerational conflict in the Hispanic community between bilingual children and monolingual parents. These characteristics have led to a lack of bonding between youth and their schools, communities, and families. Instead, many youth have bonded with their peers to engage in negative behaviors, including alcohol and drug abuse and violence. In the past 5 years, Yakima has seen a steady increase in youth violence, including gang confrontation, which is exacerbated by the ethnic diversity of the population. Many Caucasian, Hispanic, and African-American youth lack the conflict resolution skills necessary to mediate their cultural differences.

The mission of the Coalition is to reduce the rate of youth violence in Yakima by providing positive opportunities for youth in several community centers. The goals of the Coalition are fourfold: (1) to develop prevention/intervention activities for at-risk youth at five sites in Yakima with high rates of youth violence; (2) to provide information and resources to at-risk youth; (3) to recruit adult and youth volunteers to provide prevention/intervention activities

for at-risk youth; and (4) to maintain an advisory board that is representative of Yakima to publicize the goals and results of the Coalition.

In the five sites of Coalition operation, youth violence has decreased by 80 percent over the past 3 years. The Coalition has provided 24,342 incidents of service to 1,030 Kid's Place participants. It has provided 18,357 incidents of service to 1,758 Night Action participants. The collaborative effort of the Yakima Gang Prevention/Intervention Coalition has influenced similar models throughout Yakima County.

**Contact:** Ester Huey, Executive Director, Yakima County Substance Abuse Coalition, 1211 South 7th Street, Yakima, WA 98901. (509) 575-6114.

### **Wisconsin's Project Bootstrap, Inc. (Community)**

Project Bootstrap, Inc., which began in the fall of 1987 to meet the needs of at-risk children, is a multifaceted program that integrates the best of the current models for educational support, supportive family groups, family mentoring, and alcohol and other drug abuse programs into a single effort. Project Bootstrap's goal is its namesake, to teach children that with personal initiative they can "haul themselves up from trouble by their bootstraps."

The first goal of the program is to provide a violence-free environment for and improve the school performance of youth experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) stemming from long-term exposure to inner-city violence. To reach this goal, the program's objectives are to provide (1) in-depth group counseling by a trained clinical psychologist; (2) "hands on" workshops and educational materials that provide alternatives to aggression; (3) speakers on violence, its causes, and its effects; (4) the means through which the students can interact with the Madison Metropolitan Police Department in a positive manner and view the police more favorably; (5) positive family role modeling through a family mentoring program; and (6) a safe surrogate family for youth residing in violent dysfunctional families.

A second goal is to educate at-risk youth about methods for keeping their lives violence-free. To do so, the program provides alternatives-to-aggression support groups for youth of various ages. In addition, field trips to State prisons allow at-risk youth an opportunity to interview prisoners with long-term sentences related to violence.

A third goal of the program is to provide extra-curricular educational support designed to increase the number of at-risk students graduating from high school. Objectives to achieve this goal include: (1) providing students a safe and non-threatening environment in which to complete assigned homework; (2) providing students individual tutors to assist students with difficult subjects and concepts; (3) maintaining a progress report system with the Madison School District that is consistent, informative, and timely; (4) developing and maintaining contact with individual school district case managers, counselors, social workers, psychologists, teachers, and administrators; and (5) administering psychological and behavioral tests to help determine the psychological and educational services required.

Encouraging parental responsibility for the problems of violent and educationally at-risk youth is also a high priority. This goal is stressed by conducting weekly parent support groups; providing ongoing counseling by a clinical psychologist; developing an interactive relationship among the school district, local law enforcement agencies, county social services, and Project Bootstrap, Inc.; and increasing parental awareness of alcohol, drugs, and their affects on children.

Project Bootstrap, Inc., has been very successful. One of the major positive influences the program has had on students is improving their attendance. In the 1992-93 school year, for example, attendance improved 78.7 percent, and 82 percent of Project Bootstrap's students remain in school 2 years after completing the program.

Problems involving incidents related to attitude and behavior of Project Bootstrap students have improved 72.4 percent. Grade point averages have improved 79 percent. Family and community-related violence among Project Bootstrap families have decreased 80.6 percent, and 79 percent of Project Bootstrap, Inc, students are no longer considered immediately at-risk.

**Contact:** Joan Griffin, Executive Director, Project Bootstrap, Inc., 210 South Brooks Street, Room 101, Madison, WI 53715-1562. (608) 257-1180.

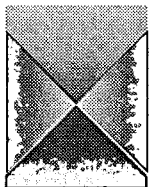


# National Institute of Justice

R e s e a r c h i n A c t i o n

Jeremy Travis, Director

March 1995



## PAVNET Online User's Guide



### What is PAVNET Online?

Partnerships Against Violence NETWORK (PAVNET) Online is a new approach to give users information about techniques for combating violence in American society. It represents the cooperation of multiple Federal agencies to quickly bring information on anti-violence programs to State and local officials. It is designed to relay the latest information in the most rapid way possible—via electronic media.

PAVNET was created in response to a report by the Interdepartmental Working Group on Violence to the President and the Domestic Policy Council in January 1994. That report recommended that the Federal Government “develop online computerized information about Federal resources, and produce new resource guides and how-to manuals about promising activities to reduce violence.”

The PAVNET coalition is made up of the U.S. Departments of Agriculture, Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Labor. The PAVNET agencies have joined together to improve access to ideas and resources throughout the country. PAVNET components are:

- Online search and retrieval system (PAVNET Online).
- *PAVNET Online User's Guide.*
- *Resource Guide—Volume 1: Promising Programs.*
- *Resource Guide—Volume 2: Information Sources, Funding, and Technical Assistance.*
- Networking capability. The system will sustain and promote dialog among member agencies and clearinghouse staff.

The National Institute of Justice (NIJ) of the U.S. Department of Justice and the Extension Service (ES) and the National Agricultural Library (NAL), U.S. Department of Agriculture, joined forces to create the current prototype of PAVNET Online. The other Federal departments in PAVNET also contributed resources to its development.

The purpose of this Guide is to introduce PAVNET Online to users. If the Federal agencies agree to continue developing the system, this Guide will be revised in the future. The remainder of this section gives an overview of information available through PAVNET Online. The next section provides more details and examples of information available from PAVNET Online in its current form. The Guide also



includes a technical section on how to access PAVNET Online through the Internet, a glossary of terms, and a selected bibliography about Internet.

### PAVNET Online on the Internet

The most common pathway to the information superhighway is currently provided by the *Internet*. The Internet is a worldwide system of thousands of computers organized into networks. One estimate indicates 2 million computers are connected to the Internet in 45,000 networks serving between 10 and 25 million Internet users (Lambert and Howe, 1993).

Today's Internet is a global resource that began as a Department of Defense (DOD) experiment over 20 years ago. Later, the National Science Foundation (NSF) decided to link its six supercomputer centers, using a new protocol established by the DOD. The network of six supercomputers, known as NSFNET, became the foundation of Internet, and by 1989 Internet included 14 networks. Today, numerous additional networks are part of the Internet, including those at many universities, government agencies, and commercial organizations.

Internet users can perform four basic functions:

1. Send and receive electronic mail.
2. Transfer files from one computer to another.
3. Participate in discussion groups.
4. Search for information.

The discussion in this Guide is limited to the fourth function of searching for information.

PAVNET Online is located on Federal Government computers linked into the Internet. A prosecuting attorney in Ohio might obtain information on a violent offender prosecution program in California by connecting with PAVNET Online in Washington, D.C., through an Internet connection in Ohio.

There are several reasons why the Internet has become so popular as a research tool:

- It provides access to many sources of information, not just those close to home or work.

- It uses electronic speed to search for information. For example, it is analogous to searching dozens of library reference card catalogs in seconds.
- It allows users to narrow their searches to selected topics. For example, a search for promising programs could be narrowed to "juvenile intensive supervision programs for violent offenders."
- It offers direct access to information about reducing violence in America. By having information available on the Internet, PAVNET Online provides a faster search routine for materials related to violence.

### Information in PAVNET Online

The following three major categories of information are currently in PAVNET Online:

- Promising Programs.
- Information Sources and Technical Assistance.
- Funding Sources.

Each of these is discussed in the following sections.

#### Promising Programs

PAVNET Online contains over 600 descriptions of promising programs to prevent or combat violence, its causes, and its effects. These programs represent actions taken by government and private groups throughout the United States. PAVNET Online will continue to grow as more information becomes available. The programs in the system are organized by the following general topic areas:

- Community Violence.
- Youth Violence.
- Family Violence.
- Substance Abuse.
- Victims.

Within each general topic area, the programs are arranged according to their relevance to the strategies: prevention, enforcement, or treatment and rehabilitation. This allows

Users to search for different approaches to violence reduction. Users can also target essential program elements by selecting key headings. An example of key headings and the information provided in each heading is shown below.

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Information</b>
Contact	Name, address, telephone number, FAX number, and Internet address.
Program Type	For example, education, family intervention, drug court, or school-based social services.
Target Population	For example, at-risk youths, first-time felons, adjudicated youths, and low-income families.
Setting	For example, school, jurisdiction, court, and hospital.
Project Startup Date	Year program started.
Information Source	Name of relevant Federal agency, clearinghouse, or private organization.
Evaluation Information	Results from evaluations.
Annual Budget	Dollar amount.
Sources of Funding	Name of local, State, or Federal agency; foundation; or other source.
Program Description	Brief description of the program and how it is intended to prevent or resolve problems associated with violence.
Sources for Additional Information	Names of additional contacts if appropriate.

**Technical Assistance and Information Sources**

Technical assistance refers to organizations that have expertise and can provide assistance on violence-related problems and on planning and implementing programs to

prevent or reduce violence. Services include delivering training, providing manuals and other helpful materials, providing onsite technical assistance, and responding with information over the telephone. The technical assistance providers include public and private associations, Federal and State agencies, and other organizations. The individual listings for PAVNET Online technical assistance and information sources contain contact name, agency or organization, address, telephone number, FAX number, Internet address, and a description of available services.

These entries are categorized under the following topics:

- Children, Youths, and Families.
- Criminal and Juvenile Justice.
- Curriculums and Other Teaching Materials.
- Physical and Mental Health.

**Curriculums and Other Teaching Materials**

Each of the curriculums and other teaching materials listed in PAVNET Online includes a brief description of the material and contact information for ordering the texts, manuals, videotapes, or other materials. The entries are subdivided under the following topics:

- Child Abuse and Neglect Prevention.
- Community Violence Prevention.
- Family Violence Prevention.
- Gang Violence Prevention.
- Rape Prevention.
- Treatment of Victims.
- Youth Violence Prevention.

**Funding Sources**

Information is provided on funding for programs to reduce and prevent violence available from Federal agencies and private foundations. Directories and other publications about funding are also available in PAVNET Online. Each funding source listing provides the following information:

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Information</b>
Organization/Agency	Name, address, telephone number, FAX number, and Internet address.
Purpose/Areas of Interest	Source's organizational purpose and general funding categories.
Eligibility	Criteria for eligibility.
Financial Data	Range of amount of grant support; matching requirements, if any.
Application Information	General information, deadlines, grant's duration, and other information.
Address Inquiries To	Contact name and title.

see in this document may be changed in some ways by the time you actually look at PAVNET Online. The basic structure is described below.

The main menu under PAVNET Online looks like this; (note the back slash [/] after an item means that another menu will appear if you select this item):

```

PAVNET ONLINE: Partnerships Against
  Violence
Page 1 of 1

1 About PAVNET Online/
2 Latest Additions to PAVNET
  Online/
3 PAVNET Online's Search Routine
4 Promising Programs/
5 Funding Sources for Violence
  Prevention/
6 Information Sources and Technical
  Assistance/
7 Other Violence Prevention Program
  Resources/
8 Other Internet Resources/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or
BACK: 1
    
```

## How to Use PAVNET Online

This section assumes that the user is already in the PAVNET Online system within Internet. The procedures for getting to PAVNET Online are explained in detail in the next section entitled "How to Access PAVNET Online," see page 12.

Through PAVNET Online, a user can find answers to a variety of questions, including the following:

- What is PAVNET Online?
- Where are programs that are addressing community violence? drugs and crime? gang violence? child abuse?
- What funding sources exist for anti-violence programs?
- Where can technical assistance be found to start a counseling program for at-risk youths?

In the examples that follow, you will see how PAVNET Online lets you address questions like these by making choices from a series of menus.

### Working with PAVNET

The strength of the Internet and of servers like PAVNET is that information may be updated, amended, and supplemented on a continuous basis. As a result, the menus you

You may want to start by finding some background information on PAVNET Online. When you select item 1, you will find all the chapters of this manual plus whatever may have been added since the manual's publication.

```

About PAVNET Online
Page 1 of 1

1 What is PAVNET Online?
2 How to Access PAVNET Online
3 How to Use PAVNET Online
4 PAVNET Online Clearinghouses and
  Resource Centers
5 Selected Bibliography
6 Glossary

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or
BACK: 3
    
```



## How to Search PAVNET Online

There are two basic ways to navigate the material found in PAVNET Online. The first way is to select a menu item. As described in "What is PAVNET Online?" each type of PAVNET listing has categories and subcategories. You can find what you want by simply selecting a subcategory listing in each menu.

The second way to find material is to create your own set of words to search. In each of the three major categories (Funding Sources, Information Sources and Technical Assistance, Promising Programs), there is a "search" option. The explanation on how to search is the third selection on the main menu (see page 4 top menu). The following is the text of that explanation.

Title: How to search for information

WAIS (Wide Area Information Server) software is the most common "search engine" used for searching the contents of text files at Internet, Gopher sites. Whenever you see a menu label that says something like "Search Funding Sources," or any menu item followed by <?>, you are using the WAIS (pronounced 'ways') software.

WAIS does a full-text scan to match your query either exactly or partially (the hyphens around the words below are to separate the words in this text and should not be included in your search): Search the word -child- and WAIS will return files containing child, and children.

WAIS searches are not case-sensitive:

Search for -gang- and files containing gang, Gang, gangs, Gang-related, etc. will be returned.

continued..

Single or multiple words are acceptable, but not partial words or abbreviations:

Search for -police crime jail- and files containing any word or combination of the words will be returned.

To broaden your search you can use an \* after a partial word:

-crim\*- will return criminology, crime, criminal, etc.

Your search can be narrowed with the connectors -not-, or -and-:

Search for -drug not abuse- and files containing drug abuse will be eliminated.

Search for -drug and abuse- for files that contain both words but not necessarily together.

Put your search words in quotes to match ONLY those words in the order you have typed them:

Search for -'drug abuse'- and only the files containing the entire phrase will be returned.

This is also the method to search for abbreviations.

All of the search mechanisms described above can be used in combination:

Search for -drug not alcohol and rehab\*- would return files containing the words drug and variations of rehab., but not alcohol.

### Promising Programs

To explore the program descriptions available through PAVNET Online, first select option 4, *Promising Programs*, from the main menu, which provides summaries of violence-related programs.

PAVNET ONLINE: Partnerships Against  
Violence

Page 1 of 1

- 1 About PAVNET Online/
- 2 Latest Additions to PAVNET  
Online/
- 3 PAVNET Online's Search Routine
- 4 Promising Programs/
- 5 Funding Sources for Violence  
Prevention/
- 6 Information Sources and Technical  
Assistance/
- 7 Other Violence Prevention Program  
Resources/
- 8 Other Internet Resources/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
BACK: 4

If you select option 4, you will see the screen below. Note that you can then select option 2, the PAVNET Online search routine, to search the data base for any word. If the word appears anywhere in the text of the programs, it will provide a list of those entries. You may narrow the search by using "and." For example, you may search for the word "youth," and get a list of all programs that have "youth" in either a title or a description. You may ask for "youth and violence" and get every title for files in which both words appear. Similarly, if you ask for "youth or child," you will get all titles for files that have either of the two words in them.

Promising Programs

Page 1 of 1

- 1 About Promising Programs Menu
- 2 Search Promising Programs <?>
- 3 Community Violence/
- 4 Family Violence/
- 5 Substance Abuse/
- 6 Victims/
- 7 Youth Violence/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
BACK: 1

Another approach is illustrated by an example. Assume that you are assisting a neighborhood group that wants to do something about violence. Representatives of the group need ideas, and they want to know what has worked in other communities.

Select option 3. This gives you another menu with two options—one for enforcement programs and one for prevention programs. If the neighborhood group is primarily interested in prevention, you would select option 2, *Prevention*.

Community Violence

Page 1 of 1

- 1 Enforcement/
- 2 Prevention/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
BACK: 2

Under *Community Violence: Prevention*, the following eight programs were the first ones listed when this guide was prepared.

Community Violence: Prevention

Page 1 of 6

- 1 Acting Collaboratively Together  
(ACT)
- 2 Beacon School-Based Community  
Centers
- 3 Black Community Crusade for  
Children
- 4 Brooklyn School/Business Alliance
- 5 Caring and Collaborating for  
Youth
- 6 Center for Child Protection,  
Family Support
- 7 Citizens for Community Improve-  
ment of Waterloo
- 8 Coachella Valley Council on Gangs

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
BACK: 7

You can review text on any of these programs. Because the neighborhood group includes residents looking for ways in which they can be involved, you might look first at option 7, *Citizens for Community Improvement of Waterloo*. Part of the text for this listing is shown below:

TITLE: Citizens for Community Improvement of Waterloo  
 Updated: 10/18/94  
 2 pages  
 1,910 bytes  
 Citizens for Community Improvement of Waterloo (CCI)  
 Contact:  
 Donna Jones  
 612 Mulberry Street  
 Waterloo, IA 50703  
 Tel: 319-233-9920  
 Fax: 319-234-8707  
 Program Type:  
 Drug abuse prevention and drug law enforcement through community involvement.  
 Target Population:  
 Drug abusers.  
 Setting:  
 Neighborhoods in Waterloo, Iowa.  
 Project Startup Date:  
 1976.  
 Information Source:  
 Provided by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).  
 Evaluation Information:  
 "Bench Press," CCI's court monitoring strategy, has resulted in stiffer penalties for repeat drug offenders....  
 Annual Budget:  
 N/A.

continued..

Sources of Funding:  
 Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), U.S. Department of Justice; State of Iowa; and churches.

Program Description:  
 CCI, a citizen group, seeks to increase awareness and find solutions to drug problems in Waterloo. To this end, CCI has formed a citywide drug task force....

End of text - Press ENTER

Scanning the *Evaluation Information* subheading, you will also see that the program has been successful at increasing arrests and returning a park to local residents. Under the *Program Description* subheading, you will learn that citizens appear to be heavily involved in community activities. Since this is the type of program of particular interest to the neighborhood group, you look at funding sources and contacts. The subheading, *Sources of Funding*, indicates that the program is supported by a combination of Federal, State, and private funds. You can then use the contact information provided to obtain more details.

You could repeat this process with any of the community programs; enlarge the search by looking at enforcement as well as prevention programs; or return to the main menu, select *Promising Programs* again, and choose another option.

Promising Programs  
 Page 1 of 1

- 1 About Promising Programs Menu
- 2 Search Promising Programs <?>
- 3 Community Violence/
- 4 Family Violence/
- 5 Substance Abuse/
- 6 Victims/
- 7 Youth Violence/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
 BACK: 1

If you select item 5, *Substance Abuse*, you will see that the resulting menu includes *Treatment and Rehabilitation* as well as *Enforcement and Prevention*.

When you select *Treatment and Rehabilitation*, the following menu appears. Again, you see a list of model programs from which to choose.

```

Substance Abuse: Treatment and
  Rehabilitation
Page 1 of 2

1 Center Point LifeStart Program
2 Children at Risk (CAR)
3 Fast, Intensive Report, and
  Supervision
4 Juvenile Transitional Care
  Project
5 Operation Schoolhouse
6 Women and Infants at Risk

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or
  BACK: 2
    
```

As with the first example on community violence prevention, you could continue to explore each of the menu items to look for just the type of program desired.

**Looking for Funding Sources**

The next step is to take a look at some of the resource information available through PAVNET Online. You must first enter "BACK" (or the equivalent in your gopher server) to take you back to the previous menu, which is the PAVNET Online main menu.

```

PAVNET ONLINE: Partnerships Against
  Violence
Page 1 of 1

1 About PAVNET Online/
2 Latest Additions to PAVNET
  Online/
3 PAVNET Online's Search Routine
4 Promising Programs/

                                continued..
    
```

```

5 Funding Sources for Violence
  Prevention/
6 Information Sources and Technical
  Assistance/
7 Other Violence Prevention Program
  Resources/
8 Other Internet Resources/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or
  BACK: 1
    
```

Select 5, *Funding Sources for Violence Prevention*, to address questions about funds for anti-violence programs. The *Funding Sources for Violence Prevention* menu provides the following choices:

```

Funding Sources for Violence
  Prevention
Page 1 of 1

1 About Funding Sources Menu
2 Search Funding Sources<?>
3 Federal Sources/
4 Foundations/
5 Publications on Funding

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or
  BACK: 1
    
```

The structure of the PAVNET Online gopher makes searching easy. Select option 2 to search funding sources by any word or combination of words. Or use the other menu options to guide your search. Notice that funding is divided into *Federal Sources* (option 3) and *Foundations* (option 4). In addition, the menu offers information on publications that list funding sources (option 5). The first selection provides the following text about funding sources.

**TITLE::About Funding Sources Menu**  
 Use this section to identify organizations that can help you set up a program in your own community.

**FUNDING SOURCES:**

Foundations and Federal agencies that offer funding for programs addressing issues of violence and youth-at-risk are listed here. Contact information, brief descriptions of the purposes of these funding organizations, and guidelines for applying for funds are contained in each file.

Use this section to identify organizations that can help you set up a program in your own community.

If you select option 3 to examine information about *Federal Sources*, a list of entries will appear.

Federal Sources  
 Page 1 of 3

- 1 Administration for Native Americans
- 2 Administration on Aging
- 3 Air Force Family Advocacy Program
- 4 Army Family Advocacy Program
- 5 Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)
- 6 Community Development Block Grants (CDBG)

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
 BACK: 5

From among these choices, you might select number 5 to obtain information about the *Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)*. A screen will appear with information about BJA.

**TITLE::Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)**

Updated:October 27, 1994

2 pages

2,969 bytes

Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)  
 U.S. Department of Justice  
 Office of Justice Programs  
 633 Indiana Avenue N.W.

Washington, DC 20531

Tel: 202-514-6687, 800-421-6770

Fax: 202-307-6394

**Purpose/Areas of Interest:**

Provides funding, training, technical assistance, and criminal justice information to States and communities....

**Financial Data:**

General Information--The formula grant program provides each State and Territory with a block of funds....

Amount of Support Per Award--Grants vary in amount.

**Application Information:**

General Information--Please make direct contact with the agency....

**Address Inquiries to:**

See address above.

Going back to the original menu for *Funding Sources*, select option 4, *Foundations*.

The following excerpt shows entries under *Foundations*.

Foundations  
 Page 1 of 5

- 1 Alcoa Foundation
- 2 Allied-Signal Foundation
- 3 Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.
- 4 Arco Foundation

*continued..*

- 5 Arizona Public Service Foundation, Inc.
- 6 Arvin Foundations, Inc.
- 7 Blandin Foundation
- 8 Chicago Sun-Times Charity Trust
- 9 Chicago Tribune Foundation
- 10 Chrysler Corporation Fund
- 11 Edna McConnell Clark Foundation

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or  
BACK: 11

Selecting option 11, the *Edna McConnell Clark Foundation*, would result in the display of information such as the following:

TITLE::Edna McConnell Clark Foundation  
Updated:October 27, 1994  
2 pages  
2,094 bytes  
  
Edna McConnell Clark Foundation  
250 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10177-0026  
Tel:212-551-9100

Purpose/Areas of Interest:  
The current interests of the foundation focus on the following five carefully defined program areas, which allow the foundation to concentrate on these designated problems: (1) the Program for Children focuses on preventing the unnecessary placement of children outside the home through the use of intensive family preservation services; (2) the Program for Disadvantaged Youth....

Eligibility:  
Nonprofit organizations are eligible.

continued...

Financial Data:

Amount of Support Per Award--Grants range from \$25,000 to \$300,000; the median size has been \$78,000.

Application Information:

General Information--An application form is not required...

Deadlines--No specific deadlines. The proposal will be reviewed by a program officer, usually within 1 month....

Address Inquiries to:

M. Hayes Mizell, Program Director,  
Program for Disadvantaged Youth.

Return to the main *Funding Sources for Violence Prevention* menu. If you select option 5 (*Publications on Funding*) from the menu, you will see the following screen:

Publications on Funding  
(10,149 bytes)

Press ENTER to display, D to  
Download, C to Cancel:

This screen shows that the file on *Publications on Funding* is 10,149 characters (bytes) long and asks whether the text should be displayed or downloaded. The decision to download will result in the text being copied to your local computer system. If you choose to simply display the information, the first screen will look like the following:

TITLE::Publications on Funding  
Updated: 10/27/94  
five pages  
10,149 bytes

Publications on Funding

These publications will provide additional sources of funding information.

Annual Register of Grant Support

continued...

This document gives details of grant support programs....

Order from:  
 Reed Reference Publishing  
 P.O. Box 31  
 New Providence, NJ 07974  
 Tel: 800-521-8110

Return to the main *Funding Sources for Violence Prevention* menu screen.

Select option 2, *Search Funding Sources*. The example below shows a search on the word *community*.

Search Funding Sources. Please specify a word or words to search.

Words to search for

*community*

The results of the search would show:

Search Funding Sources:  
 community  
 Page 1 of 2

- 1 Allied-Signal Foundation
- 2 Extension Service--Youth at Risk
- 3 Army Family Advocacy Program
- 4 Arco Foundation
- 5 National Youth Sports Program (YSP)
- 6 Chicago Sun-Times Charity Trust
- 7 Community Development Block Grants (CDBG)

### Information Sources and Technical Assistance

To explore *Information Sources and Technical Assistance*, return to the main menu and select option 6.

PAVNET ONLINE: Partnerships Against Violence  
 Page 1 of 1

- 1 About PAVNET Online/
- 2 Latest Additions to PAVNET Online/
- 3 PAVNET Online's Search Routine
- 4 Promising Programs/
- 5 Funding Sources for Violence Prevention/
- 6 Information Sources and Technical Assistance/
- 7 Other Violence Prevention Program Resources/
- 8 Other Internet Resources/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or BACK: 6

The first screen under *Information Sources and Technical Assistance* provides the following menu. The first option is a text file providing basic information about the sources and technical assistance menu. The second option is a search routine to allow you to do your own keyword search. The rest of the items have a slash next to each option, indicating that another menu will be provided for each of the choices.

Information Sources and Technical Assistance  
 Page 1 of 1

- 1 About Information Sources and Technical Assistance
- 2 Search Information Sources<?>
- 3 Community, Family, and Youths/
- 4 Criminal and Juvenile Justice/
- 5 Curriculums and Other Teaching Materials/
- 6 Physical and Mental Health/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or BACK: 4

When you select option 4, *Criminal and Juvenile Justice*, you have a choice of 78 resources listed under the *Criminal and Juvenile Justice* category. For example, if you scroll down the screen and select option 56, *Operation Weed and Seed*, you will receive information such as the following:

```

TITLE::Operation Weed and Seed
Updated: 10/30/94
one page
1365 bytes
Operation Weed and Seed

CONTACT:
Headquarters Office
Terrence S. Donahue
Assistant Director
Executive Office for Weed and Seed
1001 G St. N.W., Suite 810
Washington, DC 20001
Tel: 202-616-1152
Fax: 202-616-1159

SERVICES:
The national objective of Weed and
Seed is to use a multiagency ap-
proach to combat violent crime....
    
```

This Guide is not designed to explain the Internet and its inner workings. A selected bibliography of available publications about the Internet is provided at the end of this Guide for that purpose. The discussion in this section offers general information to encourage readers to learn more about the Internet and about the potential for PAVNET Online.

### Internet Navigational Tools

Because the Internet system is vast, a user needs “navigational” help. The most common navigational tool is through a *gopher* system, which is discussed later. For background purposes, two other approaches, File Transfer Protocol and Telnet, are briefly explained first.

### File Transfer Protocol (FTP)

The FTP was developed initially for use by the Department of Defense computers. The National Science Foundation (NSF) selected FTP to link its six supercomputers, which were later expanded to serve as the basis for what is now called the Internet. FTP allows an Internet user to log on to a computer for the purpose of downloading files. The user issues the command *ftp* and also specifies the name of the computer where the desired files are located. For example, the computer name might be *is.internic.net*, which is an Internet information source. After connecting in this manner, the user has a limited capability to download files that have been designated as available from the Internet computer system.

To find the desired file, the user must already know a variety of computer commands to explore the computer’s file structure. FTP does not provide menus for guidance. The available commands can be listed by typing a question mark (?) after connecting. After downloading the desired files, the user returns to the original system by issuing a *bye*, *exit*, or *quit* command. To use FTP, you need to know the name of the specific computer and several key computer commands, and you must have an idea of how to find the desired files. With thousands of computers linked to the Internet, there is an obvious need for better navigational assistance.

### Telnet

Telnet extends the FTP procedures in several useful directions. The most important is that it allows a user to move from one computer to another in a rapid manner. It also has

## How to Access PAVNET Online

The purpose of this section is to describe how to access PAVNET Online through Internet. If this is your first association with the Internet, you may feel a bit overwhelmed with the technical aspects and may need assistance from someone knowledgeable in computers. However, practice brings a level of comfort with the Internet, and you may soon find yourself as comfortable with the information superhighway as you are with your current word processing program.

### Access to the Internet

Access to the Internet for most users is accomplished by connecting to a computer that belongs to one of the Internet networks. Many universities and government agencies are directly connected to networks on the Internet. In addition, a number of commercial providers also provide access to Internet networks.



many more capabilities than just downloading files. FTP cannot run programs, while Telnet is designed to run programs. Telnet connection with a computer follows basically the same procedure as FTP. After connecting with a computer, Telnet is similar to working within a *bulletin board system*. You usually work through a series of menus with the connected system. Telnet access differs from bulletin board procedures because you can easily switch from one computer to another within Telnet, rather than having to redial each time.

However, Telnet requires a knowledge of computer command structures. Although it is useful for “surfing” through the Internet, it is not an organized approach for access. These limitations can be overcome with gophers.

### Gopher

A gopher is essentially a menu system that works behind the scenes to perform the functions of FTP and Telnet. Gophers do not require the user to log on in any special manner or know specific computer commands. Originally developed at the University of Minnesota, the gopher name was derived from Minnesota’s nickname as the Gopher State, as well as the concept that the search tool will burrow into Internet and “go for” information in files.

The selections from a gopher menu may include access to other gophers. By using gophers, a user can locate practically any information on the Internet without having to know in advance exactly where the information resides. In other words, you can use gophers to find PAVNET Online without ever knowing that PAVNET Online resides at *esusda.gov*.

PAVNET Online has a gopher server in place at the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) headquarters that is accessible over the Internet. It is named *pavnet.esusda.gov*. For systems that support a “gopher to” command, a user may issue the command *gopher pavnet.esusda.gov*. For those users who gopher the NCJRS (National Criminal Justice Reference Service) Online —*ncjrs.aspensys.com 71*— PAVNET is one of the selections on the NCJRS gopher menu, “Other Criminal and Juvenile Justice Resources.”

For those who have commercial service—for example, DELPHI—several other ways of getting to PAVNET Online are shown later in this section.

### Access Procedures

The remainder of this section describes two approaches for accessing PAVNET Online. The first approach, Direct Access, assumes you already have the capability to connect with the Internet, perhaps through a local university, or can initiate a Telnet connection to get to gopher menus that eventually lead to PAVNET Online. The second approach, Commercial Online, assumes that you do not have a direct connection to Internet. In the Commercial Online example, you can subscribe to a commercial service that provides a connection to Internet and PAVNET Online.

### Direct Access

The direct access approach moves through a series of menus that eventually lead to PAVNET Online. The first time through this process is exacting because you must always provide the correct response to several successive menus. For later sessions, you can automatically record your selections in a gopher *bookmark* and then use the bookmark to automatically move to PAVNET Online. This process is explained in detail on page 17.

Direct access assumes that you have access to a gopher or can establish a Telnet connection with a computer on an Internet network for the purpose of accessing a gopher. To initiate a Telnet connection, you issue a *telnet* command, which then prompts you for a gopher name. For example, typing *consultant.micro.umn.edu* will connect you with the University of Minnesota gopher. This gopher system will be used as our example for the remainder of this discussion. At the login prompt, type *gopher* and press <Enter>. The system will respond by asking what type of terminal emulation is desired. This response is dependent on your particular computer system, but a common terminal emulation is “VT100.” Type in your terminal emulation and the following screen will appear.

```
Internet Gopher Information Client v2.0.15
Home Gopher server: hafnhaf.micro.umn.edu
```

- 1 Information About Gopher/
- 2 Computer Information/
- 3 Internet file server (FTP)sites/
- 4 Fun & Games/
- 5 Libraries/
- 6. Mailing Lists/
- 7 News/
- > 8 Other Gopher and Information Servers/
- 9 Phone Books/
- 10 Search Gopher Titles at the  
University of Minnesota <?>
- 11 Search lots of places at the  
U of M <?>
- 12 U of M Campus Information/

Press ? for Help, q to Quit.

A backslash at the end of an option item means selection of the item will lead to another menu. A question mark at the end of an option item means that this item contains indexes pointing to other gophers and other parts of the Internet, and the user will be asked for a search term within the index.

In order to get to PAVNET Online, you must select option 8 from this menu. The following screen will then appear.

```
Internet Gopher Information Client v2.0.15
Other Gopher and Information Servers
```

- 1 All the Gopher Servers in the World/
- > 2 Search titles in Gopherspace using VERONICA/
- 3 Africa/
- 4 Asia/
- 5 Europe/
- 6 International Organizations/
- 7 Middle East/
- 8 North America/
- 9 Pacific/
- 10 Russia/
- 11 South America/
- 12 Terminal Based Information/
- 13 WAIS Based Information/
- 14 Gopher Server Registration <??>

Press ? for Help, q to Quit, u to go up a menu  
Retrieving Directory..|

From this screen, you select option 2, *Search titles in Gopherspace using VERONICA*. This option contains two terms not yet defined. The term *Gopherspace* refers to the set of gophers that exist throughout the Internet. VERONICA is a search utility that lets you search for key words and titles within Gopherspace. VERONICA will lead you to PAVNET Online by finding the appropriate gopher menu. Selecting option 2 results in the following screen:

```

Internet Gopher Information Client v2.0.15

1 Search titles in Gopherspace using VERONICA
2 Experimental VERONICA query interface: chooses server for you!/
3. FAQ: Frequently-Asked Questions about VERONICA (1993-08-23)
-> 4 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via NYSERNet) <?>
5 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via SUNET) <?>
6 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via U. of Manitoba) <?>
7 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via U. Texas, Dallas) <?>
8 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via UNINETT... of Bergen) <?>
9 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via University of Koeln.. <?>
10 Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via University of Pisa) <?>
11 How to Compose VERONICA Queries - June 23, 1994
12 Search Gopherspace by Title word(s) (via NYSERNet) <?>....

Press ? for Help, q to Quit, u to go up a menu                Page: 1/1
    
```

All items in this menu lead to indexes, as indicated by the question marks at the end of the item entries. General rules of Internet etiquette suggest that you select the closest server to you. For example, from Washington, D.C., you would select option 4, *Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via NYSERNet)*.\*

After making this selection, you will be prompted for the desired gopher. Enter the word "PAVNET" at the prompt and press <Enter>.

```

+-----Find ONLY DIRECTORIES by Title word(s) (via NYSERNet)-----
Words to search for
PAVNET
[Help: ^-] [Cancel: ^G]
    
```

VERONICA will search for the term "PAVNET" within Gopherspace. The result of this search is the PAVNET Online main menu; see page 4.

Once you find PAVNET Online, you do not have to go through all these steps again. Instead, you can create a *bookmark* that saves these steps; the bookmark records path information from a starting point to an ending point. To create a bookmark, you can either type a lower-case "a" to mark a selected *menu item* (e.g., a Promising Programs title) or a capital "A" to mark a selected *menu*. You can bring up a list of your bookmarks by typing "v" at any time you are using gopher; you can select any item on the list for retrieval.

\*You could also have selected option 12, *Search Gopherspace by Title word(s) (via NYSERNet)*. However, this option may result in a more time-consuming search in the next phase of the process.

After creating the PAVNET Online bookmark, the next time you are in the system, press "v" and the following screen will appear:

```
Internet Gopher Information Client v2.0.15
Bookmarks
--> 1. PAVNET Online: Partnerships Against Violence
Press ? for Help, q to Quit, u to go up a menu      Retrieving Directory..\  

```

### Commercial Online Approach

If you do not have direct access to an Internet connection, a commercial online Internet provider may be the solution. There are many online services that provide Internet access. In the June 14, 1994, issue, *PC Magazine* reviewed six of them: America Online; DELPHI; InterNav, version 2.0; Mosaic for Windows; Pipeline for Windows; and Winnet Mail and News, version 2.1. Each has unique strengths and weaknesses. This issue contains information about each service, including addresses and telephone numbers.

For purposes of illustration only, the following sections describe the approaches of DELPHI and Pipeline for Windows for accessing PAVNET Online. Pipeline for Windows is a Microsoft Windows-based service, while DELPHI has menus in a DOS-based format.

#### Pipeline for Windows

Pipeline for Windows provides full access to Internet services. It also provides for multitask Internet searches. The software can be obtained without charge by contacting the company. Or, you can dial into the Pipeline bulletin board as a guest to download the software.

Once connected, it is easy to find PAVNET Online from Pipeline because the main menu includes an option item called *The Government*. Selecting this item leads to another menu that includes the item *Agricultural Department (USDA Information Server)*, which, in turn, leads to the department's main menu screen. Simply select the *PAVNET* item from this screen and you are in PAVNET Online. From the *PAVNET* menu list, select the *Bookmark* menu item to add it to the main Pipeline menu. The bookmark *PAVNET* will then appear in the pull-down menu.

#### DELPHI

DELPHI was one of the first major commercial online services to offer complete Internet access. It does require additional communication software, which is typically provided with your modem.

The main DELPHI menu appears as follows.

```
MAIN Menu:

Business and Finance           News, Weather, and Sports
Computing Groups              Reference and Education
Conference                     Shopping
Custom Forums                 Travel and Leisure
Entertainment and Games       Using DELPHI
```

*continued...*

```

Groups and Clubs          Workspace
Internet Services        HELP
Mail                      EXIT
Member Directory
    
```

MAIN>What do you want to do? I

At the main menu prompt, type enough letters of your menu choice to form a unique selection. Type "I" to get into the *Internet Service* menu. After one or two screens of background information, the *Internet Service* menu appears:

```

About the Internet        FTP-File Transfer Protocol
Conference                Gopher
Databases (Files)        IRC-Internet Relay Chat
EMail                    Telnet
Forum (Messages)         Utilities (finger, traceroute, ping)
Guides (Books)           Usenet Newsgroups
Register/Cancel
Who's Here               Help
Workspace                Exit
    
```

Internet SIG>Enter your selection: go

You must register for Internet service the first time you use DELPHI. Select the item *Register/Cancel* and follow the instructions. After finishing the registration, exit the *Register/Cancel* menu and return to the *Internet Service* menu. Select the item *Gopher* and the following screen will appear:

```

Internet SIG Gopher
Page 1 of 1

1  PERSONAL FAVORITES/
2  "ABOUT DELPHI'S GOPHER SERVICE"
3  *** FAQ: FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS *** (REVISED 6/30)/
4  ALL THE WORLD'S GOPHERS/
5  BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS/
6  COMPUTERS/
7  FREE-NETS AND COMMUNITY ACCESS/
8  FTP: DOWNLOADABLE PROGRAMS, IMAGES, SOUNDS/
9  GAMES AND MUDS, MUSHES, MUSES, AND MOOS/
10 GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS/
11 HEALTH AND MEDICINE/
12 INTERNET INFORMATION/
13 LAW/
14 LIBRARIES AND RESEARCH GUIDES/
15 SCHOOLHOUSE (K-12)/
    
```

*continued...*

- 16 SEARCH UTILITIES (INCLUDING WORLD WIDE WEB)/
- 17 SUBJECT MATTER MENUS/
- 18 THE GRAB BAG (WITH WHAT'S NEW 7/24)/

Enter Item Number, ?, or EXIT: 16

Note that the first menu option is *Personal Favorites*, which is DELPHI's option for saving and retrieving bookmarks. From the above menu, select option 16, *Search Utilities*. The next menu will appear as follows:

SEARCH UTILITIES (INCLUDING WORLD WIDE WEB)

Page 1 of 1

- 1 Archie--Search for files at FTP Sites/
- 2 Find People (KIS, NETFIND, Phonebooks, Usenet, WHOIS)/
- 3 Gophers by Subject Area (from RiceInfo, Rice Univ.)/
- 4 HYTELNET: connect to libraries, BBS, CWIS, etc./
- 5 Jughead: Search directory titles in Gopherspace<?>
- 6 NETINFO: Find IP addresses, domain names <Telnet>
- 7 Netmailsites: find sites <Telnet>
- 8 Search for Mailing Lists and Newsgroups/
- 9 Search Many Resources (Washington & Lee U) <?>
- 10 Usenet FAQs/
- 11 VERONICA- Search titles in Gopherspace/
- 12 WAIS/
- 13 World Wide Web (WWW)/

Enter Item Number, ?, or BACK: 11

Select item 11, *VERONICA- Search titles in Gopherspace*. At this point, the remainder of the procedure is the same as described in the Direct Access section. The VERONICA screen will appear as follows.

VERONICA- Search titles in Gopherspace

Page 1 of 2

- 1 Experimental VERONICA query interface: chooses server for you/
- 2 VERONICA--Search titles in Gopherspace/
- 3 How to Compose VERONICA Queries - June 23, 1994
- 4 FAQ: Frequently-Asked Questions about VERONICA (1993/08/23)
- 5 NOTE: Try Item 1 or 2 first, which will tell you
- 6 currently active VERONICAS. Only use
- 7 the items below, if you have trouble
- 8 connecting to Item 1 or 2.
- 9 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at NYSERNet <?>
- 10 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at PSINet <?>

*continued..*

- 11 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at PSINet <?>
- 12 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at Pisa <?>
- 13 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at SCS Nevada <?>
- 14 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at SUNET <?>
- 15 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at UNINETT/U. of Bergen <?>
- 16 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at University of Koeln <?>
- 17 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at U. of Manitoba <?>
- 18 Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at UNR <?>

Enter Item Number, MORE, SAVE, ?, or BACK: 9

Select item 9, *Search Gopherspace using VERONICA at NYSERNet*, and then enter "PAVNET" at the *search for* prompt. When the search is complete, the PAVNET Online main menu appears on the screen, as shown below. If NYSER.NET is busy, try any of the other menu items for your search. Any of them can search for PAVNET.

PAVNET ONLINE: Partnerships Against Violence

Page 1 of 1

- 1 About PAVNET Online/
- 2 Latest Additions to PAVNET Online/
- 3 PAVNET Online's Search Routine
- 4 Promising Programs/
- 5 Funding Sources for Violence Prevention/
- 6 Information Sources and Technical Assistance/
- 7 Other Violence Prevention Program Resources/
- 8 Other Internet Resources/

Enter Item Number, SAVE, ?, or BACK:

Type "save" to save the gopher site and path information to your favorite place. You can access it from the top level of the DELPHI gopher by selecting *Personal Favorites* from the Internet SIG Gopher menu (see page 18 for screen sample).

### E-mail

Some of the commercial Internet access providers do not currently offer access to gophers but do allow Internet e-mail. PAVNET files have recently been made available via e-mail although the search capability of the online system cannot be used.

To learn what is on PAVNET, send e-mail to [almanac@ra.esusda.gov](mailto:almanac@ra.esusda.gov). Ignore the subject area category. In the message area, type:

send <document>. Replace the word <document> with one of the following:

- PAVNET catalog (this will provide you with a list of files in the *About PAVNET* menu).
- PAVNET-programs catalog (this will provide you with a list of files in the *Promising Programs* menu).
- PAVNET-infosource catalog (this will provide you with a list of files in the *Information and Technical Assistance* menu).

- PAVNET-funding catalog (this will provide you with a list of files in the *Funding Sources* menu).

Note, that while you may only request one catalog list per “send...” message, you may include several “send...” lines in a single message.

**Requesting documents.** The catalog entries you receive contain the following information about each file in the group you selected to receive:

- Title of program or source.
- Size in number of lines and number of bytes.
- Date of your request.
- Name of file that you should use when requesting it be sent to you via e-mail.

For example, if you sent an e-mail message to receive the funding catalog, you will receive a message such as the following:

```
Title:: Aetna Foundation, Inc.
Size: 37 lines (938 bytes)
Date: Wednesday, November 2, 1994
Request: send pavnet-funding fdaetna.ncj

Title:: Alcoa Foundation
Size: 55 lines (1692 bytes)
Date: Wednesday, November 2, 1994
Request: send pavnet-funding fdalcoa.ncj

Title:: Allied-Signal Foundation
Size: 33 lines (779 bytes)
Date: Wednesday, November 2, 1994
Request: send pavnet-funding fdallsig.ncj
```

The example shown is only the beginning of the list; you will receive information on approximately 125 funding sources files.

To request one of the files, send your message to: [almanac@ra.esusda.gov](mailto:almanac@ra.esusda.gov)

In the body of the message, type “send” and the name of the file; for example, for the Allied-Signal Foundation file, type:

```
send pavnet-funding fdallsig.ncj
```

Note, you may request as many files as you wish with one message. Just repeat “send <file>” for each file you wish. If you wish to receive each file independently, include the following command at the top of your request:

```
set separate on
```

If you experience any problems, send a message to: [jgladsto@nalusda.gov](mailto:jgladsto@nalusda.gov). The PAVNET administrator will then assist you.



## Glossary\*

**Address.** An Internet address consists of three parts: the user name, the host name, and the domain name.

**Administrative Domain (AD).** A collection of hosts and routers, and the interconnecting network(s), managed by a single administrative authority.

**Almanac.** A special program that allows users with only e-mail access to the Internet to download files. It may be obtained from the Almanac User's Guide at Extension Technology and Computer Services of the University of Missouri (almanac@ext.missouri.edu).

**Anonymous FTP.** A service that allows a user to retrieve documents and other data from anywhere in the Internet without having to establish a user ID and password. By typing "anonymous" when asked for user ID, the user bypasses local security checks and has access to publicly accessible files on the remote system.

**Archie.** A system to automatically gather, index, and serve information on the Internet. The initial implementation of "archie" provided an indexed directory of filenames from all anonymous FTP archives on the Internet. Later versions provided other collections of information.

**Bookmark.** A property of most gophers to retain path information from a starting point to an ending point. It records the menu and option items taken by a user to reach a section of the Internet. A user's bookmark is remembered by the gopher so that the steps can be taken automatically in future sessions.

**Bulletin Board System (BBS).** A central system accessed via modem and phone lines where data is posted for dissemination. A BBS computer and software system typically provides electronic messaging services, archives of files, searchable data bases, and any other services of interest to the users and BBS operator. Although BBS's have traditionally been the domain of hobbyists, an increasing number of BBS's are connected directly to the Internet, and many BBS's are currently operated by government, educational, and research institutions.

**Client/Server Systems.** Network information sharing is implemented by two separate programs: the server that provides a particular resource; and the client that makes use of that resource. A computer system or process that requests a service of another computer system or process is the client. The program that accepts the request and sends the file is the file server.

**Distributed Database.** A collection of several different data repositories that looks like a single data base to the user.

**Domain Name System (DNS).** A general purpose, distributed, replicated, data query service. The principal use is to look up Internet addresses based on a style called "domain name." A characteristic of domain is to use a three-character term to denote a zone or geographic location. Some important domains are: .com (commercial), .edu (educational), .net (network operations), .gov (U.S. government), and .mil (U.S. military). Most countries also have a domain; for example, .us (United States), .uk (United Kingdom), .au (Australia). These domain names are used after the host name.

**Electronic Mail (e-mail).** E-mail is private mail sent from one computer to another. A computer user can exchange messages with other computer users (or groups of users) via a communications network. E-mail can also include attached files. Electronic mail is one of the most popular uses of the Internet.

**E-mail Address.** The domain-based or IP address that is the specified destination for electronic mail. For example, a domain-based address might be "msmith@umaryland.edu."

**FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions).** A frequently provided service to display responses to frequently asked questions. This is a good place to find information about issues of common concern.

**File Transfer.** The copying of a file from one computer to another over a computer network.

**File Transfer Protocol (FTP).** A protocol that allows a user on one host to access, and transfer files to and from, another host over a network. Also, FTP is usually the name of the program the user invokes to execute the protocol.

\*Many of the terms in this glossary are based on the User Glossary Working Group of the User Services Area of the Internet Engineering Task Force. For more information, contact Gary Scott Malkin, Xylogics, Inc., Burlington, Massachusetts (gmalkin@xylogics.com) or Trach LaQuey Parker, Computation Center, University of Texas, Austin, Texas (tracy@utexas.edu); and *The Internet Complete Reference*, New York: Osborne McGraw-Hill, 1994.

**Finger.** A program that displays information about a particular user, or all users, logged on the local system or on a remote system. It typically shows full name, last login time, idle time, terminal line, and terminal location (where applicable).

**Gopher.** A distributed information service that provides, in menu-based form, collections of information across the Internet. Gopher uses a simple protocol that allows a single gopher client to access information from any accessible gopher server, providing the user with a single “Gopherspace” of information. Gopher was developed at the University of Minnesota and public domain versions of the client and server are available from boombox.micro.mm.edu.

**Gopherspace.** The interconnectivity that exists among all the registered gophers of the Internet. The sum total of all this information—everything that is available via the gopher—is referred to as Gopherspace. Programs like “VERONICA” search all of Gopherspace to find a gopher that provides a specific set of information.

**Host Computer.** A computer that allows users to communicate with other host computers on a network. Individual users communicate by using application programs, such as electronic mail, Telnet, and FTP.

**Hypertext.** Unique text distinguished by its formatting (for example, color, underlines, and highlights). When you use a mouse and click on the hypertext, you are immediately linked to relevant data.

**internet.** The term “internet” (actually internetwork) is usually used to refer to a collection of networks interconnected with routers. An “internet” is not the same as “the Internet.”

**Internet.** The Internet is the largest internet in the world. It is a three-level hierarchy composed of backbone networks (e.g., NSFNET, MILNET), mid-level networks, and sub-networks all sharing a common addressing scheme. The Internet is a multiprotocol internet.

**Internet Protocol (IP).** Within the Internet, information is not transmitted as a constant stream from host to host. Rather, data is broken into small packages called **packets**. The Internet protocol transports these packets over the network to the remote host routing the packets through the

fastest communication lines. The **Transmission Control Protocol** receives the packets, checks for errors, and reconstructs the message.

**IP Address.** The Internet address of a computer user that is displayed in numbers.

**Kermit.** A popular file transfer protocol developed by Columbia University. Because Kermit runs in most operating environments, it provides an easy method of file transfer. Kermit is not the same as FTP.

**Mosaic.** Mosaic is an Internet program designed to make use of the World Wide Web (downloadable). It requires a system with TCP/IP connectivity. It provides a graphic interface to data files all around the world, but it does not contain e-mail capacity.

**Point-to-Point Protocol (PPP).** This protocol provides a method for transmitting packets over serial point-to-point links.

**Prospero.** This is a distributed file system that provides the user with the ability to create multiple views of a single collection of files distributed across the Internet.

**Protocol.** A set of rules that describes, in technical terms, how something should be done. Standard protocols ensure that different types of computers can work together.

**Pull-Down Menu.** A menu that is retrieved by using a mouse to select it. After clicking on the appropriate icon, the menu appears on the screen.

**Remote Login.** Operating on a remote computer, using a protocol over a computer network, as though locally attached. (See also, Telnet).

**Serial Line IP (SLIP).** A protocol used to run IP over serial lines, such as telephone circuits, interconnecting two systems.

**TCP/IP Transmission Control Protocol over Internet Protocol Suite.** The name for a standard of over 100 protocols used to organize computers and communication devices into a network that supports services such as remote login, file transfer (FTP), and e-mail. The most important protocols are TCP and IP (Internet protocol).

**Telnet.** The Internet standard protocol for remote terminal connection service. Telnet allows a user at one site to interact with a remote timesharing system at another site as if the user's terminal were connected directly to the remote computer.

**Transmission Control Protocol (TCP).** See Internet Protocol.

**Usenet.** A collection of thousands of topically named newsgroups, the computers that run the protocols, and the people who read and submit Usenet news. Not all Internet hosts subscribe to Usenet and not all Usenet hosts are on the Internet.

**VERONICA.** A system that keeps track of many gopher menus from around the world. This gopher-based resource allows you to search Gopherspace for all the menu item titles that contain specified words.

**WHOIS.** An Internet program that allows users to query a data base of people and other Internet entities, such as domains, networks, and hosts, kept at the Defense Data Network-Network Information Center. The information shows a person's company name, address, phone number and e-mail address.

**Wide Area Information Servers (WAIS).** A system designed to retrieve information from data bases on networks. With WAIS you type words that describe what you are looking for and WAIS searches the data bases you specify to identify documents that match your request. Unlike Archie and VERONICA, WAIS looks at contents of documents rather than just titles.

**World Wide Web (WWW or W3).** A hypertext-based, distributed information system created by researchers at CERN in Switzerland. Users may create, edit, or browse hypertext documents. The clients and servers are freely available.

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PAVNET Online is operated by the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, and the Extension Service and the National Agricultural Library, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Key contacts for *PAVNET Online* are:

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jkane@nalusda.gov

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PAVNET Online Manager  
lively@justice.usdoj.gov

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PAVNET Online Technical Operator  
and Gopher Moderator  
jgladsto@nalusda.gov

The information in PAVNET Online is also available in a two-volume *Partnerships in Violence Resource Guide* and on diskette in either WordPerfect 5.1 or ASCII. Call the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, 800-851-3420 for more information.

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# NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

*Research in Brief*

Charles B. DeWitt, Director

October 1992

## The Cycle of Violence

by Cathy Spatz Widom

### ***Does childhood abuse lead to adult criminal behavior?***

### ***How likely is it that today's abused and neglected children will become tomorrow's violent offenders?***

In one of the most detailed studies of the issue to date, research sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) found that childhood abuse increased the odds of future delinquency and adult criminality overall by 40 percent. The study followed 1,575 cases from childhood through young adulthood, comparing the arrest records of two groups:

- A study group of 908 substantiated cases of childhood abuse or neglect processed by the courts between 1967 and 1971 and tracked through official records over the next 15 to 20 years.
- A comparison group of 667 children, not officially recorded as abused or neglected, matched to the study group according to sex, age, race, and approximate family socioeconomic status.

While most members of both groups had no juvenile or adult criminal record, *being abused or neglected as a child increased the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by 53 percent, as an adult by 38 percent, and for a violent crime by 38 percent.*

The "cycle of violence" hypothesis suggests that a childhood history of physical abuse predisposes the survivor to violence in later years. This study reveals that victims of neglect are also more likely to develop later criminal violent behavior as well. This finding gives powerful support to the need for expanding common conceptions of physical abuse. If it is not only violence that begets violence, but also neglect, far more attention needs to be devoted to the families of children whose "beatings" are forms of abandonment and severe malnutrition. An example of intervention for the prevention of neglect is described later in this *Research in Brief*.

The first phase of this study relied on arrest records to measure delinquency and criminality. A second phase calls for locating

and interviewing a large sample of the previously abused and neglected children to draw a more complete picture of the consequences of childhood victimization. The remainder of this report presents Phase I results in greater detail and introduces preliminary findings from Phase II.

### **Study design**

Several important design features distinguish this research from prior efforts to study the intergenerational transmission of violence.<sup>1</sup> First, by following a large number (1,575) of cases from childhood through adolescence into young adulthood, this "prospective" study was able to examine the long-term consequences of abuse and neglect. The sample, drawn from a metropolitan area in the Midwest, was restricted to children who were 11 years or younger at the time of the incident of abuse or neglect. At the time that juvenile and criminal records were checked, subjects ranged in age from 16 to 33; most were

### **From the Director**

Family violence—particularly violence against children—is a critical priority for criminal justice officials, political leaders, and the public we serve. The statistics are alarming. Almost a million children are victims of child abuse and neglect, according to the 1990 Annual Fifty State Survey conducted by the National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse.

Family violence can be considered from a variety of different perspectives: criminal justice, psychology, sociology, and economics. Studies have produced varying estimates

of the magnitude of family violence; various methods have been considered for estimating its extent. None has examined its effect on the later behavior of children as does the NIJ study reported in this *Research in Brief*. Some of the findings are startling. For example, *being abused or neglected as a child increased the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile by 53 percent, as an adult by 38 percent, and for a violent crime by 38 percent.*

I have made child abuse a priority at NIJ, and this is the first in a series of five *Research in Brief* reports NIJ will publish

dealing with the consequences of child abuse. In addition, NIJ is supporting a multisite study of child abuse prosecution and a study of ways the justice system has addressed this critical problem.

**Charles B. DeWitt**  
Director  
National Institute of Justice

between ages 20 and 30, with a mean age of 25.

Matching members of the study group to others whose official records showed no childhood abuse or neglect was an equally important feature of the research. This design allowed the study to separate the effects of known correlates of delinquency and criminality (age, sex, race, and socioeconomic status) from the experience of abuse and neglect. Both groups were approximately two-thirds white and one-third black and were about evenly divided between males and females. Most were between 6 and 11 years old at the time the abuse was documented (see exhibit 1).

The study design also featured clear operational definitions of abuse and neglect. Combined with large sample sizes, this permitted the separate examination of physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect, defined as follows:

- Physical abuse cases included injuries such as bruises, welts, burns, abrasions, lacerations, wounds, cuts, bone and skull fractures, and other evidence of physical injury.
- Sexual abuse involved such charges as "assault and battery with intent to gratify

sexual desires," "fondling or touching in an obscene manner," rape, sodomy, and incest.

- Neglect cases represented extreme failure to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical attention to children.

Family members (often parents) were the primary perpetrators of the abuse and neglect. The most frequent type of perpetrator varied, however, by type of maltreatment (see exhibit 2).

Juvenile court and probation records were the source of information on the abuse and neglect, as well as the characteristics of the family. Arrest data were obtained from Federal, State, and local law enforcement records. Recognizing that much child abuse (as well as later delinquent and criminal behavior) never comes to the attention of any official authority, Phase II will supplement these official records with interview results.

### Study findings

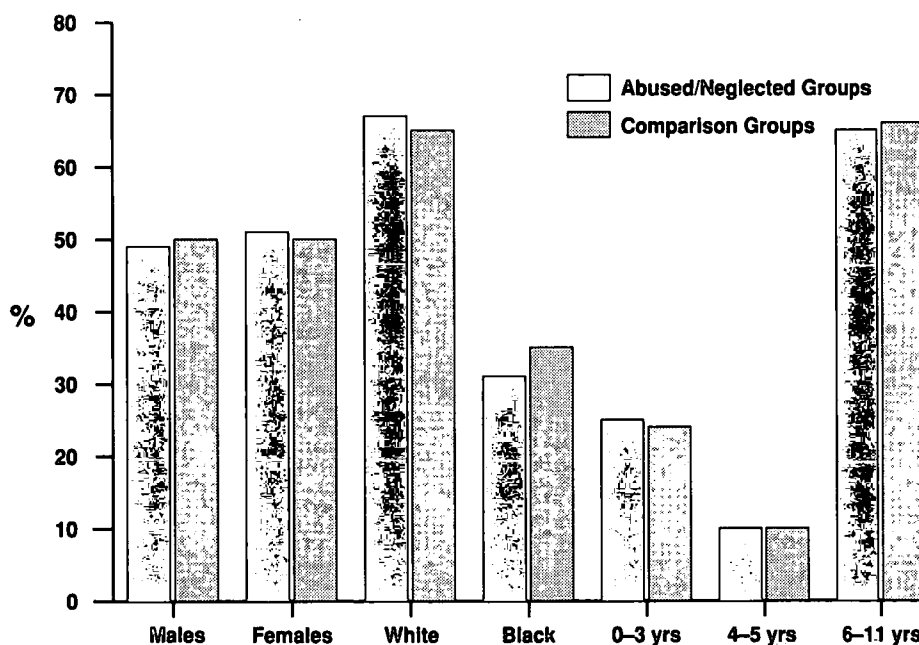
Of primary interest was the question, "Would the behavior of those who had been abused or neglected be worse than those with no reported abuse?" The an-

swer, shown in exhibit 3, was evident: those who had been abused or neglected as children were more likely to be arrested as juveniles (26 percent versus 17 percent), as adults (29 percent versus 21 percent), and for a violent crime (11 percent versus 8 percent). The abused and neglected cases were also more likely to average nearly 1 year younger at first arrest (16.5 years versus 17.3 years), to commit nearly twice as many offenses (2.4 percent versus 1.4 percent), and to be arrested more frequently (17 percent of abused and neglected cases versus 9 percent of comparison cases had more than five arrests).

**Sex.** Experiencing early child abuse or neglect had a substantial impact, even on individuals with little likelihood of engaging in officially recorded adult criminal behavior. Thus, although males generally have higher rates of criminal behavior than females, being abused or neglected in childhood increased the likelihood of arrest for females—by 77 percent over comparison group females. As adults, abused and neglected females were more likely to be arrested for property, drug, and misdemeanor offenses such as disorderly conduct, curfew violations, or loitering, but not for violent offenses. Females in general are less likely to be arrested for street violence and more likely to appear in statistics on violence in the home. Through interviews, Phase II will examine the incidence of unreported violence to learn more about the possible existence of hidden cycles of family violence.

**Race.** Both black and white abused and neglected children were more likely to be arrested than comparison children. However, as shown in exhibit 4, the difference between whites was not as great as that between blacks. In fact, white abused and neglected children do *not* show increased likelihood of arrest for violent crimes over comparison children. This contrasts dramatically with the findings for black children in this sample who show significantly increased rates of violent arrests, compared with black children who were not abused or neglected. This is a surprising finding and one that may reflect differences in an array of environmental factors. Phase II will investigate a number of explanations for these results, including differences in poverty levels, family factors, characteristics of the abuse or neglect incident, access to counseling or support services, and treatment by juvenile authorities.

**Exhibit 1. Demographic Characteristics**



The study also showed that stability may be an important factor in out-of-home placements. Children who moved three or more times had significantly higher arrest rates (almost twice as high) for all types of criminal behaviors—juvenile, adult, and violent—than children who moved less than three times. In turn, children with multiple placements typically had behavior problems noted in their files. These notations covered a wide spectrum of problem behavior, including chronic fighting, fire setting, destructiveness, uncontrollable anger, sadistic tendencies (for example, aggressiveness toward weaker children), and extreme defiance of authority. Whether the behavior problems caused the moves, or the moves contributed to the behavior problems, is unclear. In either case, children with numerous placements obviously need special services.

These findings challenge the assumption that it is necessarily unwise to remove children from negative family situations. While stability of placement appears to be important, the potential damage of removing an abused and neglected child from the home did not include a higher likelihood of arrest or violent criminal behavior.

## Phase II: Followup and in-person interviews

While the findings from Phase I demonstrate convincingly that early child abuse and neglect place one at increased risk for officially recorded delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior, a large portion of abused and neglected children did not have official arrest records. Indeed, the linkage is far from inevitable, since the majority of abused and neglected children did not become delinquents, adult criminals, or violent offenders. However, because the findings from Phase I were based on official arrest records, these rates may be underestimates of the true extent of delinquency and criminality. Phase I findings also do not tell us about general violent behavior, especially unrecorded or unreported family violence.

Phase II was designed to address many of the unanswered questions from the first phase by finding and interviewing a large number of these people 20 years after the childhood victimization. Most are now young adults in their early 20's and 30's; some are beginning to have their own

**Exhibit 5. Juvenile and Adult Arrests as a Function of Placement Experiences for Juvenile Court Cases Only (n = 772)**

Type of Placement	N	Arrest (in percent)			
		Any Juvenile (n=209)	Any Adult (n=217)	Both Juv. & Adult (n=115)	Any Violent (n=93)
No placement	106	15.1	29.2	6.6	10.4
Abuse/neglect placement only	489	17.8	23.3	8.6	8.4
Delinquency placement plus abuse/neglect	96	92.7***	60.4***	55.2***	34.4***

**Note:** Adult arrest rates restricted to subjects age 21 and older in March 1988.

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

children. The followup study aims to examine the full consequences of maltreatment as a child and to determine why some victims of childhood abuse and neglect fare well, while others have negative outcomes. The interviews will explore recollections of early childhood experiences, schooling, adolescence, undetected alcohol and drug problems, undetected delinquency and criminality, and important life experiences.

Preliminary Phase II findings, based on 2-hour followup interviews with 500 study and comparison group subjects, indicate that other negative outcomes may be as common as delinquency and violent criminal behavior. These interviews suggest that the long-term consequences of childhood victimization also may include:

- Mental health concerns (depression and suicide attempts).
- Educational problems (inadequate cognitive functioning, extremely low IQ, and poor reading ability).
- Health and safety issues (alcohol and drug problems).
- Occupational difficulties (lack of work, employment in low-level service jobs).

In addition to documenting the broader consequences of childhood victimization, Phase II is geared to identify "protective" factors that may act to buffer the negative

results of abuse and neglect. The ultimate goal is to provide a base of knowledge on which to build appropriate prevention and treatment programs.

## Conclusion and implications

Childhood victimization represents a wide spread, serious social problem that increases the likelihood of delinquency, adult criminality, and violent criminal behavior. Poor educational performance, health problems, and generally low levels of achievement also characterize the victims of early childhood abuse and neglect.

This study offers at least three messages to juvenile authorities and child welfare professionals:

- *Intervene early.* The findings of Phase I issue a call to police, teachers, and health workers for increased recognition of the signs of abuse and neglect, and serious efforts to intervene as early as possible. The later the intervention, the more difficult the change process becomes. Specialized attention needs to be paid to abused and neglected children with early behavior problems. These children show the highest risk of later juvenile and adult arrest, as well as violent criminal behavior.
- *Develop policies that recognize the high risks of neglect as well as abuse.* Also important in its implications for juvenile court and child welfare action is the fact

that neglect alone (not necessarily physical abuse) was significantly related to violent criminal behavior. A picture emerges where physical abuse is only one point on a continuum of family situations that contribute to violence. Whether those situations result in active physical abuse, or more passive neglect, it is now quite clear that both forms of child maltreatment are serious threats. Neglect cases represent the majority of cases taxing the child protection system. Research shows that today's victim of neglect may well be a defendant in tomorrow's violent criminal case.

● *Reexamine out-of-home placement policies.* This NIJ study focused on cases during the period 1967–1971, when out-of-home placements were a common intervention. Detailed information available for 772 cases revealed that the vast majority (86 percent) were placed outside their homes for an average of 5 years. This contrasts sharply with today's efforts to avoid out-of-home placement on the assumption that separation may aggravate, rather than ameliorate, a child's problems. Yet, there was no evidence that those who were separated from their families fared any worse on the arrest measures than those who remained at home. Though these results are far from definitive, they do suggest that child protective policies in this area deserve close scrutiny. The assumption that removal from the home offers additional risk could not be confirmed by this study. Any policy founded on this assumption ought to be tested through careful local studies of the full consequences of out-of-home placement.

## Notes

1. For further information on the design and sampling procedures, see Widom, C.S., "Child abuse, neglect, and adult behavior: Research design and findings on criminality, violence, and child abuse," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59(1989):355–367.
2. Westat, Inc. *Study Findings: Study of National Incidence and Prevalence of Child Abuse and Neglect: 1988*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
3. J.R. Galler, F. Ramsey, G. Solimano, and W.E. Lowell, "The influence of early malnutrition on subsequent behavioral development: II. Classroom behavior," *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, 24(1983):16–24.
4. See, for instance, R.E. Allen and J.M. Oliver, "The effects of child maltreatment on language development," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 6(1982):299–305; B. Egeland, A. Sroufe, and M. Erickson, "The developmental consequences of different patterns of maltreatment," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7(1983):459–469; A. Frodi and J. Smetana, "Abused, neglected, and nonmaltreated preschoolers' ability to discriminate emotions in others: The effects of IQ," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 8(1984):459–465.
5. Benjamin Ward, Commissioner, New York City Police Department, press release No. 17, May 22, 1989.

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Findings and conclusions of the research reported here are those of the researcher and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

*The National Institute of Justice is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Office for Victims of Crime.*

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# National Institute of Justice

R e s e a r c h   i n   B r i e f

Jeremy Travis, Director

March 1995

## Issues and Findings

**Discussed in the Brief:** Previous research established evidence for a "cycle of violence": people who were abused and neglected in childhood are more likely than those who were not to become involved in criminal behavior, including violent crime, later in life. This Research in Brief, the second in a series on the cycle of violence, examines the criminal consequences in adulthood of a particular type of childhood victimization: sexual abuse. It traces the same individuals studied initially, using official records of arrest and juvenile detention.

### Key issues:

- Whether sexual abuse—more than other forms of childhood victimization—makes people more likely to become involved in delinquent and criminal behavior later in life.
- Whether sexual abuse during childhood makes it more likely that these victims will be charged with a sex crime as an adult.
- Whether there is a "pathway" from being sexually abused as a child, to running away as a juvenile, to being arrested for prostitution as an adult.

*continued on page 2*

## Victims of Childhood Sexual Abuse— Later Criminal Consequences

by Cathy Spatz Widom

Over the past 25 years, much has been written about the "cycle of violence" or the "intergenerational transmission of violence." These terms refer to the possible negative consequences later in life for children who are sexually or physically abused or neglected. These consequences include an increased potential for violent behavior. In earlier work the researcher examined criminal records on more than 1,500 individuals to determine whether the experience of abuse or neglect during childhood increased the likelihood of arrest as a juvenile or young adult. The research clearly revealed that a childhood history of physical abuse predisposes the survivor to violence in later years, and that victims of neglect are more likely to engage in later violent criminal behavior as well.

Of all types of childhood maltreatment, physical abuse was the most likely to be associated with arrest for a violent crime later in life. The group next most likely to be arrested for a violent offense were those who had experienced neglect in childhood, a finding of particular interest. Though a more "passive" form of maltreatment, neglect has been associated with an array of developmental problems, and the finding extended that array to include greater risk of later criminal violence.<sup>1</sup>

### Focus on sexual abuse

This Research in Brief reports the findings from an analysis of a specific type of maltreatment—childhood sexual abuse—and its possible association with criminal behavior later in life.<sup>2</sup> Using the same cases of individuals studied previously, the researcher sought to find out whether those who had been sexually abused were more likely to engage in later delinquent and criminal behavior than those who had experienced the other types of abuse. Is there an "inevitable" or likely progression from being sexually victimized in childhood to being charged with an offense in adulthood, particularly sex offenses.

This examination is part of a two-phase study of the long-term consequences of childhood abuse and neglect. The findings reported here are from the first phase, which used the arrest records of juveniles and adults to measure the criminal consequences of being maltreated. In the second phase, now underway, interviews are being conducted in an attempt to draw a more complete picture of such consequences. The researcher is looking at criminal behavior that may not have been included in official records and at other negative outcomes, including mental health, educational, substance abuse, and other

## Issues and Findings

*continued . . .*

### Key findings:

- People who were sexually victimized during childhood are at higher risk of arrest for committing crimes as adults, including sex crimes, than are people who did not suffer sexual or physical abuse or neglect during childhood. However, the risk of arrest for childhood sexual abuse victims as adults is no higher than for victims of other types of childhood abuse and neglect.
- The vast majority of childhood sexual abuse victims are not arrested for sex crimes or any other crimes as adults.
- Compared to victims of childhood physical abuse and neglect, victims of childhood sexual abuse are at greater risk of being arrested for one type of sex crime: prostitution.
- For the specific sex crimes of rape and sodomy, victims of physical abuse tended to be at greater risk for committing those crimes than were sexual abuse victims and people who had not been victimized.
- What might seem to be a logical progression from childhood sexual abuse to running away to prostitution was not borne out. The adults arrested for prostitution were not the runaways identified in this study.

**Target audience:** Law enforcement officials, child protection service professionals, researchers, judges, family counselors, and victim service organizations and agencies.

problems. (See “Preview of Work in Progress.”)

### Evidence from other studies

The link between childhood sexual abuse and negative consequences for the victims later in life has been examined in clinical reports and research studies in the past two decades. Frequently reported consequences include acting-out behaviors, such as running away, truancy, conduct disorder, delinquency, promiscuity, and inappropriate sexual behavior. Studies of prostitutes have also revealed an association between sexual abuse during childhood and deviant and criminal behavior.

These and other findings have been the basis for theories linking childhood sexual abuse to the development of deviant and criminal behavior later in life. Among researchers as well as clinicians, acceptance of this link is fairly widespread. However, as a review of research into the impact of childhood sexual abuse has indicated, the empirical evidence may not be sufficient to justify this acceptance.<sup>3</sup> And, a recent review of the long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse—which cited sexual disturbance, depression, suicide, revictimization, and postsexual abuse syndrome—noted criminal consequences only in passing.<sup>4</sup>

### The need for a new approach

The methods used to conduct these studies make interpretation difficult. For one thing, most used retrospective self-reports of adults who had been sexually abused as children; that is, they relied on the subjects’ own recall. Retrospective accounts of sexual abuse may be subject to bias or error. For example, unconscious denial (or repression of traumatic events in childhood) may prevent recollection of severe cases of childhood

sexual abuse. It is also possible that people forget or redefine their behaviors in accordance with later life circumstances and their current situation.

Another difficulty with these methods lies with their reliance on correlation. They involve data collection at only one point in time. In examining the relationship between sexual abuse and later delinquent behavior or adult criminality, it is important to ensure the correct temporal sequence of events; that is, to make certain that the incident of childhood sexual abuse clearly *preceded* (not followed) delinquency. Thus, multiple data collection points are needed. The few studies that do not rely on retrospection have investigated consequences only over relatively short periods of time.

Perhaps the most serious methodological shortcoming is the frequent lack of appropriate control or comparison groups. Childhood sexual abuse often occurs in the context of multiproblem homes, and sexual victimization of children may be only one of these problems. Without control groups, the effects of other family characteristics, such as poverty, unemployment, parental alcoholism or drug problems, or other inadequate social and family functioning, cannot be easily disentangled from the specific effects of sexual abuse.

### The present study

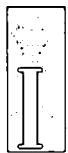
The study posed three questions designed to shed light on the possible long-term criminal consequences of childhood sexual abuse:

- **Is there a higher risk of criminal behavior later in life?** Compared to early childhood experiences of physical abuse and neglect (and also compared to children who did not experience maltreatment, at least as documented by official records), does sexual abuse in early

childhood increase the risk of delinquent and criminal behavior?

● **Is there a higher risk of committing sex crimes?** Are childhood sexual abuse victims more likely to commit such crimes as prostitution, rape, and sodomy?

● **Is there a link between sexual abuse, running away, and prostitution?** Is there a significant and direct relationship between early childhood sexual abuse, being arrested as a run-away as an adolescent, and, in turn, being arrested for prostitution as an adult?



### Preview of Work in Progress

If someone commits a crime but is not apprehended, the crime will not appear in official arrest records. For this reason, in studying the link between childhood victimization and negative consequences in adulthood, including criminal behavior, it is important to examine evidence from other sources. In addition, victims of childhood abuse and neglect may manifest problems other than criminal behavior later in life, and these too cannot be traced through arrest records.

The first phase of this study relied exclusively on official records to document incidents of delinquency and criminality. Because of the limitations of this type of record, the second phase, begun in 1989, used interviews. An attempt is being made to locate as many as possible of the 1,575 people who were studied during the first phase, for the in-person interviews. Since the abuse and/or neglect incidents took place some 20 years ago, most of these people had become young adults in their early 20's and 30's by the time of the interviews.

### How the study was conducted<sup>5</sup>

The study examined the official criminal histories of a large number of people whose sexual victimization during childhood had been validated. These victims of sexual abuse were compared to cases of physical abuse and neglect and to a control group of individuals who were closely matched in age, race, sex, and approximate family socioeconomic status.

**The groups selected for study.** The subjects were 908 individuals who had been subjected as children to abuse (physical or sexual) or neglect, and whose cases

were processed through the courts between 1967 and 1971. All were 11 years of age or younger at the time of the incident(s).

The research used a "matched cohorts" design. Such studies involve selecting groups of subjects who are similar (matched) to each other but who differ in the characteristic being studied. The "cohort" of children who had been abused or neglected was matched with the control group, which consisted of children who had not been abused or neglected.

Both groups were followed into adolescence and young adulthood to determine if they had engaged in delinquent behavior or had committed crimes as adults. At the time they were chosen for the study, none of them had as yet engaged in delinquent or criminal behavior. The major aim of this analysis was to determine whether sexual abuse during childhood puts victims at greater risk for criminal behavior later in life than do the other types of maltreatment.

**Sources of information about maltreatment.** Because it was important to use substantiated cases of physical and sexual abuse and neglect, the study relied on the official records of agencies that handled these cases. Detailed information about the abuse and/or neglect incident and family composition and characteristics of study subjects was obtained from the files of the juvenile court and probation department. The records of the sexual abuse cases were obtained from the juvenile court and from the adult criminal court of a metropolitan area in the Midwest.<sup>6</sup>

Like all sources of information, official records have certain limitations. Some incidents are not reported to law enforcement or social service agencies.

Moreover, the cases studied were processed before the child abuse reporting laws were passed, when many cases of sexual abuse were not brought to the attention of the authorities. For these reasons, the findings cannot be interpreted as applying to all incidents. It is more likely that they represented only the serious and extreme cases—those brought to the attention of the social service and criminal justice systems.

**Types of maltreatment.** The *sexual abuse* cases represented a variety of charges, from relatively nonspecific ones of “assault and battery with intent to gratify sexual desires” to more specific ones of “fondling or touching in an obscene manner,” sodomy, incest, and the like. The *physical abuse* cases included those involving injuries such as bruises, welts, burns, abrasions, lacerations, wounds, cuts, bone and skull fractures. The *neglect cases* reflected the judgment of the court that the parents’ deficiencies in child care were beyond those found acceptable by community and professional standards at the time. They represented extreme failure to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical attention.

**Subgroups created for the study.** A case was identified as involving sexual abuse if there was evidence in the records that the charge had been substantiated. Of these cases, most involved sexual abuse only, but some involved physical abuse and/or neglect in addition. Because exposure to these different types of abuse may have different consequences, distinctions were made. Cases involving only sexual abuse are referenced as *Sexual Abuse Only*. The others are referred to as *Sexual Abuse Plus* (sexual abuse plus physical abuse or neglect). (table 1.)

**The sources of information for delinquency and crime.** Finding out whether the subjects had become delinquent and/or committed crime as adults required identifying accurate sources of information about these types of behavior. The researcher decided to use official arrest records as the source, for a number of reasons. They are relatively easy to locate and contain reasonably complete information. The source of information about delinquent juveniles was the files of the juvenile probation department.

### Criminal consequences

In general, people who experience *any* type of maltreatment during childhood—whether sexual abuse, physical abuse, or neglect—are more likely than people who were not maltreated to be arrested later in life. This is true for juvenile as well as adult arrests. As the figures in table 2 indicate, 26 percent of the people who were abused and/or neglected were later arrested as juveniles, compared with only 16.8 percent of the people who were not. The figures for adults also indicate a greater likelihood of arrest among people who were maltreated during childhood.

For certain specific offenses, the likelihood of arrest is also greater among people who were abused and/or neglected. (These figures are not presented in tabular format.) For example, 14.3 percent of the people who were abused or neglected as children were later charged with property crimes as juveniles, while this was true for only 8.5 percent of the controls. A similar difference in the rate of property crime arrests was found among adults. Childhood abuse and neglect were also associated with later arrest for drug-related offenses. More than 8 percent

of the individuals abused or neglected as children were arrested for these offenses as adults, compared to only 5.2 percent of the control group.

**Sexual abuse.** All types of abuse and neglect in childhood put people at greater risk for arrest later in life. But an important finding of this study is that, in cases of sexual abuse, the risk is no greater than for other types of maltreatment. (See table 2.) In other words, the victims of sexual abuse are no more likely than other victims to become involved with crime.

A breakdown of the types of offenses reveals one exception. People who were victimized during childhood by either physical abuse or neglect *in addition to* sexual abuse (the Sexual Abuse Plus group) were more likely than those subjected to other types of maltreatment (and also more likely than the controls) to be arrested as runaways during their juvenile years.

### Likelihood of arrest for sex crimes

Could it be that additional breakdowns of types of offenses would reveal greater risk for individuals who were sexually abused in childhood? Previ-

**Table 1: Types of Child Victimization Cases**

Type	Number of Cases
Physical Abuse and Neglect	70
Physical Abuse Only	76
Neglect Only	609
Sexual Abuse Only	125
Sexual Abuse Plus (Sexual abuse with physical abuse and/or neglect)	28
Total	908

**Table 2: Likelihood of Arrest Depending on Type of Abuse Experienced**

Type of Abuse Subjects	Number of Arrests	Any Juvenile Arrest %	Any Adult Arrest %
All Cases of Abuse and Neglect	908	26.0***	28.6***
Any Sexual Abuse	153	22.2	20.3
Any Physical Abuse	146	19.9	27.4
Any Neglect	609	28.4	30.7
Control Group	667	16.8	21.0

Note: the asterisks indicate instances in which the differences between all cases of abuse/neglect and the control groups were statistically significant.

\*\*\*p<.001 (The probability is less than 1 in 1,000 that the occurrence could have happened by chance.)

ous research indicating that these people are more likely to be arrested for sex crimes suggests this might be the case.

**Sex crimes in general.** Arrest records revealed that, compared to children who had not been victimized, those who had been were more likely to be arrested for sex crimes. Thus, experiencing any type of abuse/neglect in childhood increases the risk for sex crimes. Children who were sexually abused were about as likely as neglect victims to be arrested for any sex crime and less likely than victims of physical abuse. (See table 3.)

Calculating the *odds* that abused and neglected children will subsequently be arrested for sex crimes as adults confirmed the statistics on likelihood of arrest. For abused and neglected children in general, the odds of being arrested as adults for a sex crime were higher than for nonvictims. Among sexually abused children, the odds were 4.7 times higher. Among physically abused children, the odds of arrest as adults for a sex crime were only a bit less—more than four times higher than for the controls. Neglected children were also at in-

creased risk of subsequent arrest for a sex crime (2.2 times the rate for the controls). (See table 3.)

**Specific sex crimes.** The study also looked at various types of sex crimes, and the breakdown revealed more complexity. The differences among the groups in arrest for one particular sex crime, prostitution, were significant. Arrests for this crime were rare, but child sex abuse victims were more likely to be charged with it than were victims of physical abuse and neglect. (Table 4.) The same is true for the odds. Among children who were sexually abused, the odds are 27.7 times higher than for the control group of being arrested for prostitution as an adult.<sup>7</sup> For rape or sodomy, childhood victims of physical abuse were found to be at higher risk of arrest than either other victims or the controls, and the odds of arrest for these crimes were 7.6 times higher than for the controls.

**From sexual abuse to running away to prostitution—Is the path inevitable?** It may seem logical to assume that children who are sexually abused follow a direct path from being victimized to becoming a runaway as

an adolescent, and then becoming a prostitute as an adult. The findings of the current research support the first part of this relationship; 5.8 percent of abused and neglected children became runaways, compared with only 2.4 percent of the controls.

As noted earlier, the researcher found that sexually abused children were more likely than other victims to be arrested for prostitution as adults, and the odds were higher that a sexually abused child would be charged with prostitution as an adult (table 4). But are juvenile runaways subsequently charged with prostitution? The researcher looked at all runaways in the sample studied, both the victimized groups and the control group. When some of these runaways became adults, they were charged with sex crimes. None of the runaways were arrested for prostitution, however.

Thus, the findings do not support the notion of a direct causal link between childhood victimization, becoming a runaway, and in turn being arrested for prostitution. Some adults were found to be arrested for prostitution, but they were not the runaways in this sample.

#### Understanding the aftermath of childhood sexual abuse

All types of childhood abuse and neglect put the victims at higher risk for criminal behavior. However, the particular type of victimization suffered by children who are sexually abused does not set them apart. It does not put them at an even higher risk of arrest, for they are no more likely than children who are physically abused or neglected to be charged with a crime later in life.

**Table 3: Likelihood and Odds of Being Arrested for Any Sex Crime<sup>a</sup>**

Type of Childhood Victimization	Number of Subjects	Likelihood <sup>b</sup> %	Odds <sup>c</sup>
Any Sexual Abuse	153	3.9	4.7
Any Physical Abuse	146	6.2	4.1
Any Neglect	609	3.6	2.2
Control Group	667	1.6	—

<sup>a</sup>Sex crimes include prostitution, incest, child molestation, rape, sodomy, assault and battery with intent to gratify, peeping, public indecency, criminal deviant conduct, and contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

<sup>b</sup>p < .02

<sup>c</sup>The numbers are odds ratios. They depict the odds that a person who has experienced a certain type of childhood abuse or neglect will commit a sex crime. Thus, for example, the odds that a childhood sexual abuse victim will be arrested as an adult for any sex crime is 4.7 times higher than for people in the control group, who experienced no victimization as children. (In calculating these odds, sex, age, and race were taken into account.)

The same is true for sex crimes. People victimized by sexual abuse as children are also significantly more likely than nonvictims to be arrested for a sex crime, although no more so than victims of physical abuse and neglect.

This similarity among all three groups of maltreatment victims suggests that for sexual abuse victims, the criminal effect later in life may result not from the specifically sexual nature of the incident but rather from the trauma and stress of these early childhood experiences or society's response to them.

**For prostitution, the likelihood is greater.** For prostitution, findings were consistent with those of previous studies: childhood sexual abuse victims run a greater risk than other maltreatment victims of being arrested for prostitution. The percentage of sexual abuse victims arrested for this offense was low, however (3.3 percent).

**From runaway to prostitute?** As noted earlier, while the findings support the existence of a link between

sexual abuse in childhood and becoming a runaway as a juvenile, they do not support a subsequent link to adult prostitution. That is, being arrested as an adolescent runaway does not predispose people who were sexually abused as children to be arrested for prostitution as adults.

The current research is limited because of its exclusive reliance on official criminal histories. Certainly, such records underestimate the number of runaways, since many of them may be brought to the attention of social service agencies without being arrested. For this reason, other types of data should be examined. However, the fact that none of the runaways identified in this study were arrested for prostitution (while other individuals were) suggests that the connection is at least not as strong as would have been previously thought.

**Other sex crimes.** Childhood sexual abuse victims were not at greater risk later in life of arrest for rape or sodomy. Rather, the findings reveal an

association between these crimes and childhood physical abuse, not sexual abuse. Males who were physically abused in childhood showed a greater tendency than other abused and neglected children and the controls to be arrested for these types of sex crimes. This is consistent with earlier findings regarding the "cycle of violence," which indicated that physical abuse in childhood is associated with the highest rates of arrest for violence later in life.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the violent aspect of rape rather than its sexual component or sexual motivation may explain the association. Indeed, practitioners and clinicians who work with these victims commonly refer to rape as a crime of violence, not simply a sex crime.

### Patterns of offending

Tentative evidence is offered here to support the notion that when sexual abuse is differentiated by type, the subsequent patterns of juvenile and adult offending are also different. The *Sexual Abuse Plus* group tended to be at greater risk for running away, particularly compared to the other abuse and neglect groups and the controls. Other analysis showed this group more often victimized by family members or relatives in their own homes than the *Sexual Abuse Only* group. If one's home is abusive in multiple ways, it is not surprising that the victims would resort to running away as an escape.

These tentative differences suggest that studies of the long-term consequences of childhood sexual abuse might find it worthwhile to disaggregate sexual abuse experiences into groups consisting exclusively of sexual abuse and groups consisting of sexual abuse in conjunction with other childhood victimization. Future research might examine the question of whether

The effect of multiple forms of abuse is additive.

**Criminal behavior is not the inevitable outcome**

The link between early childhood sexual abuse and later delinquent and adult criminal behavior is not inevitable. Although it is clear that individuals who were sexually abused in childhood are at increased risk of arrest as juveniles and adults, many do not become delinquents or adult criminals. In fact **the majority of the sexually abused children in this study do not have an official criminal history as adults.** Long-term consequences of childhood sexual abuse may be manifest across a number of domains of psychological distress and dysfunction, but not necessarily in criminal behavior. Delinquency and criminality represent only one possible type of outcome of childhood sexual abuse. A number of researchers have described depression, anxiety, self-destructive behavior, and low self-esteem among adults who were sexually abused in childhood. Further research with these samples is underway to document the long-term effects of childhood victimization in a broad array of outcomes. (See "Preview of Work in Progress.")

**Implications for policy**

In planning and implementing treatment and prevention programs for children who are sexually abused, practitioners need to keep in mind that these children are in no sense destined for later involvement in criminal behavior. Like other victims of abuse and neglect, the majority will manifest no such negative outcome, at least as evidenced by official records of arrest. However, interventions need to be grounded in the knowledge that childhood victims of sexual abuse, as well as other types of abuse and neglect, are at increased risk for criminal involvement compared to nonvictims.

The need to avoid projecting criminal outcomes for sexually abused children has to be balanced by awareness of the particular risks they face. For example, interventions for sexually abused children should be informed by knowing that the likelihood of becoming a juvenile runaway is not only greater than among nonvictims, but also greater than for other types of childhood maltreatment victims. In developing interventions, it is also important to consider the higher risk for later prostitution that sexual abuse victims face. The health threat posed,

not only with respect to the more conventional sexually transmitted diseases, but particularly to HIV infection, makes the need for prevention interventions directed at childhood sexual abuse even more urgent.

*According to this study, child victims arrested as runaways are not arrested for prostitution as adults.*

As the example of prostitution makes clear, outcomes later in life may differ with the type of victimization experienced in childhood. This makes it evident that not all types of childhood maltreatment are alike and makes it incumbent on practitioners to craft responses that meet particular needs. While practitioners need to be aware that sexually abused children are at greater risk of becoming juvenile runaways, they also need to temper that awareness with the knowledge that these runaways are not necessarily "tracked" into prostitution as adults.

**Table 4: Likelihood and Odds of Being Arrested for a Specific Sex Crime**

Type of Childhood Victimization	Number of Subjects	Prostitution		Rape or Sodomy	
		Likelihood <sup>a</sup> %	Odds <sup>b</sup>	Likelihood %	Odds <sup>b</sup>
Any Sexual Abuse	153	3.3	27.7	0.7	<sup>c</sup>
Any Physical Abuse	146	0.7	<sup>c</sup>	2.1	7.6
Any Neglect	609	1.5	10.2	1.1	<sup>c</sup>
Control Group	667	0.1	—	0.4	—

<sup>a</sup>p<.003

<sup>b</sup>See Note C on table 3.

<sup>c</sup>Not statistically significant. All other findings on odds were significant at the p<.05 level.

Information from the interview phase of the study is likely to bring further nuances to light. If running away does not necessarily lead to prostitution, it may nonetheless place the victim at risk in ways that are not documented in the arrest record.

The interviews may also shed light on intervening factors that mediate between the experience of victimization in childhood and behavioral outcomes in adulthood. Again, prostitution is an example. Since prostitutes have

diverse backgrounds, it is unlikely that any single factor (for example, childhood victimization) explains their entrance into this type of life. While early sexual abuse places a child at increased risk, many other factors play a role, and these factors may emerge in the interviews. If such factors are identified, they would necessarily affect the way practitioners intervene for child victims.

### Future directions

Researchers have recently begun to acknowledge that studies of the impact of childhood abuse (including sexual abuse) find substantially large groups of individuals who appear to have experienced little or no long-term negative consequences. There are a number of possible explanations, among them inadequate measurement techniques on the part of the researchers. It is also possible that some factors or characteristics of the abuse incident (less severity, for example), or some characteristics of the child (having effective coping skills, for example) or the child's environment

(having a close relationship with a supportive person, for example) may have served as a buffer from the long-term consequences. Protective factors in the lives of abused and neglected children need to be uncovered.

Future studies need to examine cases in which children appear to have overcome, or been protected from, the negative consequences of their early childhood experiences with abuse. The knowledge from such studies would have important implications for developing prevention and treatment programs for children who experience early childhood victimization. These "protective factors" are being explored as part of the study now being conducted by the present researcher.

### Notes

1. A summary of this research is in Widom, Cathy Spatz, *The Cycle of Violence*, Research in Brief, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, October 1992. The document can be obtained from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20849-6000; call 800-851-3420 or order through the Internet at lookncjrs@aspensys.com.

2. A fuller presentation is in Widom, C. S., and Ames, M. A., "Criminal Consequences of Childhood

Sexual Victimization," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 18 (1994):303-318.

3. Browne, A., and Finkelhor, D., "Impact of Sexual Abuse: A Review of the Research," *Psychological Bulletin*, 99 (1986):66-77.

4. Beitchman, J. H., et al., "A Review of the Long-Term Effects of Child Sexual Abuse," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 16 (1992):101-118.

5. A full description of the research design is in Widom, Cathy Spatz, "Child Abuse, Neglect, and Adult Behavior: Research Design and Findings on Criminality, Violence, and Child Abuse," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59 (1989):355-67.

6. Of the 153 cases of sexual abuse, 40 were processed in juvenile court and 113 in adult criminal court.

7. In calculating the odds, the researcher controlled for the person's sex, race, and age, as these factors may affect the likelihood of being arrested for a crime.

8. See Widom, *Cycle of Violence*: 3.

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Findings and conclusions of the research reported here are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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# OJJDP Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Shay Bilchik, Administrator

FACT SHEET # 21 December 1994

## Violent Families and Youth Violence

Terence P. Thornberry

### Violent Families and Youth Violence

Compared to other industrialized nations, America's rates of criminal violence are unacceptably high. Pervasive violence adversely affects our streets, schools, work places, and even our homes.

While we have come to recognize the extent of family violence, we know much less about its consequences, particularly its effects on children growing up in violent families. This fact sheet examines this issue for one outcome, involvement in violent behavior during adolescence. It addresses two questions.

First, are children who are victims of maltreatment and abuse during childhood more apt to be violent when they are adolescents? And second, are children who are exposed to multiple forms of family violence—not just maltreatment—more likely to be violent?

### Methods

Data from the Rochester Youth Development Study are used in this analysis. This ongoing study of delinquency and drug use began with 1,000 7th and 8th grade students attending the public schools of Rochester, New York in 1988. Youngsters at high risk for serious delinquency were oversampled, but the data presented here are weighted to represent the cohort of all 7th and 8th graders. The youths and their primary caretaker were interviewed every six months until the adolescents were in the 11th and 12th grades. Students who left the Rochester schools were also contacted. The overall retention rate was 88 percent. In addition to personal interviews, the project collected data from schools, police, social services, and related agencies.<sup>1</sup>

Delinquency is measured by self-reports of violent behavior. Every six months the interviewed youths indicated their involvement in six forms of violent behavior, ranging from simple assault to armed robbery and aggravated assault. The measure used in this analysis is the cumulative prevalence of such behavior over the course of the interviews.

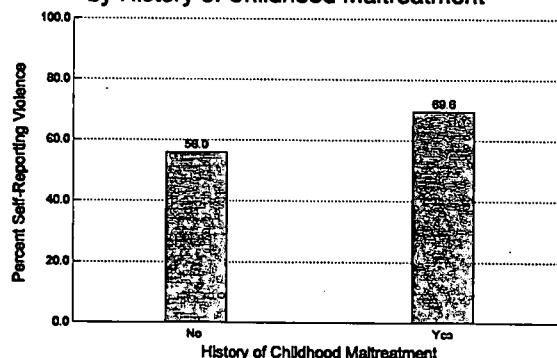
### Child Maltreatment and Delinquency

Practitioners and researchers have long been interested in whether early childhood victimization is a significant risk factor for later involvement in violence. To examine this issue, information was collected on maltreatment from the Child Protective Service files of the Monroe County, New York, Department of Social Services for all study subjects. Maltreatment includes substantiated cases of physical

or sexual abuse or neglect. To examine prior victimization as a risk factor for later violence, we have considered only those instances of maltreatment that occurred before age 12.

Sixty-nine percent of the youths who had been maltreated as children reported involvement in violence as compared to 56 percent of those who had not been maltreated (Figure 1).<sup>2</sup> In other words, a history of maltreatment increases the chances of youth violence by 24 percent.

Figure 1 - Self-Reported Violence  
by History of Childhood Maltreatment



Other analyses of these data indicate that maltreatment is also a significant risk factor for official delinquency and other forms of self-reported delinquency; for the prevalence and frequency of delinquency; and for all these indicators when gender, race/ethnicity, family structure, and social class are held constant.<sup>3</sup>

### Multiple Family Violence

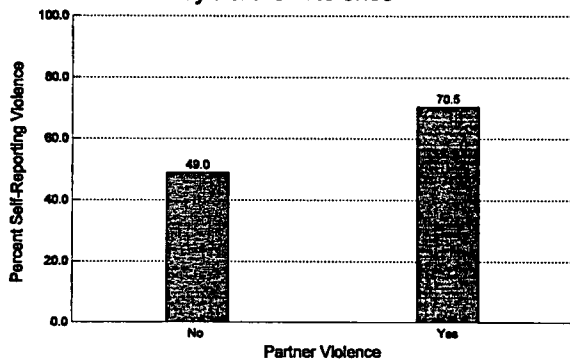
If direct childhood victimization increases the likelihood of later youth violence, does more general exposure to family violence also increase the risk? To address this question, three different indicators of family violence were examined: partner violence, family climate of hostility, and child maltreatment.

Partner violence was measured by the Violence Subscale of the Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1988). It was based on parent interview data and indicates the level of violence between the subject's parent and his or her spouse.<sup>4</sup> The family climate of hostility scale — also taken from the parent interview — measures the extent to which there was a) generalized conflict in the family,

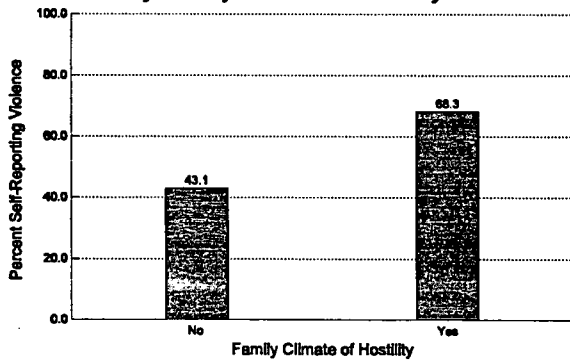
and b) family members physically fought with one another. The child maltreatment measure is similar to the one used earlier, but now includes cases of maltreatment in which any children in the subject's family are victimized, not just the study participant.

Figures 2 through 4 demonstrate that, for each type of family violence, adolescents who live in violent families have higher rates of self-reported violence than do youngsters from non-violent families. The results for partner violence illustrate this finding. Seventy percent of the adolescents who grew up in families where the parents fought with one another self-reported violent delinquency as compared to 49 percent of the adolescents who grew up in families without this type of conflict. Similar patterns can be seen for the other two indicators of family violence.

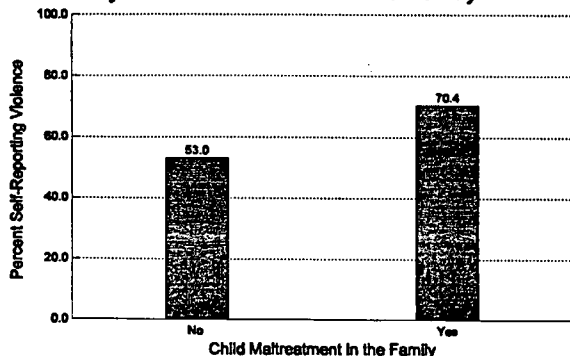
**Figure 2 - Self-Reported Violence by Partner Violence**



**Figure 3 - Self-Reported Violence by Family Climate of Hostility**

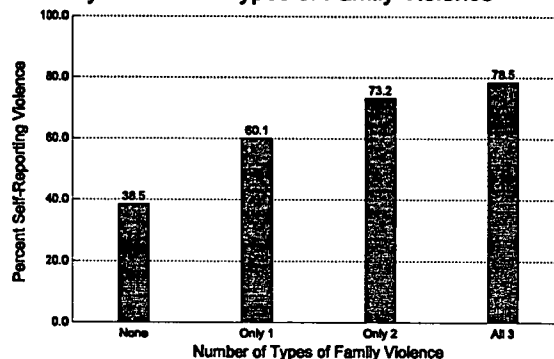


**Figure 4 - Self-Reported Violence by Child Maltreatment In the Family**



The final issue we examined was the consequences of growing up in families experiencing multiple forms of violence (Figure 5). While thirty-eight percent of the youngsters from non-violent families reported involvement in violent delinquency, this rate increased to 60 percent for youngsters whose family engaged in one of these forms of violence, to 73 percent for those exposed to two forms of family violence, and further increased to 78 percent for adolescents exposed to all three forms of family violence. Exposure to multiple forms of family violence, therefore, doubles the risk of self-reported youth violence.

**Figure 5 - Self-Reported Violence by Number of Types of Family Violence**



**Summary**

This analysis examined the relationship between family violence and youth violence. Adolescents who had been direct victims of child maltreatment are more likely to report involvement in youth violence than non-maltreated subjects. Similarly, adolescents growing up in homes exhibiting partner violence, generalized hostility, or child maltreatment also have higher rates of self-reported violence. The highest rates were reported by youngsters from multiple violent families. In these families, over three-quarters of the adolescents self-reported violent behavior. In other words, children exposed to multiple forms of family violence report more than twice the rate of youth violence as those from nonviolent families.

**References**

1 See David Huizinga, Rolf Loeber, and Terence Thornberry, *Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1993. A technical report is also available that provides a detailed discussion of sampling, attrition, and data collection procedures.

2 This relationship is significant at the .01 level. All other relationships reported in this paper are significant at the .001 level.

3 Carolyn Smith and Terence P. Thornberry, *The Relationship Between Childhood Maltreatment and Adolescent Involvement in Delinquency and Drug Use*. Working Paper No. 17. Criminal Justice Center. State University of New York at Albany.

4 If the subject's parent did not have a spouse or other partner, Partner Violence equals zero since the adolescent was not exposed to this type of family violence, at least during the course of our study.

This Fact Sheet was prepared by Dr. Terence P. Thornberry, Professor, School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany. He is also Director of the Rochester Youth Development Study. The work was supported by OJJDP grant #86-JN-CX-0007. The Rochester Youth Development Study is one of three coordinated research projects carried out under OJJDP's Program of Research on Causes and Correlates of Delinquency.



# National Institute of Justice

Research in Brief

February 1994

## Firearms and Violence

by Jeffrey A. Roth

Approximately 60 percent of all murder victims in the United States in 1989 (about 12,000 people)—were killed with firearms. According to estimates, firearm attacks injured another 70,000 victims, some of whom were left permanently disabled. In 1985 (the latest year for which data are available), the cost of shootings—either by others, through self-inflicted wounds, or in accidents—was estimated to be more than \$14 billion nationwide for medical care, long-term disability, and premature death. Among firearms, handguns are the murder

weapon of choice. While handguns make up only about one-third of all firearms owned in the United States, they account for 80 percent of all murders committed with firearms.<sup>1</sup>

Teenagers and young adults face especially high risks of being murdered with a firearm. Figures for 1990 from the National Center for Health Statistics indicated that 82 percent of all murder victims aged 15 to 19 and 76 percent of victims aged 20 to 24 were killed with guns. The

risk was particularly high for black males in those age ranges. The firearm murder rate was 105.3 per 100,000 black males aged 15 to 19, compared to 9.7 for white males in the same age group. This 11:1 ratio of black to white rates reflects a perplexing increase since 1985, when the firearm murder rate for black males aged 15 to 19 was 37.4 per 100,000. Among 20- to 24-year-old black males, the rate increased from 63.1 to 140.7. For several years before 1985, the rates for black males in these age groups had been

### Issues and Findings

**Discussed in the Brief:** The current status of research and evaluations concerning firearms and violent crime, as reviewed by the National Academy of Sciences Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behavior.

**Key issues:** Most murders involve firearms, and young minority men are at especially high risk of being murdered with a gun. Innovations in laws, law enforcement, public education, and technology all show promise of reducing gun murders by selectively making firearms less available to persons likely to use them in violence, less accessible in situations where violence is likely to occur, or less lethal. Evaluations are needed to test the effectiveness of these innovations.

#### Key findings:

◆ Firearms are used in about 60 percent of the murders committed in this country, and attacks by firearms injure thousands of others. The risk of being murdered with a firearm falls disproportionately

on young people, particularly young black men.

◆ Greater gun availability increases the rates of murder and felony gun use, but does not appear to affect general violence levels.

◆ Self-defense is the most commonly cited reason for acquiring a gun, but it is unclear how often these guns are used for self-protection against unprovoked attacks.

◆ According to the latest available data, those who use guns in violent crimes rarely purchase them directly from licensed dealers; most guns used in crime have been stolen or transferred between individuals after the original purchase.

◆ In robberies and assaults, victims are far more likely to die when the perpetrator is armed with a gun than when he or she has another weapon or is unarmed.

◆ Several strategies may succeed in reducing gun murders, but rigorous evaluations are needed to ascertain their effectiveness. Among these are reducing firearm lethality (e.g., by banning certain

types of ammunition), reducing unauthorized use (e.g., through combination locks on triggers, or sentence enhancements for burglary and fencing violations that involve guns), and educating the public about safe use and storage.

◆ Evaluation findings indicate that the following kinds of laws can reduce gun murder rates when they are enforced: prohibitions on carrying concealed weapons, extending sentences for robbery and assault when a gun is used, and restrictive licensing requirements for handgun ownership.

◆ Where there is local support, priority should be given to three enforcement objectives: disrupting illegal gun markets; reducing juveniles' access to guns; and close cooperation between the police and the community to set priorities and enforce laws, in order to reduce the fears that lead to gun ownership for self-defense.

**Target audience:** Federal, State, and local government policymakers, law enforcement practitioners, and community organizations.

## Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behavior

Violence is universally recognized as a pervasive part of contemporary American society and of our Nation's past as well. Many of the attempts to understand the phenomenon have been made in response to specific situations, such as the lawlessness of the Prohibition era, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and the urban riots of the mid-1960's. Other attempts at understanding violence singled out particular causes for analysis. In none of these studies, however, was the full body of research on violence reviewed comprehensively, and none of them took an interdisciplinary approach.

The Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behavior was set up to meet the need for a more comprehensive assessment of what is known about violent behavior. It was established in response to a request made by three Federal agencies: the National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). NSF asked for a review of current knowledge about the causes of violent behavior and recommendations for future research. The other two agencies shared these goals, but their areas of interest reflected their particular missions. As the research arm of the U.S. Department of Justice, NIJ wanted to find out about means to prevent and control violent crime. The CDC wanted assistance in setting priorities for preventing injuries and deaths caused by violence.

Created in 1989, the panel reviewed research on "interpersonal violence"—events involving at most a few perpetrators and victims. This limitation excluded suicide and self-mutilation as well as large-scale collective and State violence. The focus was on describing, understanding, and controlling violence in the United States. Research in biomedical, psychological, and other social

sciences was reviewed. The work of the panel was intended both to help guide future research and evaluation projects aimed at prevention and control and to suggest strategic directions for violence control policy.

The findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the panel were published in Volume 1 of *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, published by the National Academy Press. Three volumes of background papers commissioned by the panel are forthcoming. The panel concluded that numerous, often interacting factors give rise to violent events. Although the underlying interactions are not well understood, attention to the factors suggests many promising preventive interventions. Testing and evaluating these interventions creates opportunities to prevent particular types of violence while gaining better understanding of them. The panel made recommendations in a number of areas, among them development of problem-solving initiatives to control and understand violence; better statistical systems for measuring violence; and a program of research to identify underlying causes. This Research in Brief is one of a series that summarizes the panel's findings.

NIJ is committed to implementing the recommendations of the panel. Its commitment has begun through support for the Program on Human Development and Criminal Behavior, a longitudinal, multi-community research project that is exploring the factors associated with violence. In addition, the panel's recommendations have helped shape the goals of NIJ research and evaluation activities and its long-range plans for research.

Copies of *Understanding and Preventing Violence* are available from the National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Avenue N.W., Washington, DC 20418 (800-624-6242).

decreasing. The recent increases have not been paralleled for females, whites, or older black males, nor have they been matched in non-gun murder rates or even firearm suicide rates for young black males. (The latter are higher among whites than among blacks but have risen recently for both races.)<sup>2</sup>

For these reasons, the Panel on the Understanding and Control of Violent Behavior devoted substantial attention to issues surrounding firearms and violence, relying on a commissioned background paper,<sup>3</sup> critical commentary on a draft of that paper, and its own review of published research literature. This report summarizes the panel's conclusions.

## Research findings

Any firearm murder follows a particular chain of events: One person acquires a firearm; two or more people come within reach of the firearm; a dispute escalates into an attack, the weapon is fired; it causes an injury; and the injury is serious enough to cause death. While that sequence probably seems obvious, thinking about gun murders as a chain of events draws attention to a series of risks that should be measured and questions that should be considered in designing strategies to reduce murders or other violent events that involve guns.

Some potentially useful distinctions should be made at the outset:

1. *Availability* of guns refers to the overall number of guns in society and the ease of obtaining them.
2. *Possession* of a gun simply means ownership, regardless of how the weapon is stored, carried, or used.
3. *Access* to a gun as a weapon of violence means its immediate availability at the site of a violent event and depends on how the gun is stored or carried.
4. *Allocation* of guns refers to the distribution of gun possession among people who have and people who have not demonstrated high potentials for violent behavior.

5. **Lethality of guns or other weapons** means the likelihood that a person injured by the weapon will die as a result.

Each of these distinctions raises specific issues about the relationship of guns to violence.

### **How is gun availability related to violence levels?**

Speculation about the relationship between gun availability and violence levels takes two directions. On one hand, greater availability of guns may deter some potential perpetrators of violent crimes out of fear that the intended victim may be armed. On the other hand, greater availability of guns may encourage people who are contemplating committing a violent crime to carry it out but first to arm themselves to overcome their fear of retaliation. Greater gun availability may also increase violence levels if guns kept at home or in cars are stolen during burglaries, enter illegal markets, and encourage criminals to attack victims they would pass up without being armed. Guns kept in homes may also be used in family arguments that might have ended nonviolently if guns were not available.

How are these conflicting speculations resolved in actual practice? The best way to answer this question would be to measure violent crime levels before and after an intervention that substantially reduced gun availability. However, opportunities to evaluate the effects of such interventions have arisen in only a few jurisdictions. (The results are discussed, along with those of other evaluations, on pages 5 and 6.)

Because evaluation opportunities have been rare, researchers have used four less powerful approaches to study how gun availability affects violence and its consequences. The findings, while somewhat tentative and not entirely consistent, suggest that greater gun availability increases murder rates and influences the choice of weapon in violent crimes, but does not affect overall levels of nonfatal violence.

The first research approach asks how differences in violence across American cities

are related to variations in gun availability, controlling for other relevant factors.

These studies generally find small positive correlations between measures of gun availability and both felony gun use and felony murder. However, they find no consistent relationship between gun availability and overall rates of violent crime.

The second approach used was a comparison of two jurisdictions. The neighboring cities of Seattle and Vancouver have similar economic profiles and were found to have similar rates of burglary and assault. However, Seattle, with its less restrictive gun possession laws, had a 60 percent higher homicide rate and a 400 percent higher firearm homicide rate than Vancouver. It is not clear whether the differences in gun laws accounted for all the variation between the two cities in homicide rates, or whether differences in culture were also contributing factors.

The third approach relies on cross-national statistical comparisons. These studies have generally reached one of the conclusions found in studies of American cities: a small positive correlation between gun availability and homicide rates. The finding is difficult to interpret, however, in view of differences by country in culture and in gun regulations. For example, murder rates are low in Switzerland, where militia requirements make possession of long guns by males nearly universal. This seems to suggest there is no positive correlation between gun availability and murder rates. But this interpretation is clouded because in Switzerland access to guns is limited: militia members are required to keep their guns locked up and to account for every bullet.

The fourth approach relies on analyses of trends over time. Studies using this method have found no correlations between gun availability and rates of violent crime. But trends are subject to a variety of influences, which may mask a relationship that would emerge in the aftermath of some new law or other intervention that substantially reduced gun availability. Evaluation findings about such interventions are discussed later in this report, but more such

evaluations are needed to obtain better answers to this question.

### **How do people obtain possession of guns they use in violent crime?**

Although available data on how guns are obtained are fragmented, outdated, and subject to sampling bias, they suggest that illegal or unregulated transactions are the primary sources of guns used in violence. For example, only 29 percent of 113 guns used in felonies committed in Boston during 1975 and 1976 were bought directly from federally licensed dealers (27 of the 29 percent were obtained by legally eligible purchasers). Between the manufacturer and the criminal user, 20 percent of the guns passed through a chain of unregulated private transfers, while 40 percent were stolen. Most of the illegal suppliers found in this sample were small-scale independent operators who sold only a few guns per month, rather than large organizations or licensed dealers working largely off the books.<sup>4</sup>

More recent data were available on how incarcerated felons in 10 States obtained the guns they used in committing crime. The figures revealed that in 1982 only 16 percent of those who used guns in criminal activities reported buying them from licensed dealers. Twice as many (32 percent) reported stealing the gun, and the rest borrowed or bought it from friends or acquaintances. Thefts and illegal purchases were not surprisingly most common among the incarcerated felons who said they acquired their guns primarily to commit crimes.<sup>5</sup>

More up-to-date information on how juveniles obtain guns will be available in the forthcoming report of a study sponsored by NIJ.<sup>6</sup> The researchers studied samples of juveniles who were imprisoned for serious violent crime and students who attended inner-city high schools.

### **How does gun access affect the consequences of violent events?**

Researchers have studied how the presence of a gun affects the consequences of two types of violent crime—personal robbery and assault. Both types of crime may begin



with a threat to use violence. Studies have examined how the likelihood of three outcomes of the threat—escalation to an actual attack, to injury, and to death—changes if the robber or assaulter posing the threat is armed with a gun.

A study of personal robberies revealed that escalation from threat to attack is *less likely* if the robber is armed with a gun than if he or she is unarmed.<sup>7</sup> A similar pattern was found in assaults.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the reason is that robbers armed with guns are less nervous, or victims confronted with guns are too frightened to resist, or both. Either effect could reduce the risk of escalation from threat to attack.

One implication of the lower escalation rate when guns are used is that robbery and assault victims are less likely to be injured when the perpetrator has a gun. When data reported through the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) between 1973 and 1982 are combined, they reveal that among victims who survive attacks, the chance of injury was 14 percent when the offender was armed with a gun. It was higher when a gun was not used—25 percent when the offender was armed with a knife, 30 percent when unarmed, and 45 percent when armed with another weapon.<sup>9</sup>

### **How does gun use affect the chance that a violent crime will end in the victim's death?**

The overall fatality rate in gun robberies is an estimated 4 per 1,000—about 3 times the rate for knife robberies, 10 times the rate for robberies with other weapons, and 20 times the rate for robberies by unarmed offenders.<sup>10</sup> For assaults, a crime which includes threats, the most widely cited estimate of the fatality rate is derived from a 1968 analysis of assaults and homicides committed in Chicago. The study, prepared for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, reported that gun attacks kill 12.2 percent of their intended victims. This is about 5 times as often as in attacks with knives, the second most deadly weapon used in violent crimes.<sup>11</sup> With one exception, more recent studies have generally concluded

that death was at least twice as likely in gun assaults as in knife assaults.<sup>12</sup>

While researchers who have looked at the question generally concur that victims injured by guns are more likely to die than victims injured by other weapons, an important question remains: how much of this greater lethality reflects properties of the gun, and how much reflects greater determination to kill by those who choose guns over other weapons for their violent acts? The question is significant for public policy because even the removal of all guns from society would not prevent homicides if the greater lethality of gun injuries were due entirely to violent gun users' greater determination. They would simply achieve their goal using other weapons.

The relative importance of weapon type and user determination in affecting the deadliness of gun attacks has not been definitively established because researchers cannot directly measure user determination. Indirect measures indicate that firearms are sometimes fired at people without a premeditated intent to kill. The question is how often? If the motivations of gun murderers and knife murderers systematically differed, then systematic differences in the surrounding circumstances would be expected. In fact, however, the gun and knife murders in the 1968 Chicago sample occurred under similar circumstances—largely arguments in which alcohol and temporary rage, not single-minded intent, were most likely to have influenced the killer's behavior. More than 80 percent of gun victims in the sample received only a single wound, a finding which suggests that killers and assaulters who used guns failed to use the full capabilities of their guns to achieve the goal of killing.<sup>13</sup> The interpretation of these statistics has been questioned on methodological grounds, however; and, in any event, the interactions among circumstances, motivation, and weapon choice in murder may well have changed since 1968.

The study of personal robberies, discussed above, suggests at least one reason other than lethal intentions why some robbers

use guns: to enable them to attack certain types of victims, such as businesses and groups of teenage males, who would otherwise be relatively invulnerable. Guns are used more often to rob these types of victims than to rob women and the elderly, who are considered more vulnerable. Serial killers are considered the most intent of all killers, but they have rarely used guns. People who killed in violent family fights seem unlikely to have carefully considered their weapon choices; more likely, they resorted to the nearest available weapon, including hands or feet. Even among incarcerated felons, those interviewed in the 10-State survey cited above, 76 percent of those who fired guns in criminal situations claimed to have had no prior intention of doing so.<sup>14</sup>

These observations and findings strongly suggest that properties of weapons, rather than intentions of attackers, account for at least some of the difference in lethality between guns and other weapons. However, the apportionment is not precise, and questions have been raised about the methodologies used in the studies.<sup>15</sup> Measuring more precisely how much of the lethality difference arises from different intentions rather than from the choice of a gun remains a problem for future research.

### **Does use of a gun in self-defense reduce the injury risk of violent events?**

Self-defense is commonly cited as a reason to own a gun. This is the explanation given by 20 percent of all gun owners and 40 percent of all handgun owners contacted for a household survey conducted in 1979.<sup>16</sup> Just how often potential victims of violence defend themselves with guns is unclear, in part because "self-defense" is a vague term. Among a sample of prisoners, 48 percent of those who fired their guns while committing crimes claimed they did so in self-defense. At a minimum, victims use guns to attack or threaten the perpetrators in about 1 percent of robberies and assaults—about 70,000 times per year—according to NCVS data for recent years. These victims were less likely to report being injured than those who either defended themselves by other means or took no self-protective measures at all. Thus, while 33 percent of all surviving

robbery victims were injured, only 25 percent of those who offered no resistance and 17 percent of those who defended themselves with guns were injured. For surviving assault victims, the corresponding injury rates were, respectively, 30 percent, 27 percent, and 12 percent.<sup>17</sup>

For two reasons, these statistics are an insufficient basis for the personal decision whether or not to obtain a gun for self-protection. First, the decision involves a trade-off between the risks of gun accidents and violent victimization. Second, it is not entirely clear that the relatively few robberies and assaults in which victims defended themselves with guns are typical of these types of crimes and that the lower injury rates resulted from the self-defense action rather than some other factor. Perhaps offenders lost the advantage of surprise, which allowed victims not only to deploy their guns but also to take other evasive action. More detailed analysis of gun self-defense cases is needed to measure both the frequency and consequences of different self-defense actions using guns.

## Policy implications

Currently, firearm sales and uses are subject to Federal, State, and local regulations that are intended to reduce gun-related criminal activity. The Federal Gun Control Act of 1968 is intended to control the *allocation* of guns by requiring that dealers obtain Federal licenses; by prohibiting them from selling guns through the mail or across State lines to anyone except other licensed dealers; and by barring sales to high-risk-category individuals such as minors, felons, and drug users. According to the U.S. General Accounting Office, resources available to enforce the Act declined during the 1980's, and the news media have reported instances of convicted felons and active drug dealers obtaining Federal dealers' licenses that have permitted them to purchase guns in large quantities.

Changing the allocation of guns from high-risk to low-risk individuals is one of four strategies that have been attempted to reduce gun-related violent crimes. To

**Table 1. Evaluation Status of Strategies and Interventions for Reducing Gun Violence**

Strategy and Intervention	Evaluated?	Effective?
<b>Strategy 1: Alter gun uses or storage</b>		
Place and manner laws		
Restrict carrying		
Bartley-Fox Amendment	Yes	Yes
Enhance sentences for felony gun use		
Michigan	Yes	Partial*
Pennsylvania	Yes	Partial*
Increase probability of sentences for felony gun use		
Operation Triggerlock	No	?
Civil/administrative laws		
Owner liability for damage by gun	No	?
Technological		
Enhance/maintain firearm detectability	No	?
Metal detectors in dangerous places	No	?
Enhance visibility of dangerous illegal uses	No	?
Shields for vulnerable employees	No	?
Public education		
Safe use and storage	No	?
Role in self-defense	Yes	?
<b>Strategy 2: Change gun allocation</b>		
Civil/administrative laws		
Permissive licensing of owners (e.g., all but felons, drug users, minors, etc.)	No	?
Waiting periods for gun purchases	No	?
Restrict sales to high-risk purchasers		
Gun Control Act of 1968	Yes	No
Law enforcement		
Disrupt illegal gun markets	No	?
Mandatory minimum sentences for gun theft	No	?
Technological		
Combination locks on guns	No	?
<b>Strategy 3: Reduce gun lethality</b>		
Protective clothing in dangerous encounter	No	?
Reduce barrel length and bore	No	?
Reduce magazine size	No	?
Ban dangerous ammunition	No	?
<b>Strategy 4: Reduce gun availability</b>		
Restrictive licensing systems		
D.C. Firearms Control Act of 1977	Yes	Yes
Restrict imports	No	?
Prohibit ownership	No	?

\*Reduced gun homicides, no consistent effect on gun robberies, gun assaults, or non-gun homicides.

reduce high-risk *uses* of guns, some States have enacted “place and manner” laws to prevent carrying or concealing guns in public, or to enhance sentences for felonies in which guns are used. Other legal strategies are intended to reduce the *availability* of guns through restrictive licensing that permits only selected categories of people (such as police and private security officers) to possess guns. Legally required waiting periods for gun purchases are intended both to facilitate verification that purchasers belong to the permitted categories and to reduce “impulse buying” by people who may have temporary violent intentions.

Some States have attempted to reduce the *lethality* of available weapons by banning sales of certain categories of weapons used in violent crimes. These categories include concealable “Saturday night specials” or high-capacity “assault weapons,” both of which have proven difficult to define in practice.

The high lethality of gun injuries and the heavy involvement of guns in murder have prompted an intense public debate and a search for strategies to reduce gun homicides. Legal, technological, and public education approaches may all have roles to play. (Table 1 lists these within the categories of the four strategies.) However, the effectiveness of any of these strategies in reducing gun murders depends on the strength of two influences that counteract each other:

- The behavioral response—the extent to which people behave in ways that reduce the level or severity of gun violence because of newly available protective technology, public education campaigns, or the threat of legal punishment.
- Substitution effects—the extent to which the desired behavioral responses are offset by high-risk behaviors such as use of more lethal guns, disarming of gun combination locks by gun thieves, or the assignment by drug organizations of juveniles to gun-using roles because they are subject to lighter penalties than adults.

Because the strength of these two effects cannot be predicted in advance, evaluation is needed to identify the effects of any of

the four types of strategies/interventions. Most of them have not been evaluated, and some of the evaluations have produced unclear results. (See Table 1.) However, studies of the four strategies have yielded some valuable information:

- **Strategy 1: Alter gun uses.** Both “place and manner” laws and sentence enhancements for felony gun use have been shown to be effective in States (Michigan and Pennsylvania) where they have been evaluated. But neither legal approaches (such as making owners or manufacturers liable for damages caused by the gun) nor technological approaches that make guns and their illegal uses more visible have been evaluated. Some public education initiatives have been evaluated, but the findings have been called into question because of measurement problems.

- **Strategy 2: Change gun allocation.** An evaluation of the effect of the Federal Gun Control Act of 1968 was conducted in two States where restrictions against in-state purchases should make interstate trafficking the major source of guns used in crime. The evaluation did not find that the Act reduced gun use in assaults or homicides. However, a later evaluation of a crackdown to enforce the Federal law in the District of Columbia did show a 6-month reduction in gun homicides. Neither technological innovations, such as built-in combination locks that permit only the legal owner to fire the gun, nor law enforcement approaches, such as disruption of illegal gun markets or mandatory minimum sentences for gun theft, have been evaluated.

- **Strategy 3: Reduce gun lethality.** Neither legal nor technical restrictions that would reduce gun lethality have been evaluated.

- **Strategy 4: Reduce gun availability.** The results of several evaluations indicated that the 1977 District of Columbia Firearms Control Act, which prohibited handgun ownership by virtually all private citizens, reduced gun robberies, assaults, and homicides for several years. More intrusive legal restrictions on imports, manufacture, or ownership have not been evaluated.

The following evaluation findings are especially significant:

- The Massachusetts 1974 Bartley-Fox Amendment, which prescribed a 1-year sentence for unlicensed public carrying of firearms, decreased gun assaults, gun robberies, and gun homicides during the 2-year period in which it was evaluated.

- Several State mandatory add-ons to felony sentences for use of a gun have reduced gun homicides, but whether they have discouraged gun use in robberies and assaults is not clear.

- The decrease in Washington, D.C., gun homicides following passage of the 1977 D.C. Firearms Control Act appears to have been maintained until the mid-1980’s when, according to a recent study, the rise of crack markets was accompanied by a substantial increase in gun homicides.<sup>18</sup>

- The 1968 Federal Gun Control Act, which prohibited Federally licensed gun dealers from selling guns to certain designated “dangerous” categories of people, failed to reduce firearm injuries or deaths, apparently because of lax enforcement.

Evaluations of firearm laws suggest that enforcement is critical to their effectiveness. Therefore, while public debate continues over the wisdom of enacting new gun laws, the Panel concluded that priority should be given to three aspects of enforcing existing laws:

- Disrupting illegal gun markets by means of undercover buys, sting operations, and other tactics at the wholesale and retail levels.

- Reducing juveniles’ access to guns through better enforcement of the Federal ban on gun dealers’ sales to minors and through disruption of the illegal or unregulated channels through which juveniles obtain guns.

- Close police-community cooperation in setting priorities and enforcing gun laws, as a means of reducing the fears that lead to gun ownership for self-defense.

Long-term efforts are needed to design and implement these and other enforcement tactics so they are both effective and acceptable to the local community; to test them in carefully controlled evaluations; to



define them as indicated by the evaluation findings; and to replicate the evaluations in different community settings.

## Notes

1. Confusion frequently arises in discussions of firearms (a generic term equivalent to "guns") used in violence because of inconsistencies between legal and popular classifications of firearms. The Code of Federal Regulations governing firearms distinguishes between rifles, shotguns, and handguns. Rifles are designed to fire solid bullets, and shotguns are commonly used to fire shells that contain small pellets, called "shot." Rifles and shotguns are frequently grouped together as "long guns," a term referring to their design, which generally requires that the user fire from the shoulder. Long guns may be shortened by sawing off the barrel, which makes them easier to conceal for use in crime. Handguns include pistols and revolvers designed to be fired with one hand. No Federal regulations require registration of handguns or long guns that shoot only one bullet or shell with each squeeze of the trigger; most such guns require reloading after six shots at most. Federal registration and taxes are required to own a machinegun, a weapon that can be made to shoot "automatically" (more than once) by holding the trigger in a squeezed position. Ammunition clips holding many bullets can be attached to machineguns or "semi-automatic" pistols and rifles (that is, weapons designed to accept ammunition clips, many of which can be converted to fire automatically), allowing them to fire 15 or 32 shots without reloading. Such weapons are sometimes popularly called "assault weapons," a term that has no precise definition.

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Opinions or points of view expressed in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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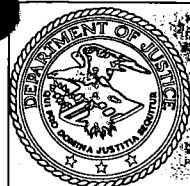
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National Institute of Justice  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

Research  
in Brief

Michael J. Russell, NIJ Acting Director; John J. Wilson, OJJDP Acting Administrator

December 1993

# Gun Acquisition and Possession in Selected Juvenile Samples

by Joseph F. Sheley, Ph.D., and James D. Wright, Ph.D.

Violence committed by and against juveniles has come increasingly to define the public's image of the crime problem and the larger political debate over anticrime policy. While evidence documenting the growth of youth violence is abundant, systematic research on the *means* and *methods* of this violence is scarce.

This Research in Brief summarizes the results of a study concerning the number

and types of firearms juveniles possess as well as where, how, and why juveniles acquire and carry firearms. The findings derive from responses to surveys completed by *selected* samples of male inmates (mostly from urban areas) in juvenile correctional facilities in California, New Jersey, Louisiana, and Illinois and male students in 10 inner-city public high schools near the correctional institutions surveyed.

The research focused on serious juvenile offenders and on inner-city students because these groups are popularly thought to engage in and experience violence at rates exceeding those of most other groups.<sup>1</sup> The sites chosen reflect the few instances in which the researchers gained dual entry into both a State's juvenile correction system and at least one adjacent, urban, local school district within a reasonably parallel time period.

## Issues and Findings

### *Discussed in this Research in Brief:*

Results of a study of juvenile possession of firearms drawn from voluntary questionnaires anonymously completed by:

◇ 835 male serious offenders incarcerated in 6 juvenile correctional facilities in 4 States.

◇ 758 male students in 10 inner-city high schools near the facilities.

Both students and inmates came from environments marked by crime and violence.

**Key issues:** Researchers sought to find out the number and types of arms owned and where, how, and why they were obtained. Because the study focused on serious juvenile offenders and students from schools in high-risk areas, the results are not generalizable to the entire U.S. population.

**Key Findings:** The study found that:

◇ 83 percent of inmates and 22 percent of the students possessed guns.

◇ 55 percent of inmates carried guns all or most of the time in the year or two before being incarcerated; 12 percent of the students did so, with another 23 percent carrying guns now and then.

◇ The firearms of choice were high-quality, powerful revolvers, closely followed by automatic and semiautomatic handguns and then shotguns.

◇ Most of those surveyed thought it would be easy to acquire a gun. Only 13 percent of inmates and 35 percent of students said it would be a lot of trouble or nearly impossible.

◇ When asked how they would get a gun, 45 percent of the inmates and 53 percent of the students would "borrow" one from family or friends; 54 percent of the inmates and 37 percent of the

students said they would get one "off the street."

◇ Fewer inmates and students said they used hard drugs than expected (43 percent of inmates and 5 to 6 percent of students). Drug use was moderately related to gun activity.

◇ More inmates than students reported selling drugs (72 percent of inmates and 18 percent of students). Those who were involved in selling drugs had higher levels of gun ownership and use than those who were not.

◇ The main reason given for owning or carrying a gun was self-protection.

The researchers conclude that the fundamental policy problem involves convincing youths they can survive in their neighborhoods without being armed.

**Target audience:** Law enforcement administrators, school officials, juvenile justice practitioners, researchers, and community groups who work with youth.

A number of schools and neighborhoods can be dangerous places for many young people in America. Knives, revolvers, and even shotguns regularly turn up in searches of school lockers. News reports describe incidents of children being shot on playgrounds or of youths firing rifles as they cruise the streets in cars. The use of weapons in violent incidents has increased fear among citizens of all ages.

In looking for solutions, school administrators and local criminal and juvenile justice officials seek more information about juveniles' use of firearms. To that end, the National Institute of Justice, with joint funding from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention—two bureaus within the Justice Department's Office of Justice Programs—commissioned a study to learn more about the level and nature of juvenile gun possession in high-risk neighborhoods. The researchers asked students in high schools that had experienced a large number of violent incidents, as well as male juveniles involved in serious offenses, about the weapons they carried, why they carried them, and how they acquired them.

The reader should note, however, that the study focused on high-risk areas and an at-risk population. Therefore, the findings are not generalizable, but the data shed new light on a complex problem.

The findings discussed in this report are sobering. For example, many students surveyed in this study claimed they carried firearms to protect themselves from fellow students and had little trouble obtaining the weapons. This report raises serious issues that concern all who are working to diminish violence and crime in our neighborhoods. It should be helpful to those developing policies and strategies to combat the threats to public safety posed by juveniles who illegally carry guns.

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## Method

A total of 835 inmates in 6 of the respective States' major correctional facilities (3 in California, 1 each in the remaining States) completed self-administered questionnaires in the spring of 1991. Each site was a standard State facility to which seriously troublesome youth were remanded. The offenses characterizing the inmates in these sites ranged from drug-related crimes (generally trafficking in drugs) to homicide. All but the New Jersey site, whose inmates had profiles like those of inmates in the other institutions, were maximum security facilities (completely enclosed, guarded, razorwired). The institutions' populations ranged from 172 to 850. The percentage of inmates surveyed per institution ranged from 22 to 62 (primarily a function of size of institution), with a mean of 41 percent.

The survey was introduced to the inmates as a national study of firearms and violence among youth. Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous, and respondents were given \$5 to participate in the project. In all of the correctional facilities in question, administrators announced the study to inmates in all of the smaller facilities' dormitories and to those in about half of the dormitories in the larger facilities. The researchers then discussed the project with them. An average of 95 percent of the inmates addressed by the researchers agreed to participate in the study. At each site, groups of 10 to 20 inmates at a time completed the questionnaire.

In all cases, local high school administrators viewed the topic of guns and violence among students as politically charged. They consented to the research only on the guarantee that their districts and schools would not be identified in the publication of the research results. Responses were obtained from schools in large prominent cities near the correctional facilities serving as research sites. Enrollments in these schools ranged from 900 to 2,100.

Schools selected for study were identified by local school board officials as inner-city schools that had experienced firearms incidents in the recent past and whose

students likely encountered gun-related violence (as victims, perpetrators, or bystanders) out of school. No formal evidence is available by which to document these claims. However, interviews with the faculty and students of these schools during the administration of the survey confirmed the administrators' assessments. In one school, surveyors observed a student taking a gun from his jacket to examine it before responding to a questionnaire item about caliber. Moreover, in the time since administration of the survey, four of the schools have experienced violent episodes sufficient to gain national media attention.

The survey was introduced to students as it was to the inmates—as a voluntary and anonymous national study of firearms and violence among youth. Spanish versions of the survey were offered to students who desired them. Principals were asked to grant the researchers access to 150 to 200 students in each of the schools entered and, within the practical constraints faced by principals and teachers, to make the sample—students in grades 9 through 12—as representative of their pupils as possible.

In six instances, principals arranged for the survey to take place during homeroom periods. These periods were uniform for the student body; thus, theoretically, the study had access to the entire student population. In two schools, the survey was given during the physical education hours, and in two schools, access was given to all students enrolled in social studies courses. In the former two sites, physical education was mandatory and its hours were uniform for all students; thus, here too, the study theoretically had access to all students. In the latter two sites access to the entire student body was more limited. Approximately 95 percent of students addressed by the researchers participated in the study.

The number of students surveyed was 758, an average of 165 per school (within a range of 109 to 229). The percentage of student populations surveyed across schools ranged from 7 to 21 (with a mean of 10 percent; lower percentages were a function of larger schools). In some

Schools, the survey was administered to groups of 20 to 30 students at a time. In others, it was given to larger assemblies of 100 to 200 students. In 4 of the 10 schools sampled, students were offered \$5 to participate in the survey. Neither financial inducement nor method of distribution more generally was tied to the percentage of the student body participating in the survey or to response variation across questionnaire items.

### Validity, completeness, and consistency issues

With respect to sites more generally, responses to the questionnaire items displayed some variation across correctional facilities, as expected, but reflected no systematic site-to-site patterns. Site differences that did occur could most often be reduced to a single site at variance with the others concerning a given item; no one site appeared conspicuously at odds across all items.

Missing data were expected given that the survey was long, that time limits were imposed on some respondents by their institutions, and that respondents had been told that answering any given item in the survey was discretionary. Despite this, the average percentage of inmate respondents who failed to complete both items in any set of randomly cross-tabulated items was only 1.41 percent (literally, one case) within a range of 0.11 to 4.1 percent; for students the corresponding figure was 3.1 percent within a range of 0.7 to 3.9 percent. Additionally, missing cases on the items used in the present analysis were contrasted with responding cases controlling for research site, race/ethnicity, and age. Missing and responding cases differed little. As a further check, all analyses reported below were rerun substituting predicted values for all missing cases.<sup>2</sup> The results were substantially unchanged.

Finally, though self-report data are absolutely necessary to studies such as this one, they inevitably raise issues of reliability and validity. Attempts to establish level of reliability in the present study centered on pairs of items, the responses to which were checked for logical consistency. For ex-

ample, respondents who claimed never to have owned a military-style weapon at any time in their lives should not have responded affirmatively to a later item regarding ownership of such a weapon just prior to incarceration. Fourteen such items were examined for the inmate sample, and 11 were examined for the student sample. Inconsistent responses averaged only 2.4 percent within a range of 1.2 to 3.4 percent among the inmate respondents. For the students, they averaged 1.5 percent within a range of 0.7 to 3.1 percent.

To determine how systematic were the inconsistencies, each respondent was scored on the number of inconsistent answers. Inmate respondents received scores between 0 and 14; student respondents received scores between 0 and 11. Only 4 percent of the inmates scored above 2; no inmate scored above 6, and only one scored 6. Only 1 percent of the students scored above 2; no student score exceeded 4.

Validity was more difficult to assess, since there were no official records against which to compare the self-report data. However, indicative of construct validation, respondents who attributed respect from peers to ownership of a gun also felt that friends would look down on them if they did not carry a gun ( $r = 0.638$  for inmates;  $0.587$  for students). The level of use of heroin, crack, and regular cocaine was associated with the extent of commission of property crimes to gain drug money ( $r$  ranges between  $0.245$  and  $0.384$  for inmates; between  $0.395$  and  $0.453$  for students)—a finding consistent with those of previous researchers.<sup>3</sup>

As has been reported previously,<sup>4</sup> marijuana seems to have served as a gateway drug to heroin, cocaine, and crack use for the respondents. Among the inmate users of heroin, cocaine, and crack, 79, 80, and 76 percent, respectively, had also used marijuana. Among the student users of heroin, cocaine, and crack, 76, 86, and 88 percent, respectively, had also used marijuana.

In sum, reliability levels seem far above what might be expected for respondents of the type surveyed in the present study and

for the subject matter of interest here. Validity levels clearly fall within an acceptable range, but see "Caveat."

### Characteristics of respondents

The average inmate respondent's age was 17, and 84 percent of inmates were non-white. The modal educational attainment level was 10th grade. More than half of the inmates were from cities of at least 250,000 residents. Half had committed robbery; two-thirds had committed burglary. Among the students, 97 percent

#### Caveat

*It should be stressed that these findings are technically not generalizable to other settings and populations. The four States serving as research sites for this study were not a probability sample of States. Moreover, to maximize percentages of respondents involved in the behaviors of interest, the study purposely focused on serious juvenile offenders and on students from especially problematic inner-city schools. Therefore, the 6 correctional facilities and 10 high schools (and by virtue of the voluntary nature of participation in the study, the respondents in those institutions) serving as research sites were not probability samples of their respective universes.*

Nonetheless, comparison of inmate respondents' profiles with those known through studies of youth in similar institutions indicates that the present sample was not dissimilar to samples of State maximum-security wards serving as subjects of other studies.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, a 1984 study of inner-city high school students' criminal activity employed data collected from randomly selected high school students from inner-city, high-crime neighborhoods in four cities<sup>7</sup> and indicated age and race breakdowns very similar to those found among the student respondents.

were nonwhite, and the mean age was 16. The modal educational attainment level also was 10th grade. All of the student respondents were from cities with populations exceeding 250,000. As expected, the student sample was far less involved in criminal activities. Still, 42 percent of the students reported having been arrested or picked up by the police at least once; 22 percent had been arrested or picked up "many" times; 23 percent reported having stolen something worth at least \$50. Nine percent reported using a weapon to commit a crime.

### Exposure to guns and violence

Prior to examining the gun-related behaviors of the respondents, one had to place those behaviors in a larger social context. Inmates and students alike inhabited social worlds characterized by crime and violence. Four in 10 inmates had siblings who had also been incarcerated, and 47 percent had siblings who owned guns legally or illegally. More generally, 79 percent of the inmates came from families in which at least some of the males owned guns; 62 percent had male family members who routinely carried guns outside the home. The pattern was even sharper with respect to the peers of the incarcerated juveniles. Nine out of 10 inmates had at least some friends and associates who owned and carried guns routinely.

Thus, in the street environment inhabited by these juvenile offenders, owning and carrying guns were virtually universal behaviors. Further, in this same environment, the inmate respondents regularly experienced threats of violence and violence itself. A total of 84 percent reported that they had been threatened with a gun or shot at during their lives. Half had been stabbed with a knife.

If the social world of the student sample was less dangerous or hostile, it was only by comparison to that of the inmates. A total of 69 percent of the students had males in their families who owned guns. Two out of five reported that males in their families routinely carried guns outside the home. Gun owning and carrying were also

common among the friends of the student respondents. More than half (57 percent) of the respondents had friends who owned guns; 42 percent had friends who routinely carried guns outside the home.

Like members of the inmate sample, the student respondents were also frequently threatened and victimized by violence. Forty-five percent had been threatened with a gun or shot at on the way to or from school in the previous few years. One in 10 had been stabbed, and 1 in 3 had been beaten up in or on the way to school. Nearly a fifth (17 percent) had been wounded with some form of weapon other than a knife or a gun in or near the school.

Victimization aside, the study data also permit some comment concerning violence in the inner-city schools in which the students were surveyed. Nearly a quarter (22 percent) of the surveyed students reported that carrying weapons to school was common. Nearly half (47 percent) personally knew schoolmates at whom shots had been fired in the previous few years. Fifteen percent personally knew someone who had carried a weapon to school; 8 percent personally knew someone who had brought a gun to school.

The reality of violence in the respondents' worlds shaped or was shaped by their

attitudes about violence. Both samples were asked a series of questions about when they felt it was acceptable ("okay") to shoot someone. Response possibilities were "strongly disagree," "disagree," "agree," and "strongly agree." A total of 35 percent of the inmates and 10 percent of the students agreed or strongly agreed that "it is okay to shoot a person if that is what it takes to get something you want." Was it "okay to shoot some guy who doesn't belong in your neighborhood?" Twenty-nine percent of the inmates and 10 percent of the students agreed or strongly agreed that it was. Elements of insult and injury inevitably increased the perceived acceptance of violent responses. It was considered "okay [agree or strongly agree] to shoot someone who hurts or insults you" by 61 percent of the inmates and 28 percent of the students.

### Gun possession

The media depiction of the firearms environment for juveniles is one in which guns of all types, even sophisticated military-style weapons, are widely and easily available. The average inner-city youth seemingly needs only to approach a street source, pay but a few dollars, and depart with a firearm. However, no one has systematically documented any of these per-

**Table 1. Inmate and Student Gun Possession (numbers in parentheses)**

	Percent of Inmates Who Owned Just Prior to Confinement	Percent of Students Who Owned at Time of Survey
Any type of gun	83 (815)	22 (741)
Target or hunting rifle	22 (823)	8 (728)
Military-style automatic or semiautomatic rifle	35 (823)	6 (728)
Regular shotgun	39 (823)	10 (728)
Sawed-off shotgun	51 (823)	9 (728)
Revolver	58 (823)	15 (728)
Automatic or semiautomatic handgun	55 (823)	18 (728)
Derringer or single-shot handgun	19 (822)	4 (727)
Homemade (zip) handgun	6 (823)	4 (727)
Three or more guns	65 (815)	15 (741)

ceptions, especially with respect to the types of guns youth are obtaining. Table 1 presents findings concerning gun possession among members of both samples; at least with respect to the inmate group, the media depiction is largely accurate. A total of 83 percent of the inmates owned at least one firearm just prior to their confinement (67 percent acquired their first gun by age 14). Two-thirds (65 percent) owned at least three firearms just before being jailed. Nearly a quarter of the students (22 percent) possessed a gun at the time the survey was completed. Six percent reported owning three or more guns at the time of the survey.

### Carrying guns

Obviously, one need not actually own a gun in order to carry one. Since most of the incarcerated juveniles in the sample (83 percent) owned a gun of their own at the time of their arrest, the distinction may be relatively meaningless for them. But it is easy to imagine high school students who carry guns they do not own (for example, guns that have been borrowed from or otherwise made available by friends and family members, possibly guns that are jointly owned by multiple students). It is possible, in other words, that focusing on ownership results in an *underestimation* of the number of guns in the hands of the students in the study.

In fact, among the inmate sample, carrying a firearm was about as common as owning one; 55 percent carried a gun "all" or "most of the time" in the year or two before being incarcerated, and 84 percent carried a gun at least "now and then," with the latter figure nearly identical to the percentage who owned a gun. Among the student sample, carrying a gun at least occasionally was *more common* than gun ownership. A total of 22 percent of the students owned a gun at the time of the survey; 12 percent of them reported currently carrying a gun "all" or "most of the time," and another 23 percent did so at least "now and then," for a combined percentage of 35 percent who carried firearms regularly or occasionally. Thus, by this more liberal measure, guns were in the hands of one out of three male central-

city high school students surveyed. Beyond this, 3 percent of the students reported carrying a gun *to school* "all" or "most of the time"; an additional 6 percent did so "now and then."

### Firearms of choice

Considerable media attention has been given recently to automatic and military-style weapons in the hands of youth. The findings presented in table 1 permit assessment of this problem. In that table, automatic and semiautomatic weapons (rifles and handguns that automatically place a new round into the firing chamber) are treated in combination because the study's aim was simply to distinguish rapid-fire arms from traditional arms.

Among the inmate respondents, the revolver was the most commonly owned firearm; 58 percent owned a revolver at the time of their present incarceration. These were not small handguns. The most common calibers among the most recently owned handguns of this sample were the 0.38 and the 0.357. Closely following the revolver in popularity were automatic and semiautomatic handguns, typically chambered for 9mm or 0.45 caliber rounds; 55 percent owned one at the time of their incarceration.

The shotgun, whether sawed-off or unaltered, also represented a major weapon of choice. More than half the sample (51 percent) had possessed such a weapon; 39 percent had owned a regular shotgun. (A bit fewer than half the inmates, 47 percent, reported that they personally had cut down a shotgun or rifle to make it easier to carry or conceal at some point in their lives.) Next in popularity were the military-style automatic and semiautomatic rifles that have figured so prominently in recent media accounts. More than a third of the inmates (35 percent) owned one at the time they went to prison. Other types of guns—regular hunting rifles, derringers, zip guns, etc.—found little favor; fewer than a quarter said they owned this type of firearm when they were incarcerated.

Table 1 shows similar patterns of ownership, although on a considerably diminished scale, for the high school students.

The most commonly owned weapon was the automatic or semiautomatic handgun (18 percent), followed by the revolver (15 percent). Shoulder weapons of all sorts were less likely to be owned by the students than were handguns; still, 9 percent owned a sawed-off shotgun, 10 percent an unmodified shotgun, and 6 percent a military-style rifle.

Absent additional data, it is hard to be certain which aspects of the pattern of ownership reflected preferences and which aspects reflected availability. Considering the ease with which the juveniles obtained firearms and the number and variety of guns apparently in circulation in their communities (see below), it is a reasonable assumption that they carried what they preferred to carry and that differential availability had little or nothing to do with it. There was an evident preference for concealable firearms (handguns and sawed-off shotguns), but hard-to-conceal shoulder weapons, whether military-style or not, were also quite common.

To gain some sense of what juveniles seek in a weapon, the study asked respondents (both samples) what features they considered "very important" in a handgun. The profile of desirable features was remarkably similar in both groups. Among inmates, the three highest rated traits were firepower, quality of construction, and untraceability, followed by ease of firing and accuracy. Among the students, quality of construction was the highest rated trait, followed by being easy to shoot, accurate, and untraceable. Neither inmates nor students indicated much preference for small, cheap guns, nor were they attracted to such ephemeral characteristics of weapons as "scary looking" or "good looking." The preference, clearly, was for hand weapons that were well-made, accurate, easy to shoot, and not easily traced.

### Obtaining a gun

Media accounts suggest that most types of guns are relatively abundant and readily accessible to juveniles. In fact, 70 percent of the inmates felt that upon release they could get a gun with "no trouble at all," a sentiment expressed by 41 percent of the

students as well. An additional 17 percent of the inmates and 24 percent of the male students said it would be "only a little trouble." Only 13 percent of the inmates and 35 percent of the students perceived access to guns as a "lot of trouble" or "nearly impossible."

We also asked both groups of respondents how they would go about getting a gun if they desired one. Most felt there were numerous ways but that family, friends, and street sources were the main sources (see table 2). Forty-five percent of the inmates and 53 percent of the students would "borrow" a gun from a family member or friend. Thirty-six percent and 35 percent of the inmates and students, respectively, would "buy" one from family or friends. Half of the inmates (54 percent) and a third of the students (37 percent) would "get one off the street."

Drug dealers and addicts were the major suppliers after family, friends, and other street sources, this for both inmates (35 percent) and students (22 percent). Purchasing a gun at a gunshop (or asking someone else to do so (see below) was perceived by 28 percent of the students as a reliable method; only 12 percent of the inmates considered it so (or viewed it as necessary). Theft was twice as likely to be mentioned by the inmates as by the students although, relative to other sources, it was prominent for neither group.

By way of partial confirmation of these findings (also see table 2), when asked where they *actually had obtained* (bought, borrowed, or stolen) the most recent handgun they had ever possessed, more than half of the inmates who had possessed handguns checked a friend (30 percent) or street source (22 percent). Only 6 percent

listed family member as the source. Drug dealers and drug addicts were the sources of 21 percent of the guns. The picture differed somewhat for the students. Friends (38 percent) and street sources (14 percent) were important, but family members (23 percent) were also primary sources. Drug dealers and addicts were rarer sources (8 percent).

The two sets of findings in table 2, then, point to illegal and fairly close sources of guns; if family or friends could not supply a gun, an apparently abundant blackmarket network could be found on the street.

While relatively few inmates mentioned theft as a means to obtain a gun upon release, far more had actually stolen guns, usually from homes or cars. More than half had stolen a gun at least once in their lives. In contrast, only 8 percent of the students had ever stolen a gun. Most of the thefts involved revolvers (50 percent of the inmates), but substantial numbers of inmates reported stealing other types of guns: shotguns (41 percent), automatic or semi-automatic handguns (44 percent), and military-style rifles (30 percent). When the inmates sold or traded the guns they had stolen, they generally did so to friends or other trusted persons.

Thus, these juveniles both supplied guns to and obtained guns from an informal network of family, friends, and street sources. It seems likely, then, that theft and burglary were the ultimate source of many of the guns acquired by the juveniles surveyed, but only occasionally the proximate source. Buttressing this point, it was found that although half of the inmates had stolen guns at some time, only 24 percent had stolen their most recently obtained handgun.

Though by no means the preferred method of acquisition, purchasing a gun through legitimate channels was fairly common among respondents. Federal law bars juveniles from purchasing firearms through normal retail outlets, but the law is readily circumvented by persuading someone who is of legal age to make the purchase in one's behalf. A total of 32 percent of the inmates and 18 percent of the students had asked someone to purchase a gun for them in a gun shop, pawnshop, or other retail

**Table 2. Means of Obtaining Guns**

	Percent of Inmates (N = 738)	Percent of Students (N = 623)
<b>Likely Source If Desired*</b>		
Steal from a person or car	14	7
Steal from a house or apartment	17	8
Steal from a store or pawnshop	8	4
Borrow from family member or friend	45	53
Buy from family member or friend	36	35
Get off the street	54	37
Get from a drug dealer	36	22
Get from an addict	35	22
Buy from gun shop	12	28
<b>Source of Most Recent Handgun**</b>		
A friend	30	38
Family member	6	23
Gun shop/pawnshop	7	11
The street	22	14
Drug dealer	9	2
Drug addict	12	6
"Taken" from someone's house or car	12	2
Other	2	4

\* Item: "How would you go about getting a gun if you decided you wanted one?" (Multiple responses permitted.)

\*\* Item: "Where did you get your most recent handgun?" Respondents who owned handguns only.



outlet; 49 percent of the inmates and 52 percent of the students mentioned a friend as the person requested to buy a gun; and 14 percent of the inmates and 18 percent of the students had turned to family members. Only 7 percent and 6 percent of the inmates and students, respectively, had sought help from strangers.

It seems, then, that the inmates had access to an informal network that made gun acquisition cheaper and easier; turning to retail channels was possible but generally not necessary. Less streetwise and less hardened, perhaps, the students saw themselves as more dependent on the retail shop if they needed a gun, although only 18 percent had ever used that source.

### Cost of a gun

Aside from convenience, there is another good reason why juveniles prefer informal and street sources over normal retail outlets. Guns obtained from informal and street sources are considerably less expensive. The substantial majority of handguns and conventional shoulder weapons obtained by juveniles in a cash transaction with an informal source were purchased for \$100 or less; most of the military-style rifles obtained from such sources were purchased for \$300 or less (table 3). Considering the general quality of the firearms in question (see above), the cash prices paid on the street were clearly much less than the normal cost paid by the relatively few respondents who obtained the guns through regular retail outlets.

### The decision to carry a gun

The popular fear is that juveniles carry guns to prey on the rest of society. For the inmate sample, this fear is well-founded; 63 percent had committed crimes with guns. Forty percent had obtained a gun specifically for use in crime. Of those who reported committing "serious" crimes, 43 percent were "usually" or "always" armed with a gun during the process.

Use in crime, however, was not the most important factor in the decision to own or carry guns, either for inmates or students. Nor was the gun principally a totem whose primary function was to impress one's

**Table 3. Cost of Most Recent Firearm (for respondents who purchased gun for cash)\***

Gun Type	Inmates			Students		
	Total	Retail	Informal	Total	Retail	Informal
<b>Handguns</b>						
Less than \$50	41%	17%	21%	21%	0%	25%
\$50-\$100	24%	22%	48%	53%	27%	58%
More than \$100	35%	61%	31%	26%	73%	17%
<b>Number</b>	<b>235</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Military-Style Rifles</b>						
Less than \$100	22%	28%	21%	28%	0%	29%
\$100-\$300	48%	7%	50%	21%	40%	45%
More than \$300	30%	65%	29%	51%	60%	35%
<b>Number</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Rifles or Shotguns</b>						
Less than \$100	54%	32%	51%	47%	25%	52%
\$100-\$150	13%	14%	20%	29%	25%	28%
More than \$150	33%	54%	29%	24%	50%	20%
<b>Number</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>25%</b>

\*By way of interpretation of the results, of 235 inmates whose most recently acquired gun was a handgun paid for in cash, 41 percent paid \$50 or less and 35 percent paid \$100 or more; likewise, among 38 students whose most recently acquired gun was a military rifle that had been purchased for cash, 51 percent paid \$300 or more for it. "Retail" means a gun shop, pawn shop, or other retail outlet; "informal" is a cash purchase from any other source.

peers. Impressing peers or others was among the least important reasons for purchasing a gun, regardless of weapon type and for students and inmates equally.

Instead, reasons for carrying a gun were dominated by themes of self-protection and self-preservation. The most frequent circumstances in which inmates carried guns were when they were in a strange area (66 percent), when they were out at night (58 percent), and whenever they thought they might need self-protection (69 percent). Likewise, for any of the types of guns acquired by either inmates or students, the desire for protection and the need to arm oneself against enemies were the primary reasons to obtain a gun.

As the findings displayed in table 4 indicate, for example, 74 percent of the inmates who had obtained a handgun cited protection as a primary reason for their most recent purchase, and 52 percent cited armed enemies as a major factor. Use in

crime (36 percent) and to "get someone" (37 percent) were relatively, though obviously not wholly, unimportant. The theme of self-protection was also evident in the circumstances in which the inmate respondents had actually fired their guns. Three-quarters had fired a gun at a person at least once. Sixty-nine percent had fired in what they considered self-defense. More than half had also fired shots during crimes and drug deals. Better than 6 in 10 had fired their weapons in fights and to scare someone.

### Dealing guns

Given the means and sources of firearms acquisition for both inmates and high school students, it is obvious that there is a large, informal street market in guns, one in which the inmate respondents were regular suppliers as well as frequent consumers. Forty-five percent could be described as gun dealers in that they had

**Table 4. "Very Important" Reasons for Most Recent Gun Acquisition**

Gun Type	Percent Stating That Each Reason Was "Very Important"	
	Inmates	Students
<b>Military-Style Guns</b>	<b>(N = 365)</b>	<b>(N = 108)</b>
Protection	73	75
Enemies had guns	60	42
Use in crimes	40	(item not asked)
To get someone	43	25
Friends had one	20	16
To impress people	10	9
To sell	11	6
<b>Handguns</b>	<b>(N = 611)</b>	<b>(N = 210)</b>
Protection	74	70
Enemies had guns	52	28
Use in crimes	36	(item not asked)
To get someone	37	13
Friends had one	16	7
To impress people	10	10
To sell	10	4
<b>Rifles or Shotguns</b>	<b>(N = 523)</b>	<b>(N = 121)</b>
Protection	64	59
Enemies had guns	47	29
Use in crimes	35	(item not asked)
To get someone	37	20
Friends had one	16	5
To impress people	10	7
To sell	10	8

bought, sold, or traded a *lot* of guns. Of those who described themselves as dealers, the majority reported their most common source as theft from homes or cars and acquisitions from drug addicts. Sixteen percent had bought guns out-of-State for purposes of gun dealing; another 7 percent had done so in-State; and nearly 1 in 10 had stolen guns in quantity from stores or off trucks during shipment.

There were two very different types of "gun dealers" in the sample. One group (77 percent) comprised juveniles who occasionally came into possession of surplus firearms and then sold or traded them to street sources. They may have come across firearms in the course of burglaries or break-ins, or taken firearms from drug addicts in exchange for drugs, but they

were not systematically in the business of gun dealing. The other group (23 percent) was more systematic in its gun-dealing activities and looked on gun deals as a business, seeking (if need be) to purchase guns both in- and out-of-State to supply their consumers. This group would include (one assumes) the one inmate in five who had gone (a few times or many times) to places with "very easy gun laws" to buy up guns for resale in his own neighborhoods. Those who had dealt guns, whether systematically or not, were more involved in gun use and criminal activity than those who had not dealt guns. They were more likely to carry a gun generally, more likely to own all types of weapons, more involved in shooting incidents, and more accepting of shooting someone to get something they wanted.

## Drug use and gun activity

Much of the recent attention given to drugs and violence has centered on the use and sale of so-called hard drugs, specifically heroin, cocaine, and crack. Such drug use was not pervasive among the student respondents. Any use of hard drugs was reported by only 5 or 6 percent. Even among the inmates, percentages of users were moderate to low; only 43 percent had used cocaine, 25 percent crack, and 21 percent heroin. Combining results across types of drugs, complete abstinence from hard drugs was found to be characteristic of 93 percent of the high school students and 47 percent of the inmates. Further, the vast majority of users reported only occasional use.

With respect to the drugs-guns nexus, two important findings should be noted. First, substantial numbers of nonusers engaged in all the gun-related behaviors reported by respondents. For example, 72 percent of the inmates who had never used heroin had fired a gun at someone. A second and related finding is that inmate heroin users were generally more likely than nonusers to have been involved in most aspects of gun ownership and use, though the level of use among users was unrelated to the level of firearm activity. However, users of cocaine and crack were generally no more likely to have engaged in gun activity than nonusers. While the number of drug users among the students was too small to permit reliable analyses, the link between drugs and gun activity seemed more pronounced among members of this group.

## Drug dealing and gun activity

The majority of inmates (72 percent) and a surprising percentage of high school students (18 percent) had either themselves dealt drugs or worked for someone who did. Firearms were a common element in the drug business. Among those who had dealt drugs or had worked for dealers, 89 percent of the inmates and 75 percent of the students had carried guns generally. Of the inmate dealers, 60 percent were very likely to carry guns during drug transactions, and 63 percent had fired guns during

those transactions. Moreover, 43 percent of the inmates reported that all or most of the drug dealers they knew also dealt in guns. Nearly half of the inmates who had ever stolen guns had also sold at least some of them to drug dealers. Six percent of those who had dealt guns had bought guns from drug dealers.

For inmate respondents, whether or not drug users, involvement in drug sales was associated with higher levels of every type of gun activity examined in this study. Student drug sellers reported higher levels of firearm activity than nonsellers who were not also users. However, differences between those who combined use and sales and those who only sold were not great; to the extent differences existed, they favored those who were involved in both use and sales. Taking the findings regarding drug use, drug sales, and gun activity together, it seems that dealers, addicts, and drugs were common and, in many instances, highly influential pieces in the illicit firearms market of the respondents. Judged by the findings from the study's selected samples, the street economy is not made up of specialists so much as of a generalized commerce in illegal goods wherein guns, drugs, and other illicit commodities are bought, sold, and traded.

## Gangs and guns

The notion of a link between gangs and gun-related violence is common in most discussions of crime in the Nation's urban centers. Part of the problem with assessing the accuracy of this perception is the difficulty encountered in classifying the many forms that gangs take. Since the present study was not directed specifically at this issue, it is not possible to resolve the problem fully here. However, it was possible to classify gangs broadly through use of variables central to most discussions of gang typology and actual research on gangs.<sup>5</sup>

Typologies aside, it must be stressed that the gang members mentioned in this report derive from *selected* samples of juvenile gang members who are also sufficiently serious offenders to merit confinement in maximum security facilities as well as

gang members who are also students in inner-city high schools with established problems of violence.

For the present study gangs are classified into three general types:

- Quasi-gang—a group with whom the respondent identifies but does not define as an organized gang.
- Unstructured gang—a group that is considered an organized gang by the respondent but that has fewer than 10 members or has few of the trappings normally associated with gangs (e.g., an "official" name, an "official" leader, regular meetings, designated clothing, and a specified turf).
- Structured gang—a group that is considered an organized gang by the respondent, has at least 10 members, and has at least 4 of the trappings normally associated with gangs. A total of 68 percent of the inmates and 22 percent of the students were affiliated with a gang or quasi-gang.

As with the relation between drugs and guns, it is important to note that substantial portions of the samples who were not affiliated with gangs were heavily involved in gun-related activity. However, for the inmates and to a lesser extent the students as well, movement from nongang member to member of a gang was associated with increases in possessing and carrying guns. Overall, structured and unstructured gang members differed little in relation to these variables. Both exceeded quasi-gang members in gun possession and carrying. Among inmates, for example, 81 percent of both types reported ownership of a revolver; 75 percent of structured gang members and 72 percent of unstructured gang members reported owning an automatic or semiautomatic handgun. Corresponding figures for quasi-gang members were slightly lower—70 percent and 65 percent, respectively.

Of some special interest, findings from both samples indicate that members of structured gangs were less likely than members of unstructured gangs (for students, even less than those of quasi-gangs) to possess military-style rifles. The preferred (or, at least, most commonly owned) weapon for respondents of both samples

was the revolver, although ownership of military-style weapons among gang-affiliated inmates was quite widespread, averaging 53 percent across gang types.

## Implications

- *Owning and carrying guns are fairly common behaviors among segments of the juvenile population—in the present study, among youth with records of serious crime and among students in troubled inner-city schools.* Fifty-five percent of the inmate respondents carried a gun routinely before being incarcerated. Twelve percent of the students carried a gun routinely. Thus, while these behaviors were by no means universal, least of all among the students surveyed, neither were they rare.
- *Perhaps the most striking finding is the quality of firearms these youth possessed.* They were well-made, easy to shoot, accurate, reliable firearms. Whether a matter of accessibility or preference, the most likely owned gun of either sample was a hand weapon (automatic or not) of large caliber. At the time of their incarceration, 55 percent of the inmate respondents owned automatic or semiautomatic handguns; 35 percent owned military-style automatic rifles. Comparable figures for the student sample were 18 and 6 percent, respectively.
- *For the majority of respondents, self-protection in a hostile and violent world was the chief reason to own and carry a gun.* Drug use and sales are seriously implicated in the youth-gun problem, but, at least with respect to the respondents in this study, to characterize either as directly causal is likely incorrect. The same may be said of the association between gangs and guns. While the link is apparent, it is not at all clear whether gangs *cause* gun use or whether they simply offer safety and a sense of belonging to youth who are already well acquainted with guns and perceive the need for them.

To the extent a violent social world prevails for people like those in the selected samples, the preference for high-quality, powerful firearms should not be surprising. Given the evidently heavy flow of firearms of all sorts through the respondents'

communities, guns of this type will ultimately find favor among both perpetrators and their possible victims. To the extent that antiviolence policy departs from changing the general social conditions that make arms-possession seem necessary and even desirable to juveniles, policy by necessity leans toward dissuading youth from pursuing so many and such lethal weapons. In this vein, the study findings shed some light on the potential for curbing youth violence through controlling gun distribution at the point of retail sale.

● *The handgun (and, secondarily, the shotgun) was the most commonly owned firearm among the respondents.* Much of the recent policy debate over firearms has concerned the wisdom of banning sales (and ownership) of military-style combat rifles to the general public. More than a third of the inmate respondents (though only 1 in 20 students) claimed to have possessed such a weapon at the time they were incarcerated. Yet it would seem highly specialized assault rifles are generally ill-suited for the day-to-day business of self-protection and crime. Outfitted with high-capacity magazines or clips, these weapons are bulky, relatively hard to handle, and very difficult to conceal on the street. Further, the firepower such weapons represent would rarely be in demand. For most offensive and defensive purposes, hand weapons are better suited.

● *Controls imposed at the point of retail sale likely would be ineffective, at least by themselves, in preventing the acquisition of guns by juveniles studied here because they rarely obtain their guns through such customary outlets.* Indeed, most of the methods of obtaining guns reported by the juveniles are already against the law. Informal commerce in small arms involving purchases and trades among private parties (most likely family members and friends) is difficult to regulate, is exploited by juveniles as well as adults to obtain guns, and successfully subverts legal measures designed to prevent guns from falling into the wrong hands. In the final analysis, the problem may not be that the appropriate laws do not exist but that the laws that do exist apparently are not or cannot be enforced, and that persons involved in firearms transactions with juveniles are

not concerned with the legality of the transaction.

● *Judging by the present findings, handguns of all types, and even military-style rifles, are readily available through theft from legitimate sources and can be had at relatively little cost.* Again judging by the present findings, theft seems a major avenue by which guns enter the black market. Most of the inmate respondents, for example, had stolen guns themselves, though most had purchased or traded for the gun they owned at the time they were incarcerated. If theft is indeed such an important piece of the gun-supply puzzle, the approximately 72 million handguns currently possessed by legitimate private owners represent a potentially rich source for criminal handgun acquisition.

● *Therefore, an effective gun ownership policy, of necessity, must confront the issue of firearms theft.* At a minimum, there should be programs to educate the gun-owning public concerning the importance of securing their firearms.

Ultimately, from the viewpoint of policy, it may matter less where juveniles get their guns than where they get the idea that it is acceptable to use them. The problem is less one of getting guns out of the hands of juveniles and more one of reducing motivations (for the sample, primarily self-preservation) for youth to arm themselves in the first place. Convincing juveniles not to own, carry, and use guns will therefore require convincing them that they can survive in their neighborhoods without being armed.

## Notes

1. Altschuler, D., and P. Brounstein. 1991. "Patterns of Drug Use, Drug Trafficking and Other Delinquency Among Inner City Adolescent Males in Washington, DC." *Criminology* 29:589-621. See also Cernkovich, S., P. Giordano, and M. Pugh. 1985. "Chronic Offenders: The Missing Cases in Self-Report Delinquency Research." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 76:705-32.
2. Anderson, A.B., A. Basilevsky, and D. Hum. 1983. "Missing Data: A Review of the Literature." In *Handbook of Survey Research*, P. Rossi, J. Wright, and A. Anderson, eds. New York: Academic Press. 415-94.

3. Chaiken, J.M., and M.R. Chaiken. 1990. "Drugs and Predatory Crime." In *Drugs and Crime*, M. Tonry and J.Q. Wilson, eds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 203-39.

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6. See Beck, A., S. Kline, and L. Greenfeld. 1988. *Survey of Youth in Custody, 1987*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Justice Statistics. Fagan, J., E. Piper, and M. Moore. 1986. "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youths." *Criminology* 24:439-71. Fagan, J., E. Piper, and Y. Cheng. 1987. "Contributions of Victimization to Delinquency in Inner Cities." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 78:586-613. Wright, J.D., and P. Rossi. 1986. *Armed and Considered Dangerous*. Hawthorne, New York: Aldine. Bureau of Justice Statistics. 1988. *Profile of State Prison Inmates, 1986*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics.

7. See Fagan, J., E. Piper, and M. Moore. 1986. "Violent Delinquents and Urban Youths." *Criminology* 24:439-71. Fagan, J., E. Piper, and Y. Cheng. 1987. "Contributions of Victimization to Delinquency in Inner Cities." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 78:586-613.

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Findings and conclusions of the research reported here are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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**U.S. Department of Justice**  
**Office of Justice Programs**  
*National Institute of Justice*

*Washington, D.C. 20531*

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# Crime Data Brief

April 1994, NCJ-147003

## *Handgun Victimization, Firearm Self-Defense, and Firearm Theft*

# Guns and Crime

By Michael R. Rand, BJS Statistician

In 1992 offenders armed with handguns committed a record 931,000 violent crimes. Handgun crimes accounted for about 13% of all violent crimes. As measured by the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the rate of nonfatal handgun victimizations in 1992 — 4.5 crimes per 1,000 people age 12 or older — supplanted the record of 4.0 per 1,000 in 1982.

On average per year in 1987-92, about 2,200 victims of violent crime, about 1% of all victims of violence, used a firearm to defend themselves. Another 20,300 used a firearm to defend their property during a theft, household burglary, or motor vehicle theft.

For 1987-92 victims reported an annual average of about 341,000 incidents of firearm theft. Because the NCVS asks for types but not a count of items stolen, the annual total of firearms stolen probably exceeded the number of incidents.

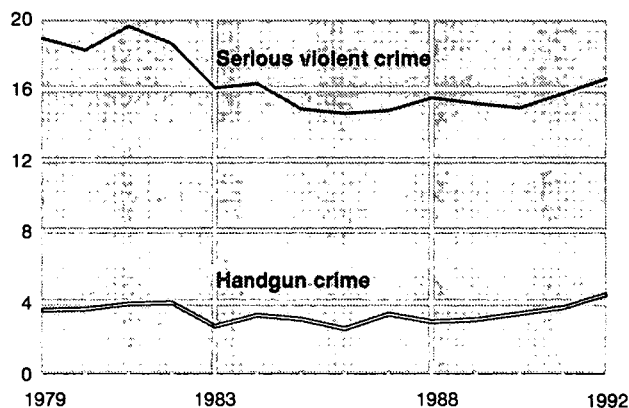
### Handguns and crime, 1987-92

	1992	Annual average, 1987-91
Handgun crimes	930,700	667,000
Homicide	13,200	10,600
Rape	11,800	14,000
Robbery	339,000	225,100
Assault	566,800	417,300

Note: Detail may not add to total because of rounding. Data for homicide come from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports.

### The 1992 handgun victimization rate was the highest on record

Number of victimizations per 1,000 population



Source: BJS National Crime Victimization Survey, 1979-92.

Note: Serious violent crime includes rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

### Violent crime rates

Unlike the record rate of handgun crimes in 1992, the overall rates for violent crimes were well below the 1981 peaks.<sup>1</sup> The total 1992 rate for rape, robbery, and aggravated and simple assault was 35 per 1,000 persons, compared to 39 per 1,000 in 1981. The 1992 rate of 17 per 1,000 for the more serious violent crimes (rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) was also less than the 20 per 1,000 in 1981.

### Most likely victims of handgun crime

- Males were twice as likely as females to be victims of handgun crimes, and blacks 3 times as likely as whites.
- Young black males continued to be the population subgroup most vulnerable to handgun crime victimization.
  - For males age 16-19 —
    - The rate for blacks (40 per 1,000 persons) was **4 times** that of whites (10 per 1,000).
  - For males age 20-24 —
    - The rate for blacks (29 per 1,000) was **3 times** that of whites (9 per 1,000).

### Males, blacks, and the young had the highest rates of handgun crime victimization, 1987-92

Age of Victim	Average annual rate of crimes committed with handguns (per 1,000 persons)*					
	Male victims			Female victims		
	Total	White	Black	Total	White	Black
All ages	4.9	3.7	14.2	2.1	1.6	5.8
12-15	5.0	3.1	14.1	2.5	2.1	4.7
16-19	14.2	9.5	39.7	5.1	3.6	13.4
20-24	11.8	9.2	29.4	4.3	3.5	9.1
25-34	5.7	4.9	12.3	3.1	2.1	9.0
35-49	3.3	2.7	8.7	1.7	1.4	3.3
50-64	1.5	1.2	3.5	0.8	0.7	1.6
65 or older	0.8	0.6	3.7	0.3	0.2	2.3

\*Rate per 1,000 persons age 12 or older in each age category. Rates do not include murder or nonnegligent manslaughter committed with handguns. The totals include persons of other races not shown separately.

<sup>1</sup> Except where noted, this brief excludes homicides, which NCVS does not measure.

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**About three-fourths of the victims who used firearms for self-defense did so during a crime of violence, 1987-92**

Average annual number of victimizations in which victims used firearms to defend themselves or their property

Total	82,500	30,600	51,900
Attacked offender	62,200	25,500	36,700
Threatened offender	12,100	7,300	4,900
Total violent crime	50,000	18,200	31,800
With injury	12,100	7,300	4,900
Without injury	37,900	10,900	27,000
Theft, burglary, motor vehicle theft	20,300	5,100	15,200

Note: Detail may not add to total because of rounding. Includes victimizations in which offenders were unarmed. Excludes homicides.

- In most cases victims who used firearms to defend themselves or their property were confronted by offenders
- A fifth of the victims defending themselves with a firearm suffered an injury, compared to almost half of those who defended themselves with weapons other than a firearm or who had no weapon. Care should be used in interpreting these data because many aspects of crimes — including victim and offender characteristics, crime circumstances, and offender intent — contribute to the victims' injury outcomes.

### Self-defense with firearms

• 38% of the victims defending themselves with a firearm attacked the offender, and the others threatened the offender with the weapon.

• Offenders fired their weapon in 17% of all nonfatal handgun crimes (or about 2% of all violent crimes). In 3% of handgun crimes, about 21,000 a year, the victim was wounded. (An additional annual average of 11,100 were victims of homicide by handgun.) The offender shot at but missed the victim in 14% of handgun crimes.

### When offenders fired at victims

who were either un-armed or armed with weapons other than firearms. On average between 1987 and 1992, about 35% (or 22,000 per year) of the violent crime victims defending themselves with a firearm faced an offender who also had a firearm.<sup>2</sup>

### Theft of firearms

- Although most thefts of firearms (64%) occurred during household burglaries, a significant percentage (32%) occurred during larcenies. Loss of firearms through larceny was as likely to occur away from the victim's home as at or near the home. In 53% of the firearm thefts, handguns were stolen.

**341,000 incidents of firearm theft occurred per year, 1987-92**

Average annual number of victimizations in which firearms were stolen

Crime in which firearm was stolen	Total	Handgun	Other gun
Total	340,700	180,500	160,200
Violent crime	7,900	5,300	2,600
Personal theft	56,200	33,900	22,300
Household theft	52,600	31,700	20,900
Household burglary	217,200	105,300	112,000
Motor vehicle theft	6,700	4,400	2,400

Note: Detail may not add to total because of rounding. The table measures theft incidents, not numbers of guns stolen. See text on page 1.

<sup>2</sup>Because the NCVS collects victimization data on police officers, its estimates of the use of firearms for self-defense are likely to include police use of firearms. Questionnaire revisions introduced in January 1993 will permit separate consideration of police and civilian firearm cases.

### Offenders shot at victims in 17% of handgun crimes, 1987-92

Average annual number

Shot at victim	16,6%
Hit victim	3.0
Missed victim	13.6
Nongunshot injury	1.6
No physical injury	12.0
Did not shoot at victim	83.4%
Other attack/attempt	19.9
Verbal threat of attack	15.4
Weapon present	46.8
Other threat	.8
Unknown action	.5
Average annual number	699,900

Note: Excludes homicides.





# National Institute of Justice

## Research in Brief

Jeremy Travis, Director

January 1995

### Issues and Findings

**Discussed in this Brief:** An evaluation of a police patrol project to reduce gun violence, driveby shootings, and homicides in a patrol beat where the homicide rate was 20 times higher than the national average.

**Key issues:** Gun crime is rising rapidly nationwide, while other types of crime are falling. The need for strategies to control gun crime is critical. If police could get more guns off the street, would there be fewer gun crimes? This was the question posed by the Kansas City program.

**Key findings:** The results of the evaluation indicate that directed police patrols in gun crime "hot spots" can reduce gun crimes by increasing the seizures of illegally carried guns. Specific findings include:

- Gun seizures by police in the target area increased by more than 65 percent, while gun crimes declined in the target area by 49 percent (see exhibit 1).

- Neither gun crimes nor guns seized changed significantly in a similar beat several miles away, where the directed patrol was not used.

- There was no measurable displacement of gun crimes to patrol beats surrounding the target area.

## The Kansas City Gun Experiment

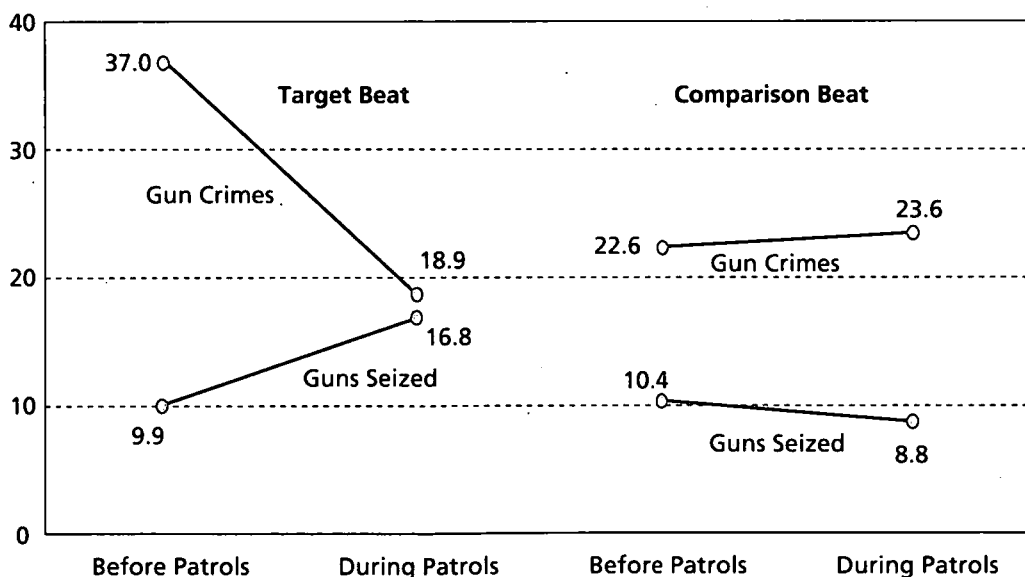
by Lawrence W. Sherman, James W. Shaw, and Dennis P. Rogan

Handgun crime is increasing rapidly throughout the Nation,<sup>1</sup> especially in inner-city areas where youth homicide rates have skyrocketed.<sup>2</sup> While some scholars argue that more gun carrying by law-abiding citizens may be the best deterrent to gun violence,<sup>3</sup> others find little evidence to support that view<sup>4</sup> but much more evidence that increases in gun availability produce increases in gun homicides.<sup>5</sup> Still others argue that it is not the total number of guns in circulation that increases gun violence, but the carrying of guns in high-risk places at high-

risk times.<sup>6</sup> This argument suggests the hypothesis that greater enforcement of existing laws against carrying concealed weapons could reduce gun crime. But this hypothesis had never been tested until the Kansas City gun experiment.

The experiment developed out of the first Federal grant awarded under the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) "Weed and Seed" program in 1991. The Kansas City (Missouri) Police Department (KCPD) was given wide latitude in planning its Weed and Seed strategy. Shortly after the BJA

Exhibit 1: Firearm Offenses/Guns Seized Per 1,000 Persons



continued p. 2

## Issues and Findings

*continued . . .*

- Driveby shootings dropped from 7 to 1 in the target area, doubled from 6 to 12 in the comparison area, and showed no displacement to adjoining beats.
  - Homicides showed a statistically significant reduction in the target area but not in the comparison area.
  - Before and after surveys of citizens showed that respondents in the target area became less fearful of crime and more positive about their neighborhood than respondents in the comparison area.
  - An investment of 4,512 police officer-hours was associated with 29 more guns seized and 83 fewer gun crimes, or 54 patrol hours per gun crime and more than 2 gun crimes prevented per gun seized.
  - Traffic stops were the most productive method of finding guns, with an average of 1 gun found in every 28 traffic stops.
  - Two-thirds of the persons arrested for gun carrying in the target area resided outside the area.
  - Only gun crimes were affected by the directed patrols, with no changes in the number of calls for service or in the total number of violent or non-violent crimes reported.
- Target audience:** Mayors, law enforcement officials, public health officials, policymakers, community leaders, and researchers.

award to the KCPD, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) awarded the University of Maryland a grant to evaluate the Kansas City effort. This timing allowed the police and researchers to collaborate in planning a focused program with a strong research design.

This Research in Brief explains the study's methodology and key findings, analyzes the reasons for the findings, and concludes with a discussion of policy implications.

### Study design

The program was based on the theory that additional patrols would increase gun seizures, which, in turn, would reduce gun crime. Two possible mechanisms were suggested: deterrence and incapacitation. The deterrence theory assumed that if police took guns away, illegal gun carriers would become less likely to carry them in the area. The incapacitation theory as-

sumed that if enough potential gun criminals in the area had their guns seized, they would be unable to commit gun crimes—at least for as long as it took them to acquire a new gun.

Neither of these theories could be directly examined within the limits of the study. Rather, the evaluation study focused on the basic hypothesis that gun seizures and gun crime would be inversely related. From the outset, the project team recognized that confirmation of the hypothesis would not *prove* that more gun seizures result in reduced gun crime. The design could not eliminate all competing explanations that could be suggested for the results. But if an inverse correlation between gun seizures and gun crime were found, it could suggest the value of further research and development. It could also support a policy of extending the patrols, regardless of the exact reason for their effectiveness.

**Exhibit 2: 1991 Characteristics of Target and Comparison Beats**

Characteristic	Target Beat (144)	Comparison Beat (242)
<b>Population</b>	<b>4,528</b>	<b>8,142</b>
% Female	53%	56%
% Under 25	38%	41%
<b>Median Age</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>31</b>
% Nonwhite	92%	85%
% Age 25+ High School Graduates	53%	73%
<b>Residential Square Blocks</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>Population Density Per Mile</b>	<b>7,075</b>	<b>4,308</b>
% Single Family Housing	84%	93%
% Land Parcels Vacant	34%	14%
% Houses Owner-Occupied	63%	71%
<b>Median Years Owned</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Median Parcel Value</b>	<b>\$14,181</b>	<b>\$23,953</b>
<b>1991 Firearms-Related Crimes</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>252</b>
(Rate Per 1,000)	40	31
<b>1991 Shots Fired Incidents</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>120</b>
(Rate Per 1,000)	19	15
<b>1991 Driveby Shootings</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>25</b>
(Rate Per 1,000)	5	3
<b>1991 Homicides</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>
(Rate Per 1,000)	1.77	1.35

Since the target area, patrol beat 144, already selected for the "Weed and Seed" grant had the second highest number of driveby shootings of any patrol beat in 1991, the police and academic team designing the experiment chose the reduction of gun crime as the principal objective of the program. The program budget for police overtime and extra patrol cars was then dedicated to getting guns off the street as cost-effectively as possible.

While the evaluation concentrated primarily on this first phase of the Weed and Seed grant, additional findings from the evaluation show what happened when the initial funding of patrols stopped (first half of 1993) and continuation funding allowed resumption of the patrols (second half of 1993).<sup>7</sup>

**Target area.** The target beat is an 80-by-10 block area with a 1991 homicide rate of 177 per 100,000 persons, or about 20 times the national average.<sup>8</sup> In addition to its 8 homicides in 1991, there were 14 rapes, 72 armed robberies, 222 aggravated assaults (142 with firearms), and a total of 349 violent felonies—close to one a day. Exhibit 2 shows that the beat's population is almost entirely nonwhite, with very low property values for the predominantly single-family detached homes. Home ownership rates are very high; more than two-thirds of all occupants own their homes.

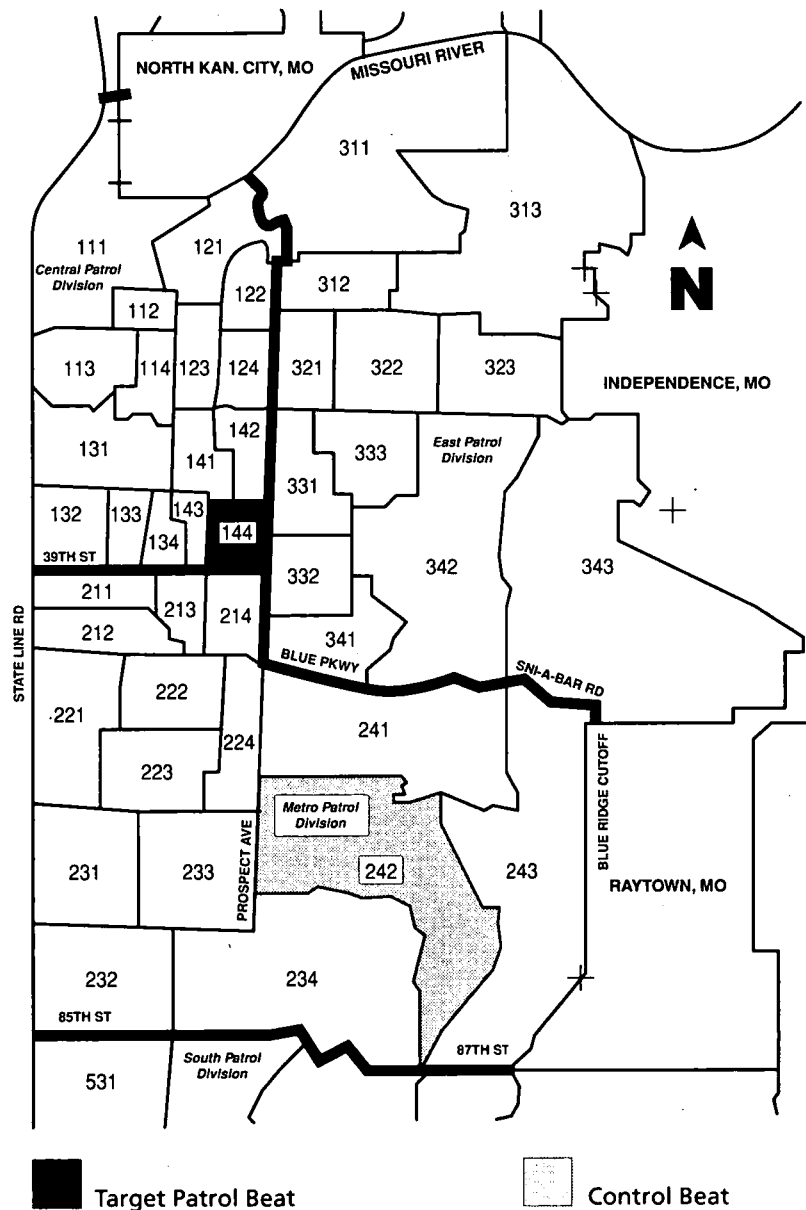
Because the program was restricted to one target patrol beat—see exhibit 3—the planning team selected a before-after comparison design. The primary basis for selecting patrol beat 242 in the Metro Patrol District was its almost identical number of driveby shootings<sup>9</sup> in 1991; 25 driveby shootings in the control beat compared to 24 in beat 144.

Exhibit 2 also shows that the comparison beat, beat 242, is similar to the target beat in many ways. The major difference is that beat 242 has almost twice the population and three times the land area, including a park. The comparison beat also has slightly higher housing prices. Both beats have sub-

stantial volumes of violent crime, which provided reliable statistics for assessing trends over time.

**Patrol operations.** For 29 weeks, from July 7, 1992, to January 27, 1993, the Kansas City Police Department focused extra patrol attention on gun crime "hot

Exhibit 3: Kansas City, Missouri, Police Reporting Areas



spots<sup>10</sup> in the target area. The hot spot locations were identified by a University of Maryland computer analysis of all gun crimes in the area. The extra patrol was provided in rotation by officers from Central Patrol in a pair of two-officer cars working on overtime under the BJA-funded Weed

and Seed program. Four officers thus worked 6 hours of overtime each night from 7 p.m. to 1 a.m., 7 days a week, for a total of 176 nights, with two officers working an additional 24 nights, for a total of 200 nights, 4,512 officer-hours, and 2,256 patrol car-hours. They focused exclusively on gun de-

tection through proactive patrol and did not respond to calls for service.

While no special efforts were made to limit police activities in the comparison area, beat 242, there were no funds available for extra patrol time in that area. Several different

### Trial and Error in Gun Detection

In early 1992, the success of directed patrols in Kansas City gun crime hot spots was preceded by two apparently unsuccessful attempts to detect guns. These programs are described below:

**Door-to-door gun patrol.** The first attempt was a comprehensive program of door-to-door visits to all 1,259 residences in the 80-block target beat 144, informing residents about a new crackdown on gun carrying and asking them to call an anonymous gun tips "hotline" if they knew of anyone carrying a gun illegally. The officers knocked on 1,410 doors in 173 hours of regular patrol time from March to May 1992, speaking with an adult at 72 percent of the occupied residences<sup>11</sup>—one of the highest success rates in any door-to-door policing program.<sup>12</sup> Of the 786 adult residents to whom the police explained the "gun tips" program, 96 percent (756) said they would be willing to call the hotline, and many were extremely enthusiastic. Unfortunately, only two calls were received. The door-to-door gun tip results reveal an important limitation on the police-citizen "partnership" concept of community-based policing. The fact that the officers were white and the area was predominantly black may have made a difference. But the fact that two-thirds of the persons later found carrying guns in the beat resided outside the area may have been more important.<sup>13</sup> Residents of high crime areas may simply not have all the information police need to deal with many crime problems.

However, the door-to-door program may have produced beneficial results. Exhibit 5 (see page 7) shows that the number of gun crimes in the target beat began to fall sharply in June 1992, the month after the 10-week program of door-to-door visits was completed. Gun crimes continued to decrease up to and after the start of the hot spots patrols. The fact that the number of guns seized in beat 144 declined in the second quarter of 1992<sup>14</sup> eliminates the high-risk gun seizure theory as an explanation of the June decrease in gun crime. The principal remaining explanations are either the deterrent effect of making all the door-to-door visits (with word of mouth spreading about a police crackdown on gun carrying), or simply random fluctuation that is evident elsewhere in the time series for the target beat—such as in the August to October 1991 period (see exhibit 5). Moreover, the second author found a drop in total serious crimes in the target beat that also began in June 1992, a finding consistent with other door-to-door patrol experiments.<sup>15</sup> Thus, even if door-to-door visits failed to increase gun seizures, they may still have been useful for preventing gun crime and other serious crime.

**Body language training.** A second unsuccessful attempt to detect guns in Kansas City was a method that had worked well in New York City. Detective Robert Gallagher (retired) of the New York City Police Department trained a group of Central Patrol Division police officers in the body language "cues" he used to recognize when someone was carrying a

concealed weapon. These indicators, such as frequent touching of the waist to ensure that a gun stuffed in a belt will not fall down a pants leg, helped Gallagher make more than 1,000 arrests for carrying concealed weapons. But using the same methods, Gallagher was unable to spot any gun carriers during several nights on patrol in the most violent areas of Kansas City in June 1992.

This difference may reflect the enormous difference in density between the two cities: New York has 30 times as many people in about the same amount of land. Therefore, in New York most people walk and use public transit; in Kansas City, most people travel by car. The Kansas City officers trained to use these methods did report a few cases in which the techniques led to detection of a concealed weapon, but only 9 percent of guns were found in pedestrian checks.<sup>16</sup>

Despite these results in Kansas City, both gun tips hotlines and body language cues may still work well in other cities. The social and physical characteristics of cities vary widely, and these methods may work better in different kinds of communities. Most important, the Kansas City experience demonstrates the importance of trial and error in any city's efforts to get guns off the streets. Given the complexity of the problem, it is unrealistic to expect the first method tried to be an automatic success.

strategies for increasing gun seizures were attempted in beat 144 (see "Trial and Error in Gun Detection"), but Federal funds for extra police patrol were expended entirely upon the overtime patrols.

**Measures used.** Because the extra patrol hours were federally funded, separate bookkeeping was required to document the time. In addition, an onsite University of Maryland evaluator accompanied the officers on 300 hours of hot spots patrol and coded every shift activity narrative for patrol time and enforcement in and out of the area. Property room data on guns seized, computerized crime reports, calls for service data, and arrest records were analyzed for both areas under the study. No attempt was made to conduct victimization surveys, although a before and after survey of the target and comparison beats was conducted to measure citizen perceptions of the program.<sup>17</sup>

**Data analyses.** The data were examined several different ways. The primary analyses compared all 29 weeks of the phase 1 patrol program (July 7, 1992, through January 25, 1993, when the phase 1 funding for the special patrols expired) to the 29 weeks preceding phase 1, using difference of means tests. Other analyses added all of 1991 and 1993. The 1993 data included 6 months with no overtime patrols and phase 2 overtime patrols for 6 months in the second half of 1993. These analyses thus covered six 6-month periods, two of which had the program and four of which did not. The citizen survey analysis compared the amount and direction of before-after differences in attitudes within beats.

Both shorter and longer periods around the program were also exam-



### Traffic Stops and Reasonable Suspicion

any lay people—and even some police—underestimate police powers to search for guns. When a police officer can articulate a reason for believing that a gun crime may be about to occur, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that the officer may pat down the outside of the suspect's clothing to check for guns (Terry v. Ohio, 392 U.S. 1, 1968). This ruling does not give police the right to stop cars or persons in an arbitrary manner. But it does imply that when police stop people for other legally sound reasons, they may find further evidence that justifies proceeding to frisk a suspect and to search the passenger compartment of the car.<sup>18</sup> When one considers that traffic stops are the leading cause of police murders in the line of duty, the logic of this policy may be clearer, as the following true case study from Indianapolis implies:

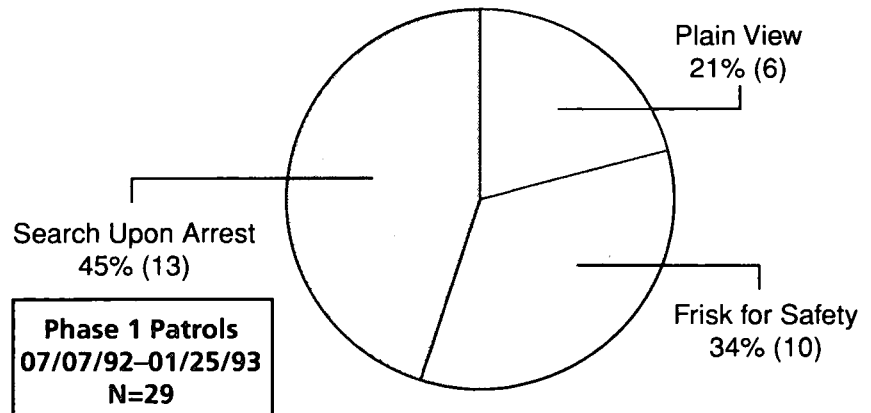
*An officer stopped a car in a high crime neighborhood for running a stop sign. As the officer approached the driver, he saw the driver reaching into a belt pack. He then directed the driver to get out of the car so he could pat down the belt pack. Feeling hard metal inside, the officer*

*opened the pack and found a small revolver.*

The evidentiary standard of reasonable suspicion is necessarily lower than the standard of probable cause, which is the level of evidence required to justify an arrest. In the case study, the driver could not have been arrested for reaching into his belt pack. But the behavior did provide a basis for articulating why the officer thought the driver might have had a gun. Only after the gun was actually found was there sufficient evidence to make an arrest for carrying a concealed weapon without a permit. But the articulable suspicion allowed the officer to detect the hidden evidence in a lawful and constitutional manner.

Other methods used in Kansas City included looking into the car for guns in plain view on the seat or the floor and looking for body language of pedestrians for telltale signs of a gun stuffed inside a suspect's clothing. Consent searches of glove compartments or car trunks are also legal, as long as the consent is truly voluntary.

How Hot Spot Patrols Seized Guns



ined for overall impact. Autoregressive moving averages (ARIMA) models were used to compare gun crime in the 52 weeks before and after the patrols in both the target and comparison beats. Standard chi-square tests were used to compare 1991 versus 1992 differences in gun crimes for all four quarters, as well as both half-years, in both target and comparison beats. No matter how the data were examined, the results were similar.

**The program in action**

**Patrol activity.** Officers reported spending 3.27 car-hours of the 12 car-hours per night actually patrolling the target area (27 percent), for a total of 1,218 officer-hours of potential gun detection and visible patrol presence in the area. The officers thus spent 70 percent of their time processing arrests and performing other patrol-related duties, as well as some patrol work outside the target area.

Despite their limited time in the area, the officers generated a lot of activity. Both in and out of target beat 144, the directed patrols issued 1,090 traffic citations, conducted 948 car checks and 532 pedestrian checks, and made 170 State or Federal arrests and 446 city arrests, for an average of 1 police intervention for every 40 minutes per patrol car. There is some evidence that activity levels declined during October through January, just as street activity usually does at the onset of colder weather.<sup>19</sup> The average number of car checks made per day, for example, began at a high of 6.5 in July, and dropped to a low of 3.2 in November, but time in the target area, miles driven, and traffic citations issued did not change substantially during the first 6-month period.

The actual techniques the officers used to find guns varied, from frisks and searches incident to arrest on other charges to safety frisks associated with car stops for traffic violations (see exhibit 3).<sup>20</sup> Every arrest for carrying concealed weapons had to be approved for adequate articulable suspicion with a supervisory detective's signature.

**Results of increased patrol**

**Gun seizures.** The federally funded hot spots patrol officers found 29 guns in addition to the 47 guns seized in the target beat by other police units during phase 1 (second half of 1992), increasing total guns found in the beat by 65 percent over the previous 6-month period and almost tripling the number of guns found during car checks. The ratio of guns seized to directed patrol time in the target area was 1 gun per 156 hours, but the ratio to time actually spent in the area (and not processing arrests) was 1 gun per 84 hours and 1 gun per 28 traffic stops. Overall, there was an increase from 46 guns seized in beat 144 in the first half of 1992 to 76 seized in the last half.

Once the guns were seized, most of them were then permanently removed from the streets. Not all of the guns were carried illegally; about one-fifth (14) of the total 76 guns seized in the target area during phase 1, and 4 of the 29 guns seized by the extra hot spots patrols were confiscated by police for "safekeeping," a practice followed by many police agencies when officers have reason to believe gun violence may otherwise occur. While guns taken for this reason are usually returned to their registered owners upon application at the property room, the process can take several days to several weeks to complete. Illegally carried guns, on the other hand, are destroyed by Kansas City police and not returned to circulation.

**Gun crime.** There were 169 gun crimes in the target area in the 29 weeks prior to the hot spots patrols, but only 86 gun crimes in the 29 weeks during the phase 1 patrols—a 49 percent decrease, with 83 fewer gun crimes (see exhibit 4). This change was statistically significant in both a test of differences of means

**Exhibit 4: Gun Crimes Before and During Phase 1 by Beat**

Beat	Before 12/17/91-7/6/92	During 7/7/92-1/25/93	%Change
Target (144)	169	86	-49%*
Comparison (242)	184	192	+4%
Adjoining Target			
141	76	57	-25%
142	106	84	-21%
143	39	44	+13%
213	143	158	+10%
214	104	138	+33%
331	143	175	+22%
332	153	160	+5%
All Kansas City	4,359	4,287	-2%

\* Statistically significant t value, P < .05. Before and during weekly gun crime means were tested for significant differences in all areas displayed. Only the target area showed enough change for it to be unlikely a result of chance or random fluctuation.

-test) for that period, and in an ARIMA model covering an even longer before and after period.<sup>21</sup>

The comparison beat 242 showed a slight drop in guns seized, from 85 in the first half to 72 in the second half of 1992. It also showed a slight increase in gun crimes, from 184 in the 29 weeks before the program to 192 gun crimes in the 29 weeks during the program (see exhibit 5). Neither change was statistically significant.<sup>22</sup>

In addition, while gun crime dropped in beat 144, none of the seven contiguous beats showed any significant change in gun crime, as exhibit 5 shows for the 29 weeks before and after tests. Both the

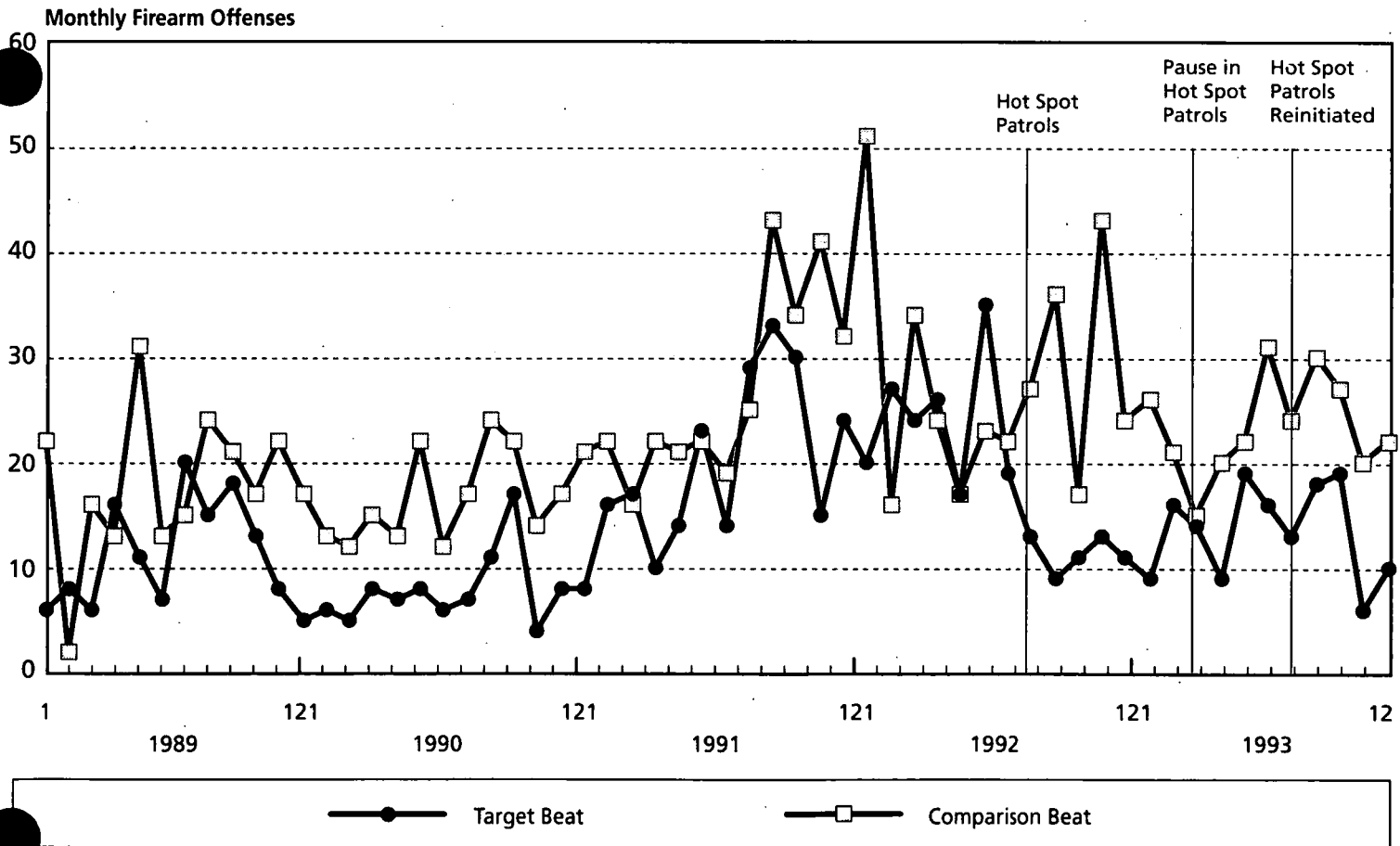
increases and decreases in gun crime found across the contiguous beats were small enough to have occurred by chance. The 52 weeks before and after special tests (ARIMA models) showed significant reductions in gun crimes in beats 141 and 143.

**Driveby shootings.** Driveby shootings in beat 144 dropped significantly during both 6-month periods of hot spots patrols (second halves of 1992 and 1993) compared to the 6-month periods without them. The same analysis showed no differences in the beats surrounding 144 and an increase in the comparison beat 242.<sup>23</sup>

**Homicides.** Homicides were also significantly lower in beat 144 during the two 6-month program periods than in other 6-month periods, from 1991 through 1993, while there were no significant differences in homicides across those periods in comparison beat 242.

**Other crimes.** Neither total calls for police service, calls about violence, property or disorder crimes, total offense reports, nor property or violent offenses showed any effect of the increased patrol. There were no changes in these measures in either the target or comparison area. The target area hot spots patrols focused specifically on guns, and their effects were limited to gun crimes.

Exhibit 5: Total Offenses With Firearms by Month in Target and Comparison Beats



**Community perceptions.** Community surveys before and after the intensive patrols showed that respondents in the target area, beat 144, became less fearful of crime and more satisfied with their neighborhood than respondents in the comparison beat 242. Target area respondents also perceived less physical and social disorder after phase 1. While target beat respondents were only marginally more likely to say that the shooting problem had gotten better and no more likely to say that overall crime problems had improved, they were significantly more likely than comparison area respondents to say that neighborhood drug problems had gotten better.

When the experimental period was over, crimes involving firearms gradually increased again for 5 months in the first half of 1993, consistent with

the typical police crackdowns pattern.<sup>24</sup> When the phase 2 patrols began in the second half of 1993, gun crimes dropped again, although not as consistently as in phase 1.

**Analysis of the gun crime reduction**

Assuming that there are 100,000 handguns in Kansas City,<sup>25</sup> the seizure of 29 handguns may be considered a drop in the bucket, an implausible reason for any significant reduction in gun crime (Exhibit 6 indicates how gun crime was defined and recorded). But there are at least three plausible theories for how the patrols may have caused a reduction in gun crime: high-risk places, high-risk offenders, and deterrence.

**High-risk places.** One scholar has argued that most guns are not at immedi-

ate risk of being used in crime.<sup>26</sup> Guns seized by police in high gun crime areas at high crime times may be far more at risk of imminent use in crimes than the average handgun. Another researcher estimated that for each new cohort of 100 guns, 33 uses of those guns in crime are reported.<sup>27</sup> Those uses could be heavily concentrated among the small fraction of that cohort that are carried in gun crime hot spots.

Still, criminals may easily replace guns seized by police. Connecting the 29 guns seized to the 83 gun crimes prevented may thus require a further assumption that gun crime is more likely to be a spontaneous incident of opportunity than a planned event and is relatively infrequent in the career of any criminal. The contrary assumption—that criminals with guns commit many gun offenses in a 6-month period in the same small area—may be harder to defend. Even if the suspects who lose their guns to police quickly replace them, the opportune circumstances for the crimes prevented by the guns being seized might not recur as quickly.

**High-risk offenders.** Some gun carriers, of course, may be far more frequent gun users than others. If 10 percent of the 170 State and Federal arrests by directed patrols captured high frequency gun users and if the arrestees spent the next 6 months in jail on serious charges from outstanding warrants, then the program's incapacitation of those 17 offenders alone may have prevented 83 gun crimes—a not implausible average of 5 gun offenses each or less than 1 per month.

**Deterrence.** Deterrence of gun carrying may be an even more plausible

**Exhibit 6: Gun Crimes**

"Gun crimes" are defined as any offense report in which the use of a gun by an offender is reported. The data presented in this report include the following offense types reported as gun crimes on one or more occasions in either the target or comparison area during the year before and after the initiation of the hot spot patrols (July 7, 1991, to July 6, 1993):

Offense Type	Beat 144 (Target Area)	Beat 242 (Comparison Area)
Criminal Homicide	10	30
Rape	6	5
Armed Robbery and Attempts	124	222
Aggravated Assault	293	409
Aggravated Assault on Police	3	1
Burglary	0	1
Simple Assault (gun pointed)	1	0
Destruction of Property	18	38
Kidnapping	0	1
Casualty Injury (firearm)	2	4
Suicide and Attempts	1	1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>712</b>



cause of reduced gun crime. The 29 extra gun seizures, 1,434 traffic and pedestrian stops, or the total of 3,186 arrests, traffic citations, and other police encounters, could have specifically deterred potential gun criminals who encountered police. Visibility of police encounters in the hot spots may have also created a general deterrent effect among those who were not checked by police. This argument appears plausible enough to conclude that directed patrols can reduce gun crime, regardless of the theoretical rationale.

### Conclusion

The most important conclusion from this evaluation is that police can increase the number of guns seized in high gun crime areas at relatively modest cost. Directed patrol around gun crime hot spots is about three times more cost-effective than normal uniformed police activity citywide, on average, in getting guns off the street.<sup>28</sup> The raw numbers of guns seized in each beat may not be impressively large, but the impact of even small increases in guns seized in decreasing the percentage of gun crimes can be substantial. If a city wants to adopt this policy in a high gun crime area, this experiment proves that it can be successfully implemented.

There is still much more to be learned, however, about the entire process of gun detection and seizure by police. Until recently, it has not been a priority of either police administrators or researchers to understand or encour-

age the factors leading to gun seizures. Little is known about differences across police agencies or police officers in their respective rates of gun detection, and it is not even known how many more guns could be detected if patrol officers generally were given more direction and training in how to locate guns in the course of their routine activities. What is clear from the Kansas City gun experiment is that a focus on gun detection, with freedom from answering calls for service, can make regular beat officers working on overtime very productive.

**Officer safety.** A related conclusion is that gun detection does not require large tactical operations. Some police agencies require three to five patrol cars to be present at gun patrol car stops in high gun crime areas, primarily for reasons of officer safety. Yet in the Kansas City experiment, with 20 times the national homicide rate, a pair of two-officer cars working independently was able to increase gun seizures by 65 percent. No gun attacks on officers were reported in the course of these patrols, and no one was injured. Rather than assigning three to five cars to one traffic stop, police agencies could disperse those cars over a wider area to obtain even greater numbers of guns seized from the same investment in police patrols. Whether that will increase the risk of officer injury in the long run is impossible to say. But whatever the level of that risk, the Kansas City officers were willing to assume it without hesitation.

**Cautions.** Now that police know how to increase gun seizures in target areas, the key question is whether that policy will reduce gun crime without total displacement. The Kansas City evidence suggests that the policy can reduce gun crime without local displacement. Only repeated tests of the hypothesis, however, will show whether the policy can predictably produce that result. Previous NIJ research has also reported unreplicated findings,<sup>29</sup> only to have replications show more mixed results.<sup>30</sup> The need for replications is a major caution for interpreting any research results.

Intensified gun patrols also need other cautions. They could conceivably have negative effects on police-community relations or be a waste of time and money. They could also pose great risks to officer safety. They could even provoke more crime by making youths subjected to traffic stops more defiant of conventional society.<sup>31</sup>

All of these hazards are possible but unknown. The tradeoff is the well-known risk of gun violence, which is extremely high in many inner cities and still rising. Firearm crimes in Indianapolis, for example, have risen by 220 percent since 1988. In October 1994, the Indianapolis Police Department implemented a citywide policy implied by the Kansas City results in gun crime hot spots. Whether a citywide program can succeed in doing what Kansas City did in a small area is an important next question for both research and policy.

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13. See Shaw, 260.
14. See Shaw, table 9.
15. See Shaw, figure 14.
16. See Shaw, 107 and 263.
17. See Shaw, chapter 7.
18. See *Pennsylvania v. Mimms*, 434 U.S. 106 (1977); *Michigan v. Long*, 436 U.S. 1032 (1983).
19. See Shaw, 243.
20. See *Terry v. Ohio* in 392 U.S. 1 (1968).
21. There were two reasons for extending the ARIMA model to cover 52 weeks before and 52 weeks after the phase 1 startup date of July 7, 1992. One is that ARIMA models generally require more data points than the 29 actual program weeks for more reliable estimates and the elimination of such factors as seasonality. This is true even though there is no specific minimum requirement. The other reason is that under police crackdown theory (see Sherman, 1990), it was predicted that the effects of the hot spots patrols would linger as a form of residual deterrence even after cessation.
22. No difference was found either in a 29-week before/after t-test or a 52-week before/after ARIMA model.
23. KCPD data on driveby shootings in beats contiguous to the target beat are not displayed but are available from the authors upon request.
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25. See Kleck, 18. There are estimates of at least 65 million handguns in the United States, with a population of more than 250 million people. A rough application of this same ratio to the Kansas City population of some 400,000 people suggests at least 100,000 handguns in Kansas City.
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# *Reducing Youth Gun Violence:*

*A Summary of Programs and Initiatives*



**OJJDP**

*Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention*



# Reducing Youth Gun Violence: A Summary of Programs and Initiatives

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

April 1995

*Shay Bilchik, Administrator*

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## INTRODUCTION

Youth gun violence in our country has become an epidemic. From the Civil War to the present 567,000 Americans have died in combat; but since 1920 alone, firearms have killed over one million American civilians [Pacific Center, 1994]. Among teenagers 15 to 19 years old, the problem of gun violence is particularly alarming: One of every four deaths of a teenager is attributable to a firearm injury. What are the causes of this epidemic of violence? And how can we solve it?

To guide U.S. Attorneys in their violence prevention efforts, and to assist states and jurisdictions in responding to this epidemic, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), in the Office of Justice Programs, at the Department of Justice, has developed this document. *Reducing Youth Gun Violence* provides a synthesis of the most current available programs which seek to reduce youth gun violence. The programs represent a wide array of strategies from school-based prevention programs to gun market interception. To ground these programs and provide a context for their successful implementation, relevant research, evaluation, and legislation is also provided.

The report is divided into two parts: An Executive Summary and A Directory of Programs, Organizations and Research aimed at reducing youth gun violence.

### 1. The Executive Summary:

- Summarizes current federal, and state legislation to reduce youth gun violence and references extensive documentation by the National Criminal Justice Association (NCJA) in this area.
- Summarizes the state-of-the art research from the field of public health, criminology, and sociology on the incidence, the context, and solutions to youth gun violence. It refers to ongoing research by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) and the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention which will expand our knowledge in this area.
- Suggests Federal and Local partnerships in implementing youth gun laws and programs.
- Describes the state-of-the art in youth gun violence prevention and intervention programs.

Summarizes the current status of existing programs and makes recommendations based on these findings.

2. The Directory consists of the following parts:

- *A Youth Gun Violence Program Directory* - an alphabetically-organized list of currently operating programs, contact information, program descriptions, and program evaluations, where available. This list allows the reader to assess the state-of-the-art in reducing youth gun violence; to examine in more detail programs being implemented in specific states or local communities of interest; and to contact individuals in order to share information, provide support or resources, or develop programs.
- *A National Organization Directory* - a list of organizations working on getting guns out of the hands of young people, including a contact person, phone number, and description of current activities. This information supplies names of individuals who can provide advice, resources, or additional contacts for the individual reader interested in establishing or expanding local youth gun violence reduction programs.
- *A Bibliography of Research, Evaluation, and Publications on Youth and Guns* - provides abstracts of research on guns and youth. This resource summarizes the research which can provide the basis for expanding policy, public information campaigns, or initiatives in the area of youth gun violence.

The information in this document on youth and gun laws, research, and prevention and intervention programs was gathered by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. This report synthesizes work from a wide range of sources representing law enforcement, public health, academia, and youth service providers.

Contributions came from the National Institute of Justice; United States Attorneys; Partnerships Against Violence: Promising Programs (PAVNET); Center to Prevent Handgun Violence; Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; Developmental Research and Program, Inc.; Educational Development Center, Inc.; International Association of Chiefs of Police; Joyce Foundation; National Association of State Boards of Education; National Criminal Justice Association; National Governors Association; National School Boards Association; National School Safety Center; Pacific Center for Violence Prevention; Violence Policy Center; and others.

*Reducing Youth Gun Violence* incorporates written documentation (status reports, research, newsletters, and other written materials) from each of the listed organizations and, through follow-up telephone calls to the directors and/or staff, other experts, researchers, practitioners, and program directors, adds the latest knowledge from the field. As such, it attempts to present the most current and complete information available in the United States on reducing youth gun violence, and suggests a variety of



strategies to reducing youth gun violence. It is the first phase of a broader OJJDP project to collect and disseminate promising youth gun violence reduction programs.

This first volume, *Reducing Youth Gun Violence*, presents a broad survey of programs. Some of the programs have just been initiated, many have not been evaluated, and some are narrow in scope. Yet they clearly suggest a direction for states and jurisdictions in addressing the youth gun violence they confront. The format of this document allows the reader to identify programs best-suited to the needs of the target area.

The second volume in this series will present a more in-depth review of evaluated or promising programs and will develop model programs to reduce youth gun violence. It will be based on feedback from U.S. Attorneys and others on Volume 1; and on an International Association of Chief's of Police survey of state youth program coordinators and actual site visits to selected programs. Findings in Volume 2 will complement the model youth handgun law being developed by the National Criminal Justice Association.

I want to thank the staff of OJJDP, the Offices and Bureaus of the Office of Justice Programs, the United States Attorneys and the significant number of staff from various other Department of Justice components who contributed to the development of this document. A special commendation goes to Sarah Ingersoll, Special Assistant, OJJDP, as the primary author of Reducing Youth Gun Violence: A Summary of Programs and Initiatives.



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I.

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**



## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Nation's juvenile justice system stands at a crossroads. We are faced with a disturbing increase in violent crimes committed by juveniles and an alarming rise in abuse, neglect, and gun violence perpetuated against American youth. In light of this emerging crisis, we can no longer afford a narrow focus by separate disciplines to attack the problem. To effectively address the rising levels of juvenile crime, especially youth gun violence, participants from all community sectors, public and private, across specializations, must plan collaboratively and comprehensively if we are to reduce violence and build healthier and safer communities. Collectively, we must launch a two-pronged assault on juvenile delinquency and youth gun violence, and their causes. Both prevention and early intervention programs and a strong focus on law enforcement and a comprehensive system of graduated sanctions are crucial to this battle.

There are a number of approaches that have been taken, can be supported, or should be initiated to address the increased access to, and dangerous use of, guns by young people. Interventions can be categorized into seven basic types: 1) legislation; 2) research; 3) technological and environmental changes; 4) Federal law enforcement; 5) individual prevention programs; 6) intervention programs; and 7) comprehensive initiatives.

### Youth Gun Legislation

Legal measures strive to limit access to firearms - the number and the type of people eligible to own or possess firearms, as well as the types of firearms that can be manufactured, owned, and carried. Gun violence reduction legislation addresses both firearm availability and societal norms, in order to reduce crime and violence.

Recent federal legislation makes a strong statement that guns in the hands of young people will not be tolerated and represents a critical step towards making our schools and neighborhoods safer:

- In August 1994, the *Youth Handgun Safety Act* (Title XI, Subtitle B) (YHSA) was passed as part of the Omnibus Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act. It prohibits the possession of a handgun or ammunition by, or the private transfer of a handgun or ammunition to, a juvenile. The law includes a number of exceptions, such as farming, hunting, and other specified uses.
- The *Gun-Free Schools Act*, which took effect on March 31, 1994, amends the current Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 USC 2701 et seq.) (ESEA). It states that, as a condition of receiving any assistance under the ESEA, a local educational agency (LEA) must have in effect a policy requiring the expulsion from school for a period of not less than one year of any student who brings a firearm to school, except that the LEA's chief administering officer may modify the expulsion requirement on a case-by-case basis.

- A second *Gun-Free Schools Act*, enacted in October 1994, requires that local educational agencies implement a policy "requiring referral to the criminal justice or juvenile delinquency system of any student who brings a firearm or weapon to a school served by such agency."

While this legislation comes from the federal government, it is state and local law enforcement officials who can most effectively deal with juvenile gun violations. The role of the federal government is to support state and local efforts in doing so. Indeed, in approximately half of the states, statutes already exist which are at least as stringent as the Youth Handgun Safety Act.

The National Criminal Justice Association, under a grant from OJJDP and the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), has produced a "Compilation of State Firearm Codes that Affect Juveniles." It contains most state firearm code provisions that might be applied to juveniles relating to the ownership, purchase, receipt, handling, carrying, and holding of firearms. It indicates that all 50 states and the District of Columbia have prohibitions or restrictions on firearms generally or handguns in particular that specifically affect or extend to juveniles. It also indicates the percentage of states that have codes affecting juveniles relevant to each of the following areas: possession of a firearm (75%); possession of particular types of firearms (90%); parental consent (at least 50%); safety training (10%); special prohibitions relating to adjudicated delinquents (more than 20%), persons addicted to alcohol or drugs (more than 33%), or committed to mental institutions (35%); firearms in schools (more than 67%); waivers to criminal court (18%); and detention (2%). It also describes juvenile firearm-related provisions enacted by state legislatures in 1994.

Even though reducing youth gun violence is a federal priority, the battleground is on the state and local level. The Federal role must be to encourage and assist that battle by providing support based upon sound information gathered nationally on effective approaches to intervention, rehabilitation, and prevention. The nuts and bolts of these activities, however, still remain with state and local jurisdictions.

## **Youth Gun Research**

The extensive data, and the research that has been conducted by criminologists, public health researchers, and sociologists, should guide any youth gun violence prevention or intervention activity. The research on gun deaths affecting both adult and child populations is extensive. The literature which focuses exclusively on guns and youth overlaps with the other broader body of gun literature, but is even more extensive in the areas of incidence and prevalence of gun deaths.

### **The Incidence and Prevalence of Youth Gun Violence**

The majority of studies on youth and guns focuses on homicide, suicide, or accidental death by firearms. Briefly stated, this research shows increasing numbers of homicides and deaths by firearms, especially among the population of young African American males.

*Suicides* - 1,899 youth ages 15-19 committed suicide in 1991, a rate of 11 per 100,000 youth in this age group. Between 1979 and 1991, the rate of suicide among youth ages 15-19 increased



31%. Firearms were used in 6 out of 10 suicides among 15-19 year olds in 1989 [Allen-Hagen, Sickmund, and Snyder, 1994]. The presence of firearms in the home is associated with the increased risk of adolescent suicides [Brent, Perper, and Allman, 1987].

*Murder Rates* - Homicide rates by youth 18 and under have more than doubled between 1985 and 1992 while there has been no growth in homicide rates by adults 24 and older. Following a period of relative stability from 1970 through 1985, there was a major increase starting just after 1985 in the murder rate by young people (ages 15-22). It is estimated that for this age group there were 18,600 murders during the seven years from 1986 to 1992; totalling 12.1% of the annual average of 22,000 murders in those years. In one year alone (1991) this age group generated an excess of 5,330 murders, or 21.6% of the total 24,703 reported in the 1991 Uniform Crime Report. For 16-year-olds, for example, whose murder rate prior to 1985 was consistently about half that of all other age groups, their increase from 1985 to 1992 was 138%. Even the 13 to 14-year-olds, whose rate is still low enough for them not to be a significant contributor to total murders, about doubled their murder rates between 1985 and 1992 [Blumstein, 1994].

*Homicides with Guns* - The number of homicides juveniles commit with guns has more than doubled between 1985 and 1992 while there has been no change in non-gun homicides. From 1976 through 1985, a very steady average of 59% of the homicides committed by juveniles involved a gun, and the other 41 percent involved some other form of weapon. Beginning in 1985, and especially in 1988, there was a steady growth in the use of guns by juveniles, with no corresponding upward trend (indeed, a continuation of a slight downward trend) in non-gun homicides [Blumstein, 1994].

*Homicide Victims* - For victims over age 30, the fraction killed by guns has declined a small but statistically significant amount from 1976 through 1991. But for victims in the 15 to 19 age range that rate has gone from an average of 63% from 1976 through 1984 to a level of 85% in 1992. For the younger victims, the rate has grown even higher, from 49% to 72 percent killed by guns. More than 70% of the teenage homicide victims were shot to death. [Blumstein, 1994]. Firearm homicide rates were highest for black males and lowest for white females in all five urbanization strata for 1979 through 1989 [Fingerhut, 1992]. Teenage boys in all racial and ethnic groups are more likely to die from gunshot wounds than from all natural causes combined [Jones & Krisberg, 1994].

This document, however, does not emphasize the body of literature on incidence and prevalence of child and youth gun death and murder rates, but rather highlights the much smaller body of literature on the context, analysis, and solutions proposed to this epidemic. This research relies less on police reports and, instead, builds upon opinion polls, self-reported surveys, epidemiological analysis, and criminological research.

#### The Context and Analysis of Youth Gun Violence and Preventive Solutions and Interventions

Research on the *contexts* which lead to youth involvement with guns, *analysis* of the reasons for youth involvement with guns, and *preventive solutions* and *interventions* to this problem are much more sparse

than the literature on the incidence of gun violence. It is in these four areas, however, that we find the most useful information for policies and methods for reducing youth gun violence.

## CONTEXT

Research on the context of youth gun violence provides information beyond the numbers of deaths. It indicates the circumstances and broader significance surrounding the incidence of youth gun violence including young people's access to and use of guns; the role of drugs and drug dealing in youth gun violence; the importance of gun dealers and certain types of guns in the youth gun violence equation; the level of youth gun deaths associated with domestic arguments, suicide, and accidents rather than criminal behavior; and the effect of youth's social maladjustment or lack of training in proper gun handling on youth gun violence. In other words, the context of youth gun violence explains some of the interrelated causal factors critical to developing an intelligent approach to this crisis.

*Access* - The availability of guns makes youth violence more lethal [American Psychological Association, 1993; Elliott, 1994; Jones & Krisberg, 1994; McDowall, 1991]. Longitudinal research on juvenile violent behavior by the director of the Carnegie-supported *Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence*, shows that about the same proportion of youth are committing serious violent offenses today as in 1980 and their frequency of offending is the same. What has changed over the decade and is resulting in the quadrupling of youth homicides is the *lethality* of the violent acts. The fact that the adolescent homicide rate has more than doubled since 1988 is grim testimony of this increased lethality. This dramatic increase in the lethality of adolescent violence is explained almost entirely by the increased use of handguns in these violent exchanges. [Elliott, 1994].

- In one study documenting self-reported handgun access and ownership in Seattle, 34% of the students reported easy access to handguns (47% of males and 22% of the females); and 6.4% owning a handgun [Callahan & Rivera, 1992].
- In 1993, a national study by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention showed that 21% of New York City public high school students reported carrying a weapon, such as a gun, knife or club within a 30 day period, with 7% carrying a handgun.
- In the Rochester Youth Development Study, 10% of the 9th and 10th grade boys in Rochester public schools owned a firearm and 7.5% reported carrying them regularly [Lizotte, et al, 1994]
- A 1993 national opinion poll of children in grades 6-12 showed that 59% of the 2,508 children surveyed said they could "get a handgun if they wanted"; 35% maintained that it would take less than an hour to acquire a firearm; and 15% had carried a handgun in the last month [Louis Harris, 1993].

- A 1993 study among 7th grade males in an inner-city high school found that 48% had carried knives and 23% had carried guns. 45% of the 8th grade males carried a knife and 40% carried a gun regularly [Webster et al., 1993]

*Use and Lethality* - Although guns are more available, youth also now show an increasing tendency to use guns to settle disputes. When youth who are already predisposed to violence have easy access to guns, they may be more likely to become violent. [APA, 1993]. Low prices [Pacific Center, 1994] and technological innovations in firearm and ammunition manufacturing [Jones & Krisberg, 1994] further increases the lethality of youth gun violence. Despite advances in the medical field, advances in the invention of rapid-fire assault weapons and bullets designed to explode within the human target are always one step ahead, making gun death a more likely outcome of shootings .

*Drugs and Firearms* - Goldstein [in Blumstein, 1994] indicates three ways drugs and crime are connected. 1) *pharmacological/psychological* consequences, where the drug itself causes criminal or violent activity; 2) *economic/compulsive* crimes, which are crimes committed by drug users to support their habit; and 3) *systemic crime*, which includes the crimes committed as part of the regular means of doing business in the drug industry. With respect to the pharmacological effect of drugs, it is estimated that drugs, and most commonly alcohol, are present in a significant number of firearm related deaths [Pacific Center, 1994]. However, given the relative decline in the past few years of illegal drug use among young people, particularly African American youth, the extent of economic and compulsive crimes related to sustaining drug habits within this population is likely to be less significant. With respect to systemic drug crime, on the other hand, it is clear that firearms are more prevalent around illicit drugs [APA, 1993] and that this is particularly the case for young people. A longitudinal study of 1,500 Pittsburgh male youth shows that the frequency of carrying a concealed weapon increased in the year concurrent with the initiation of drug selling. Among drug sellers, the rates for gun use steadily increased while the rates for other weapons decreased. This was even more significant among drug sellers who sold hard drugs (heroin, cocaine, and LSD) [Van Kammen & Loeber, 1994].

*Crack Cocaine and 1985* - Based on drug arrest rates and other data, Blumstein [1994] hypothesizes that the increase in the recruitment of juveniles, primarily nonwhites, into the drug markets began with the introduction of crack cocaine to the inner cities. In addition to the dramatic addictiveness of this drug, there are a number of reasons why youth, especially nonwhite youth, may have been brought into the crack drug market. According to police, the recent "drug war" has been focused on non-whites much more than whites because black drug sellers tend to operate in the street, whereas white sellers are much more likely to operate indoors. This makes black drug dealers more vulnerable to arrest and more inclined to recruit young people, who are less vulnerable to the punishments imposed by the adult criminal justice system. In addition, young people will work more cheaply than adults, tend to be more daring and willing to take risks, and may see no other comparably satisfactory route to economic sustenance. All these factors are undoubtedly enhanced by young people's pessimism as they weigh their opportunities in the legitimate economy, and the increasing demands for skills in order to gain effective entry. This makes them particularly amenable to recruitment and the lure of drug dealers. It also makes them more likely, as with all participants in the illicit drug industry, to carry guns for self-protection. These hypotheses are consistent with aggregate national data which show that the introduction of crack

cocaine and youth gun homicides flourished in tandem with one another at different times in different cities, early in New York City and Los Angeles, and later in Washington, D.C. [Blumstein, 1994].

*Criminal Behavior, Arguments, Suicide, Accidents and Gun Deaths* - Though often portrayed as resulting from criminal activity, the bulk of firearm deaths that occur as a result of arguments exceeds the number of firearm deaths associated with robberies, fights and rapes combined. [Pacific Center, 1994]. One study in King County, Washington found that guns kept at home were involved in the death of a household member 18 times more often than in the death of a stranger. These deaths included suicides, homicides, and unintentional fatal shootings [Kellerman, 1993].

*Obtaining Guns From Gun Dealers* - Duker's report on gun dealers [1994] poses questions and provides answers regarding state, county, and city licensed gun dealers. Contents include: 1) Where do adolescents who carry and use guns get them?; 2) How many gun dealers are in my city, county, or state?; 3) Detailed information on getting the names and addresses of gun dealers and stores in my city, county or state; and 4) Laws and regulations for gun dealers and preemptions. This report also provides state-by-state data on the geographical distribution, concentration and regulation of gun dealers.

*Maladjusted Youth* - Handguns are more likely to be owned by socially maladjusted youth, dropouts, drug dealers, and those individuals with a prior record of violent behavior, than by their more socially adjusted peers; even in those sections of the country in which firearms and hunting are fairly common. [APA, 1993; Elliott, 1994; Huizinga, 1994; Lizotte, 1994]. In a study by Webster et al [1993], gun carrying among 7th and 8th graders at an inner city school was associated with having previously been arrested, knowing more victims of violence, starting fights, and being willing to justify shooting someone. *Illegal* guns are especially more likely to be owned by delinquents or drug users. For example, 74% of the illegal gun owners commit street crimes, 24% commit gun crimes, and 41% use drugs. [Huizinga, 1994]

*Types of Guns* - In one study of serious juvenile offenders and students from high risk areas in four states, the firearms of choice were high-quality, powerful revolvers, closely followed by automatic and semi-automatic handguns, and then shotguns [Sheley & Wright, 1993]

*Gun Socialization* - According to one researcher, gun ownership by adults and the introduction of their children into gun culture appears to reduce problems associated with teenage violence [Blackman, 1994]. Huizinga's [1994] and Lizotte et al.'s [1994] research also shows that for legal gun owners, sport gun use socialization appears to take place in the family. For illegal gun owners, protective gun use socialization comes from peer influences "on the street."

## ANALYSIS

Based on the information provided by examining the context of youth gun violence, the following are some hypotheses and explanations posited by the research literature for the increase in youth gun violence:

*A Cycle of Fear* - To the taxonomy of drug/crime connections described earlier, Blumstein adds a fourth way drugs and gun violence are related. He calls this the *community disorganization* effect of the drug industry and its operations on the larger community. The community disorganization effect includes the influence of the widespread prevalence of guns among drug sellers as a stimulus to others in the community to arm themselves similarly, perhaps for self-defense, perhaps to settle their own disputes that have nothing to do with drugs, or perhaps just to gain respect." [p.14]. Blumstein posits a "diffusion" hypothesis to explain the increase in firearm homicides among youth. He suggests that as juveniles became involved in the drug trade, they acquired guns to protect themselves. In turn, other young people obtained guns to protect themselves from these drug-involved, gun-carrying juveniles. Thus, disputes that would have been fist fights turned into shootings. Delbert Elliott's research on the increased lethality of youth violence [1994]; Fagan's forthcoming research on the "ecology of danger;" and the Louis Harris poll [1993], which shows that 35% of children ages 6-12 fear their lives will be cut short by gun violence, support Blumstein's hypothesis.

*Lack of Opportunity* - Blumstein [1994] and Pacific Center [1994] further add that high levels of poverty, high rates of single-parent households, educational failures, and a widespread sense of economic hopelessness exacerbate the diffusion phenomenon and increase the usage of guns by young people.

*Culture of Machismo and Violence* - Fagan [forthcoming] suggests that, in addition to the environment of fear in which young people live, there are also cultural dynamics based on the illicit gun trade that has popularized guns and made "backing down" from arguments and "losing face" difficult for young people. Elliott's [1994] and Anderson's [1994] work also suggests that an element of showing off and ensuring respect and acquiescence from others is a method of self-defense that contributes to the youth gun violence we are witnessing. In addition to the drug trade, crimogenic neighborhoods and media violence are also factors contributing to the use of guns by young people. [Pacific Center, 1994]

Shapiro et al's research [1993] pinpoints grades 5 and 6 as a particularly "gun-prone" time and suggests that youth, responding aggressively to shame, finding guns exciting, feeling comfortable with aggression, and believing that guns bring power and safety, are most likely to engage in gun violence.

*Lack of Faith in Law Enforcement* - Elliott [1994] suggests that youth violence may be a response to the perception that public authorities cannot protect youth or maintain order in their neighborhoods.

*Youth Perspective* - The major increase in murders by the very young raises concerns because of the general perception of a "greater recklessness" associated with teenagers than with older adults. Guns in the hands of young people can engender fear because of the sense that young people are less likely to exercise the necessary restraint in handling dangerous weapons, especially when the weapons are rapid-fire assault weapons [Blumstein 1994]. Young people often have an underdeveloped sense of the value of life, their own as well as others. They may have an inability to understand how one seemingly isolated act can in turn impact an entire community. This developmental issue, when combined with access to guns and the other factors described above, may also contribute to youth gun violence. [Pacific Center, 1994].

## PREVENTIVE SOLUTIONS

A fuller understanding of the context and an analysis of the problem of youth gun violence lends itself to an understanding of some ways to begin addressing the problem. There are a number of types of activities in which we can engage to reduce the incidence of youth gun violence. They include the following:

*Preventive Services* - More effective prevention through the identification of children at risk and referral to appropriate services are important first steps to reducing youth gun violence. [AAP, 1992; Blumstein, 1994]. These services should include teaching parenting skills and teaching children how to manage their anger nonviolently [Henkoff, 1992]. Violence-prone attitudes seem to increase between 5th and 6th grades and then stabilize. Prevention programs that identify, address, and change attitudes, motives, and beliefs that are conducive to violent behavior should be aimed at such ages [Shapiro et al, 1993]. Programs for at-risk youth should focus on changing individual behavior and decision-making processes [Fagan, forthcoming]. These programs should also address alternative ways to express cultural pride and strength [May, 1994].

*Working With Witnesses to Violence* - It is also very important to offer psychological health services to young perpetrators, victims and witnesses of violence [APA, 1993; Collison, et al., 1987]. A survey of 582 Cook County Department of Corrections detainees found that 51% had previously entered hospitals for violence-related injuries; and 26% survived prior gunshot wounds. Those with prior firearm injuries shared other common factors which included witnessing a shooting at an early age and easy access to a semiautomatic weapon. [May, 1995]

*Public Education* - Long-term public and family education programs and gun safety curricula in school are another suggested approach. [AAP, 1992; CDCP, 1991; Christoffel, 1991; Fingerhut, 1991; Sugarman & Rand, 1994; Treanor & Bijlefeld, 1989]. Involving youth [Treanor & Bijlefeld, 1989] and developing community consensus on the use and possession of weapons is essential to an effective public education process. [Fingerhut et al, 1992].

*Reducing Fear* - Because the fear of assault is often claimed as the reason for carrying a firearm, programs should be implemented which address the risk of victimization, improve school climate, create safe havens, and foster a safe community environment [Butterfield & Turner, 1989; CDCP, 1991; Fagan, forthcoming; Kennedy, 1994; Sheley & Wright, 1993]. As Sheley & Wright put it, "the fundamental policy problem involves convincing youths that they can survive in their neighborhoods without being armed." [1993]. This means reducing both perceived environmental dangers and reducing actual opportunities for weapon-associated violence [Fingerhut, 1991].

*Making Guns Safer* - Safer gun design, regulation, product liability, increased sales tax, firearm registration and licensure, background checks, and ammunition modification are ways to regulate the dangers of guns. [AAP, 1989; Christoffel, 1991; Sugarman & Rand, 1994]

*Reducing Availability and Stricter Regulation* - Nationwide, domestic manufacturing and foreign importation of handguns reached an all time high in 1992 [Pacific Center, 1994]. Stricter legislation and

assault and handgun gun bans are approaches almost unanimously suggested by the research as ways to limit the accessibility of guns to youth [AAP, 1989; APA, 1993; Christoffel, 1991; Fingerhut, 1991; Henkoff, 1992; Kennedy, 1994; Lawyers Committee, 1994; Pacific Center, 1994; Smith & Lautman, 1990]. The National Rifle Association favors regulations relating to the access and misuses of firearms by minors, particularly at the state level, as long as these regulations do not impinge on adults' rights [Blackman, 1994].

Brewer et al.'s review of preliminary evaluations of the effectiveness of local gun laws and policies [1994] showed that mandatory sentencing laws for felonies involving firearms indicate some promise in preventing gun-related violent crime. Restrictive handgun laws also have some indication of effectiveness [Elliott, 1994; Lofton et al., 1991]. Other types of laws have not been evaluated adequately to permit classification as either effective or ineffective.

*Enforcing Laws* - Brewer et al.'s review [1994] suggests that enforcement of laws may be the key to their preventive potential. The Lawyers Committee on Violence, a consortia of legal advocates, also espouse such a strategy [1994].

*Drug Treatment and Prevention* - Additional investments in drug treatment and a reduction of youth involvement with alcohol and drugs are also effective strategies. [American Psychological Association, 1993; Blumstein, 1994]. Reducing the illicit drug trade would reduce drug-related violence as well as drug-induced violence. In addition, as Van Kammen & Loeber's [1994] research shows, a reduction in juveniles selling drugs is likely to reduce the carrying of concealed weapons, particularly guns.

*Improving Opportunities* - Changes in the family, community, and society should complement any intervention focused on individual perpetrators. The culture of violence and structural lack of opportunity in inner cities, in particular, should be addressed [Ruttenberg, 1994; Sheley & Wright, 1992].

## INTERVENTIONS

While preventive approaches seek to minimize the development of the factors associated with youth gun violence, interventions work with young people already engaged in high-risk activities.

*Getting Guns Out of the Hands of Kids* - To reduce the environment of fear and to achieve the greatest reduction in the number of weapon-carrying youth, the research suggests that efforts be directed at frequent weapon carriers. [Blumstein, 1994; CDCP, 1991]. Naturally, young people's civil liberties should be respected [Northrop & Hamrick, 1990], but gun reduction strategies and fear reduction strategies should reinforce one another. Kennedy [1994] suggests a "market disruption" approach such as that utilized in fighting street drug markets. By using community allies to report new dealing sites, making buyers feel vulnerable by publicizing reverse sting operations in which police pose as dealers and arrest buyers, and interfering with business by loitering around dealer sites, police have been successful in reducing drug trafficking in communities. Community support is critical for the effectiveness of such an operation. A recent National Institute of Justice sponsored evaluation of the Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department's "Weed and Seed" program found that the program's success in getting guns off the

street in one neighborhood reduced gun crimes there by almost 50% during a six-month period and, significantly, the decline in the target area did not appear to cause a displacement of crime to adjoining neighborhoods.

*Reducing the Supply of Guns* - The Lawyers Committee on Violence, on the other hand, proposes that legal burdens associated with gun-violence fall not only on the shooter of the gun, but also on the owner, the seller or supplier, the manufacturer, and the shooter's parents if the shooter is a minor.

*Reporting and Detection* - The National School Safety Center found that one of the most effective intervention tactics was to encourage students to report weapon-carrying classmates to teachers or administrators [Butterfield & Turner, 1989]. They also suggest the use of metal detectors, unannounced sweeps and searches of lockers [Butterfield & Turner, 1989; Lawyers Committee, 1994].

*Utilizing a Broad Coalition of Advocates and Experts* - In almost every piece of literature addressing youth gun violence, the authors agree that the activities suggested above should be accomplished by a broad coalition of concerned individuals and organizations [Advocacy Institute, 1994; AAP, 1989; APA, 1993; Becker, Olsen, and Vick, 1993; May, 1995; Price et al., 1991; Smith & Lautman, 1990; Sugarman & Rand, 1994; Treanor & Bijlefeld, 1989]. Crime control professionals; public health and health professionals; victim's families; educators; law makers; criminologists; gun control groups; community-based organizations; community members; the armed services; Federal Communications Commission; and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission can all participate in advocating for the freedom of our youth from gun violence. An effective strategy is one that includes young people and disinvested people and provides legitimate activities and opportunities for them [Blumstein, 1994].

#### Further Research

The experts in the field of youth gun violence have posited that further research in the following areas would assist in firmly grounding future youth firearms policy and practice:

- The magnitude, characteristics and cost of morbidity and disability caused by firearms and other weapons [Northrop & Hamrick, 1990; Sugarman & Rand, 1994; Zimring, 1993].
- The number, type, and distribution of firearms and other weapons in the United States. [Northrop & Hamrick, 1990].
- The reasons why young people carry guns. [APA, 1993].
- What part the truly violent gangs play in the increase in urban violence. It is unclear if the growth in urban violence is due to gangs, law-violating youth groups, or non-gang youths. [Howell, 1994]
- Epidemiological studies on the precursors and correlates of firearm deaths and injuries or non-fatal assaults (which occur 100 times more than homicides among



children [AAP, 1992; Northrop & Hamrick, 1990; Pacific Center, 1994].

- The effectiveness of gun control policies [Elliott, 1994; Northrop & Hamrick, 1990; Zimring, 1993].

The National Institute for Justice (NIJ) is currently taking steps to address some of these gaps in the research. Ongoing and recently-funded studies in NIJ's Office of Criminal Justice Research include the following:

- A national survey of private firearms ownership and use.
- A study on firearms prevalence in and around urban, suburban, and rural high schools.
- A study which will apply the principles of problem-oriented policing to the interruption of illicit youth gun markets in Boston and Washington, D.C., combining prevention strategies with policing strategies used against illegal drug markets.
- A research project evaluating the effectiveness of a comprehensive strategy to reduce juvenile gun violence in the Atlanta metropolitan region (in conjunction with OJJDP and the Centers for Disease Control).
- A study on youth violence, guns, and links to illicit drug markets.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is funding both ongoing and new research that addresses different aspects of the gun problem including the following:

- An examination of the inter-relationship of guns, violence, drugs and gangs in the Office's Program of Research on Causes and Correlates of Delinquency (in Rochester, Pittsburgh, and Denver).
- A set of studies (in Los Angeles, Milwaukee, the District of Columbia, and South Carolina) of youth violence trends and characteristics. These studies focus specifically on homicides and the use of firearms in them.
- Research on gang involvement of juveniles, including information on gang members who are homicide perpetrators. A national assessment of the scope and seriousness of gang violence will also be conducted.

## **Technological and Environmental Interventions**

While technological changes are not the subject of this document, it is important to note that they are an important approach to reducing youth gun violence, and also in reducing the extensive use of guns against their owners. Firearm design requirements are both a technological and a legal intervention. Firearm standards that have been proposed include designing guns to be less concealable; producing guns with trigger safeties, fingerprint identification, and loading indicators; and regulating the appearance of toy guns as well as actual handguns made of plastic. Design of ammunition is also being explored, since bullet shape, consistency, and composition determine the severity of a gunshot injury.

The Department of Justice is supporting research and demonstrations in the area of technological and environmental interventions. For example, the Bureau of Justice Assistance has awarded a grant to the Chicago Police Department to work with the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to increase the solution rate of firearm-related violent crime through *Ceasefire*. *Ceasefire* is an automated projectile comparison system that stores the images of unique rifling marks found on bullet surfaces. The system, which will allow firearms technicians to work more efficiently, will soon have the capacity to compare cartridge casings as well.

The NIJ and the FBI are also involved in the effort to examine technological solutions to youth gun violence. Through an interagency agreement, the two organizations are conducting a study of the penetration effects on human targets of fired handgun bullets of various calibers and types. The analysis covers different geographical patterns of shootings and also identifies significant correlations between projectile characteristics and resulting trauma.

## **The Role of Federal Law Enforcement**

While it is yet to be determined what the impact of federal law enforcement will be with respect to prosecuting juvenile handgun violations under the Youth Handgun Safety Act, it is likely to supplement rather than supersede state and local law enforcement efforts. Instead, the Federal government and the Department of Justice, in particular, will intensify efforts to support state and local law enforcement activities. In addition to the supportive role, federal prosecutors and law enforcement will be primary in filling voids where they exist in law enforcement strategies or when there are inadequate state laws to address the broader impact of youth violence generally. Through technical assistance, identifying resources, interstate gun tracing, national data collection and surveillance, facilitating the sharing of information, and highlighting law enforcement and prevention strategies to address youth gun violence, and demonstration grants, the federal government can assist states and local jurisdictions as they implement gun safety legislation. All citizens have a stake in protecting America's communities and providing safe places for businesses to grow and youth to develop into healthy, productive citizens. The following are a few examples of cooperative efforts spearheaded by the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) or Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS):

- BJA is funding the development of a Computerized Information System for the Pittsburgh Police Department Gun Task Force which will connect multiple Federal and local law enforcement agencies via a LAN network and remote communications lines to gather and exchange firearms and related information, including applications for firearms purchases, carriage, dealership licenses, police reports on stolen, confiscated, and pawned firearms within the Pittsburgh region.
- With the Centers for Disease Control, BJS is analyzing data relating to intentional injury -- including firearm injury -- through a National Electronic Injury Surveillance System fielded by the Consumer Product Safety Commission. This data collection effort will produce detailed information about the types of injuries that are treated in hospital emergency rooms, providing the first national data about nonfatal firearm injury.
- BJA is funding a model Firearms Licensee Compliance demonstration project in New York City. The project is a joint effort by NYPD and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) designed to enhance the ability of the NYPD Pistol License Division to conduct thorough background investigations on Federal Firearms License applicants.
- BJA is also funding a number of demonstration projects in Virginia, West Virginia, Georgia, Indiana and collectively in Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond which work with State Police, Local Police, and/or the ATF to identify, target, investigate and prosecute individuals and dismantle illicit organizations engaged in the unlawful use, sale, or acquisition of firearms.
- BJA is supporting the North Carolina Violent Career Criminal Task Force which operates throughout the state and involves the ATF and the three U.S. Attorneys within the state. The project is designed to target, arrest, and convict active violent predatory criminals throughout the state and to develop a model procedure designed to disrupt the flow of firearms to violent offenders.
- BJA will fund a national-based law enforcement organization in concert with ATF, to provide training and administrative support to the 14-State "Interstate Firearms Trafficking Compact." The purposes of the project are to inform state and local law enforcement officers about existing Federal and state firearms-related statutes and to publicize the goals of the "Compact" to Federal, state and local criminal justice officials, public officials, and the general public.

In a 1994 report to the Attorney General and the President of the United States, the U.S. Attorneys outlined ways they could support state and local efforts to get guns out of the hands of young people. Their plans involved six strategies:

- 1) Prosecution and enforcement of the ban on juvenile handgun possession:

- a) Disruption of the markets that provide guns to youth.
  - b) Taking guns out of the hands of kids through coordination with state and local prosecutors.
- 2) Working with state and local officials to enhance the enforcement of their laws.
  - 3) Encouraging and providing financial support for state and local efforts to trace the sources of guns taken from juveniles.
  - 4) Launching targeted enforcement efforts aimed at places where young people should feel safe -- e.g., at home, at school, and in recreation centers.
  - 5) Actively participating in prevention efforts aimed at juveniles in our communities through mentoring programs, adopting a school, and neighborhood watch.
  - 6) Working to promote increased personal responsibility and safety through public outreach on the consequences of juvenile handgun possession.

These approaches endorsed by U.S. Attorneys and supported by the Department of Justice are critical components to any comprehensive youth gun violence reduction strategy.

### **Individual Prevention and Intervention Programs**

Previous sections of this document have referred to the incidence of youth gun violence, its context, an analysis of the causes, and a range of solutions, from technological interventions to federal law enforcement approaches. This next section addresses individual programs which seek to incorporate those lessons. It broadly summarizes the various strategies that have been implemented by different organizations across the country in their efforts to reduce youth gun violence. Detailed descriptions of each of the referenced programs can be found in the Youth Gun Violence Program Directory (Part II of this document).

Although youth can easily obtain firearms, and see them used frequently in films and on television as a method for solving problems, few violence prevention programs for youth focus specifically on preventing violence with guns [APA, 1993]. The programs which do exist can be divided into nine basic categories. Categories 1-4 are generally prevention programs and categories 5-9 are generally intervention programs:

- 1) Curricula;
- 2) Trauma Prevention;
- 3) Gun Buy-Back Programs;

- 4) Public Education Campaigns;
- 5) Community Law Enforcement Programs;
- 6) Gun Market Disruption and Interception;
- 7) Diversion and Treatment Programs;
- 8) Gun Courts; and
- 9) Alternative Schools.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention found fifty-two (52) programs listed in the *Program Directory* that fall in to one of these nine categories; and forty (40) institutes and organizations listed in the *National Organization Directory* which support these types of programs or have been instrumental in their development. The following 10 sections briefly summarize the critical programmatic information provided in these directories.

## **Prevention Programs**

### **1. Curricula**

The majority of youth gun violence reduction programs are curricula carried out in schools, community-based organizations, and physicians' offices. They emphasize the prevention of weapon misuse, the risks involved with the possession of a firearm, and the need for conflict resolution and anger management skills. Educational programs often use videotapes to support their presentation of the tragic results of gun violence and may also include firearm safety instructions, public information campaigns, counseling programs, or crisis intervention hotlines.

*Law Enforcement-Based Curricula* - Police and sheriff departments have been instrumental in supporting these curricula. As part of drug-education, public safety, and violence prevention efforts, police officers and sheriffs across the nation have worked collaboratively with schools to present critical information on gun violence to young people and, simultaneously, to develop more effective and personable relations with young people. Examples of gun violence reduction curricula used by law enforcement include: the **Gun Safety Awareness Program** in Dade County, Florida; **Guns, Teens, and Consequences** in Tulsa, Oklahoma; and the **Handgun Violence Reduction Program** in Towson, Maryland.

In Dade County a **Youth Crime Watch** program, mandated for all schools, was created in 1984 to extend the neighborhood watch concept to schools. The **Gun Safety Awareness Program**, a district-wide effort, began in November 1988. In addition to the comprehensive curriculum, the school board declares a week in November as "Gun Safety Awareness Week." The Gun Safety Awareness Program targets K-12 students and their parents, examining causes of handgun violence in the community and educating youth and parents on how to prevent gun related violence, encouraging anonymous reporting of guns, and teaching the consequences of being arrested.

The curriculum is supplemented by area Youth Crime Watches, school resource officers, and police officers. Training workshops for parents on handgun safety awareness have been conducted in each school by Parent Education Department Staff. Metal detectors are used unannounced at selected schools, and students caught with guns are referred to juvenile or adult court and recommended for expulsion to an alternative school. Awareness levels among youth and parents about the need to prevent handgun violence have increased in Dade County as a result of the program.

*School-Based Curricula* - The Center to Prevent Handgun Violence has developed a school-based curriculum which has been used extensively across the country and has been evaluated with positive results. The Straight Talk About Risks (STAR) program is a comprehensive school-based program designed to reduce gun injuries and deaths with prevention activities for children and their families. Through STAR, students also learn how to make better, safer decisions and resolve conflicts without violence through role-playing, goal setting, and the development of leadership skills.

The NRA's program "Eddie the Eagle;" The Firearm Injury Prevention Curriculum in Albuquerque, New Mexico; Kids + Guns: A Deadly Equation; Solutions Without Guns in Cleveland, Ohio; and Weapons Are Removed Now (WARN) in Reseda, California are other examples of gun safety curricula.

*Physician-Based Curricula* - A number of curricula are used by physicians to instruct parents about the dangers of guns in the home. Steps to Prevent Firearm Injury (STOP) is a collaborative effort between the American Association of Pediatricians and the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence. It has led to The Childhood Firearm Injury Prevention Project which is the first national educational program designed for pediatricians to use when counseling parents on the risks of keeping a gun in the home and the dangers guns pose in the community. The program consists of (1) a monograph on firearm injury and death; (2) a bibliography of resources related to gun violence in America; (3) an audiotape that models dialogue between pediatricians and parents; (4) an eight-page brochure for parents that describes the dangers guns present and ways to minimize them; and (5) a poster for display in waiting rooms.

Other similar physician-based curricula include the Boston Violence Prevention Project "Protocol Package for Health Care Providers"; the Educational Development Center's Firearm Injuries; and Camden, New Jersey's Injury Prevention and Control Unit.

## 2. Trauma Prevention

A second category of programming involves peer education by young people who have been injured by gun violence. These programs usually emanate from a public health project or hospital.

Youth Alive in San Francisco sends young counselors into Highland Hospital to try to persuade teenage gunshot victims to avoid further violence by not retaliating. Counselors emphasize that all revenge is going to do is destroy another life and put friends (who are doing the retaliating) at risk of being locked up. This program also involves young gunshot victims in sharing their experiences with kids involved in gang behavior.

The Shock Mentor program is another trauma prevention program. This program was recently developed

by Prince Georges County, Maryland Hospital Center and Concerned Black Men, Inc., a mentoring group of African American professionals. The program brings Prince Georges' high school students into the shock trauma and emergency rooms to watch doctors patch together the victims and perpetrators of violence. This program is part of a larger county school-wide conflict-resolution program, peer mediation training program, black male achievement program, and county-wide forum on violence prevention.

The visits continue throughout the school year and each time students go through the trauma center, they are accompanied by a member of Concerned Black Men. Their role is to provide support to the young people and to show them that there is an alternative to becoming a statistic in a trauma unit.

Other examples of trauma prevention programs include the **Hospital-based Youth Violence Prevention Program** in Camden, New Jersey; **People Opening the World's Eye to Reality (POWER)** in New York City; and **Southeastern Michigan Spinal Cord Injury System** in Detroit, Michigan.

### 3. Gun Buy-back Programs

There have been many gun buy-back programs started across the country. These programs have been precipitated by various events and have met with varying success. This document does not present all of the gun buy-back programs and only mentions those which are being conducted in tandem with a wider gun violence prevention effort. The **Prevention Partnership** in Brooklyn, New York, for example, provides incentives for people to turn in guns for food vouchers, but also involves the Center for Substance Abuse and Prevention Community Partnership, and two police precincts.

**Weapon Watch** is another example of a more comprehensive gun turn-in program. Organized by the mental health center of the Memphis School District, the Memphis Police Department, and Crime Stoppers, a group that financially rewards citizens for calling in tips about crimes, **Weapon Watch** was implemented to get children involved in ridding their schools of weapons. Instead of buying metal detectors, Memphis officials decided to get students involved in weeding out the weapons. A hot line was established for students to call anonymously with information pertaining to a class mate who brings a weapon to school. Students who call in are given a secret code number. Once the call is received, police are dispatched to the school, and officers conduct an investigation. Students are rewarded if the information leads to the confiscation of weapons and the arrest of the classmate who brings a weapon on campus.

**Citizens for Safety in Boston**, Massachusetts has pulled together a community-based coalition to reduce violence in Boston. CFS's membership includes 50 neighborhood and youth organizations as well as over 500 citizens from across the city. In 1993 CFS organized a gun buy-back program which removed 1,302 guns from circulation. Ongoing activities include expanding the buy-back program; conducting "Guns Kill" workshops for teenagers; and sponsoring an annual 24 hour Soccer Marathon for Peace, and the Peace League, a summer educational and recreation program for gang members.

#### 4. Public Education Campaigns

There are a number of public education campaigns currently being conducted on either a national, state-wide, or local scale. These campaigns tend to be directed at young people or women and address the dangers of guns and the unacceptability of using guns to solve problems.

The **Children's Defense Fund Cease Fire** campaign involves 10 steps to stop the war against children in America including removing guns from our homes, creating opportunities, providing safe havens, being informed about media violence and real violence, and resolving conflicts peaceably. The campaign also features television public service announcements and the "Wall of Names," a print presentation of more than 600 children killed from 39 states by gunfire in 1993-1994.

The **Center to Prevent Handgun Violence** recently collaborated with Disney Educational Productions to produce a gun violence prevention video, "Under the Gun," which challenges the glamorization of guns and the notion that guns make us safer. Disney plans to market the video to schools, recreation centers, police departments, juvenile justice facilities, hospitals, rehabilitation centers, and other educational organizations.

The **Mobile Bay Area Partnership for Youth**, a community based organization, in coordination with the police and sheriff's departments created the **Kid With a Gun/Call 911 Campaign** to encourage citizens to call 911 upon seeing an armed youth. A three-month long media campaign in 1992 focused local attention on youth violence and gun safety and raised parents' awareness about these issues. Since then, whenever the gun problem recurs, the police ask the media to repeat the campaign's public service announcements.

Other public education programs include the **Hands Without Guns** campaign and **Words Not Weapons** in Boston, Massachusetts, and **Fresno's Youth Violence Prevention Network** in California. The **Youth Violence Prevention Network** campaign is unique because it directly involves young people in delivering an anti-gun violence message, and is especially geared toward the Spanish-speaking population which constitutes the majority of the at-risk residents in the neighborhood. Previously known as **Radio Bilingue**, it is the result of a collaboration by **Chicano Youth Center**, **House of Hope**, **Save Our Sons and Daughters**, and **End Barrio Warfare**. **Fresno Youth Violence Prevention Network** aims to strengthen the coalition programs that serve at-risk youths with the goal of empowering young people and communities of color to work together to reduce violence in their neighborhoods. Violence prevention activities include developing gun-free zone programs in city parks and neighborhoods, school emergency response and mediation teams led by directors of organizations that serve high-risk youths, youth conferences, and youth leadership programs. A key participant in the coalition is the **Radio Bilingue**, a Hispanic-controlled, noncommercial radio station serving the **San Joaquin Valley**. **Radio Bilingue** broadcasts anti-violence and anti-drug public service announcements and sponsors **Paz**, a unique violence prevention radio program targeted toward at-risk youths, educating them about the causes of violence and the impact of gun violence. The program features local speakers, including police officers, school officials, and community citizens.



By far the most extensive public education campaign against youth gun violence is the **California Wellness Campaign to Prevent Handgun Violence Against Kids**, a \$2 million state-wide public education effort which has conducted extensive research, surveys, polling, focus groups, and analysis of target audiences; produced multiple 30-second television PSA's that run on prime time in both English and Spanish; communicated critical information on youth gun violence through its "First Aid" portfolio to more than 8,000 elected officials, key media leaders, and public agencies; received more than 75,000 calls and 11,000 supporters through its 1-800-222-MANY hotline and information service; organized a women's coalition against gun violence; and developed a video teleconference town hall meeting throughout the state to unveil its policies on handguns and firearms.

This project is linked to a broader \$30 million, five-year state-wide initiative to reduce youth violence in California. The project includes the **Pacific Center for Violence Prevention**, the policy branch of the initiative; a leadership program; a community action program which has funded ten sites to form broad-based coalitions of major local public and private entities in developing pilot projects to reduce youth violence; and a research program.

### **Intervention Programs**

Intervention programs are different from prevention programs in that they target a more at-risk or delinquency-involved population, tend to be more intensive, are implemented after-the-fact, and more actively engage law enforcement and the juvenile justice system. Programs that intervene with young people who use guns or have been caught with guns are, unfortunately, very rare. This is an area in dire need of further development. While there exist a number of informal interventions that sheriffs, police officers, probation officers, and others have developed to work with the population directly involved in handgun violence, the majority of these efforts have yet to be formalized into systematic protocol, and certainly have not yet been tested. Given the new federal legislation, however, the Departments of Justice, Education, and Health and Human Services are particularly interested in developing and supporting innovative and effective ways to intervene with young people who have been caught with guns or are at very high risk of being involved in gun violence.

One of the most widely used gun violence intervention approaches that has received some evaluation, and has demonstrated mixed results, is the use of metal scanners to detect firearms. According to the National School Safety Center, 70% of the Nation's 50 largest districts have installed scanners in the schools. New York City Metal Detector Program is one of the best known of these programs. Because the use of scanners, book bag bans and locker searches is now so common, these approaches are not covered here.

### **5. Community Law Enforcement Programs**

The **Illinois State Police School Security Facilitator Program** identifies a jurisdiction where concerns about, and levels of, school violence are in evidence. Representatives from all community programs (private, government, not-for-profit) that play a role in addressing youth crime/violence problems are invited to attend an intensive 5 day team building/education program at ISP's training academy. A typical "team" will include:

- Law enforcement personnel (youth officers, others)
- School administrators/teachers
- Local state's attorney/public defender
- Prevention and treatment staff (local programs)
- Other court officials
- Other concerned community members

Community teams may range in size from 5 to 15. Each member is expected to live at the academy (in trooper dorms) with his/her team members throughout the training program. The courses are divided between youth violence issue education and violence reduction strategies. Part of the curriculum in this training effort deals directly with the interdiction of guns coming into schools. Trainers highlight identification of situations where violence may escalate to use of a weapon, investigative techniques to acquire secondary/tertiary source information on any weapons that might be in the school, and actual strategies for weapon removal and cooperation with law enforcement authorities. Additional programs such as locker searches, canine searches, and metal detectors are also discussed. School administrators are cautioned about direct intervention with an armed student. Teams are "returned" to their communities to educate others on youth violence issues and to implement selected strategies for violence reduction. No short or long term evaluation of this program has been implemented. Anecdotal information from prior participants would indicate some degree of usefulness/success.

The University of Virginia's (UVA) Youth Violence Project focuses on reducing youth violence through a team approach. Staff bring together a multi-disciplinary team of experts on youth aggression and violence (education, psychology, law enforcement, planning, crime prevention) who present 4 to 45 hour instruction courses in selected Virginia cities. Prior participating cities include: Falls Church, Newport News, Roanoke, Richmond and Virginia Beach.

Program participants (primarily school and law enforcement officials from target jurisdictions) are exposed to a variety of issues (risk factors for violence, multi-cultural dynamics, etc.) and are asked to implement a series of actions in their schools including building security assessments and peer mediation. Many of the instructors in this program are local police officers. Part of their curriculum also deals with weapon detection and interdiction. School collaboration/cooperation is stressed, since school officials are not trained in defensive weapon removal/disarming tactics. In 1994, the project will expand its reach through a televised version "School Safety and Youth Aggression" to be down-linked to 24 sites across the Commonwealth.

No short or long term evaluation of this program has been implemented. Anecdotal information from prior participants would indicate some degree of usefulness/success. UVA staff would be supportive of any credible outside evaluation effort.

## 6. Gun Market Disruption and Interception

Police searches for weapons provide another important means of stemming youth gun violence. If civil rights are respected and communities are supportive, these approaches can be very effective in communicating strong societal opposition to youth gun violence.

Washington, D.C.'s Gun recovery Unit is a specially trained squad of officers assigned to a part of the city with an unusually high rate of firearms crimes. Patrolling the area, the squad identifies and frisks individuals who raise a reasonable suspicion of being armed. The vast majority of frisked individuals are under 22 years of age, and about 40 percent of them are minors. This program is an obvious partner for another program in Washington, D.C. called the Youth Trauma Team.

A group of two psychologists, four social workers, 16 community recreation workers, and 45 trained police officers formed the Youth Trauma Team which patrols the city at all hours helping children cope with the violence they so often witness. The work of the Team is helped by the Howard University Violence Prevention Project which offers an after-school middle school program, a pre-school program, and a summer camp which provides social support, tutoring, esteem-building, and cultural enrichment for children who have been exposed to serious violence, including gun violence. The program gives children an opportunity to receive the services they need to reduce the probability of their repeating the cycle of violence.

Another example of gun interception can be found in Chicago where a 1992 Chicago Ordinance empowers police officers to impound any car transporting an illegal firearm. Once impounded, the vehicle can be reclaimed only through a \$500 nonrefundable bond or, if the owner claims the seizure was improper, in a hearing before an administrative officer. Since October 1992, nearly 2,000 cars have been impounded, most from youth under age 25.

Sixty to sixty-seven percent of the firearms seized by federal authorities in Chicago and the suburbs have come from underage firearm owners, according to the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Chicago office. The ATF is tracking firearm usage by people in Chicago and a comprehensive report will be available in 1995. Preliminary figures show over 9,000 underage gun owners. The weapon of choice for most young people on the streets is the 9 mm semi-automatic pistol, which usually holds 15 to 19 bullets.

The Kansas City Weed and Seed program is a joint effort between the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Attorney, and the Kansas City Police Department. They have pulled together a working group consisting of law enforcement, human service agencies, and community organizations including the Regional Office of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development; the Small Business Administration; the Kansas City Neighborhood Alliance; and the Ad Hoc Group Against Crime.

The program has been conducted by focusing police efforts in high-crime neighborhoods on routinely stopping traffic violators, on youth violating curfews and on other infractions of the law. During these routine stops, police look for any infractions that give them the legal authority to search a car or pedestrian for illegal guns. Special gun-intercept teams have been used and have been determined to be 10 times more cost-effective than regular police patrols. In an 80-block neighborhood with a homicide rate 20 times the national average, the program reduced crime by at least 50% during a six-month period through a gun-intercept experiment. In addition, as noted earlier, these efforts did not displace crime to other locales; gun crimes did not increase significantly in any of the surrounding seven patrol beats. Despite the fact that previous police campaigns have drawn protests of discrimination, the gun intercept program in Kansas City has not drawn protests. Police have involved community and religious leaders

in initial planning, and neighborhoods have made requests for greater police activity.

## 7. Diversion and Treatment Programs

Diversion and treatment programs provide some of the most interesting examples of techniques to use with youngsters who have been involved in gun violence. In Pima County, Arizona, the **Juvenile Diversion Program** has set up a firearms prevention course for youngsters who are not hardcore delinquents but who have been referred to juvenile court for firing or carrying a gun, as well as young people at risk for becoming involved with guns. At least one parent is required to attend the monthly sessions. During the course, the assistant prosecutor informs the juveniles and their parents about gun laws. Parents are given instruction on safe gun storage. By agreeing to take the course, the youngsters do not have their case adjudicated and are not placed on probation; however, they do acquire a juvenile record.

**Project LIFE** (Lasting Intense Firearms Education), operated by Indiana Juvenile Court, is a diversion program for juveniles arrested on gun charges. As in the Pima County program, parental participation is required. The program is designed to help youth and their parents learn about the effects of gun violence and accidents through an experiential exercise. Children and their parents prepare a paper on the effect of guns. A discussion based on these papers opens the education session. After the discussion, a videotape of an actual accidental shooting is shown. Participants engage in another discussion on the impact they would have felt had the delinquents been the victims of gun violence or accidents rather than the violators of gun laws. They imagine and discuss, for example getting a call from the morgue rather than from the jail. The majority of the families do not return to juvenile court on gun charges.

**Cermak Health Services of Cook County** works with Cook County jail inmates, the majority of whom have been involved in gun violence, through a culturally sensitive informal curriculum directly addressing the risk factors for future involvement in gun violence. While this population does not technically represent a juvenile population, it does tend to be a young population. This program is being considered for broader use by a juvenile population.

The **Barron Assessment and Counseling Center** is a project of the Boston public school system. If a student is found to have or to have had a weapon on school property, he or she is charged under the disciplinary code and given a hearing with the community superintendent. If the charges are substantiated, the parents are notified and the student is referred to the center. At the center, students (elementary through high school) receive academic, psychological and social assessments, as well as crisis intervention counseling. The students continue to receive assignments from school. The program has an aftercare component to continue services to the youth after release from the center. Staff prepare individualized service delivery plans for each client. Special workshops to teach these youths alternatives to violence are provided by Northeastern University School of Law, Office of Emergency Medical Services and Vietnam Veterans Against Violence. This program is coordinated with the juvenile court, probation officers and the Departments of Youth Services, Social Services and Mental Health. The **Rebound/Lookout Mountain Camp Falcon Juvenile Facility** in Denver, Colorado offers an additional treatment-type program through a boot camp experience.

## 8. Gun Courts

A special type of court called a **Gun Court** has recently been established in Providence, Rhode Island to focus on gun crimes. All gun crimes are referred to a single judge who processes cases on a fast track. New rules have cut the life span of gun crime cases in half and, of the 18 cases heard to date, the Judge has sent 15 defendants to jail. Many defendants, instead of taking their cases to trial, are now pleading guilty in exchange for a reduction to two years of the state's mandatory 10-year jail sentence.

The Gun Court model has received support both from gun control advocates and the NRA. Legislators in Texas and Court Administrators in Louisiana and Illinois are proposing Gun Courts of their own, based on the Providence model. Dade County is also looking at the model; however, capacity to handle the caseloads in Dade County has been a point of concern. These programs, while they expedite the handling of cases also have the potential to address special treatment issues related to gun violence.

## 9. Alternative Schools

**Zero Tolerance** school programs make a strong statement about keeping guns off school grounds, but they often do not provide for alternative placement or education of the kid who may be caught with a gun. More effective are programs which attend to youth through swift and strict sanctions, treatment, and the development of viable academic and employment opportunities.

At the **Hazelwood Center High School -- Student Intervention Program**, students who are suspended for assaults, weapons, or drugs are referred to a four-week alternative program at a location away from their home school. Students engage in four hours of individualized course work and participate in group counseling sessions daily. Students also attend weekly individual counseling sessions. Counseling focuses on issues such as conflict mediation, habits and addictions, and communication. Parents are mandated to participate in three counseling sessions focused on family history, parenting skills, and school-related family issues. After completion of the four-week program, students are evaluated by school administrators to determine if the rest of the 90-day suspension can be completed through in-school probation.

The **Second Chance School** in Topeka, Kansas is a similar program. It is a half-day instructional program for voluntary students who have been expelled for possession of weapons or assaulting a staff member. Students engage in studies of math, social sciences and language skills, participate in some recreational activities and are required to participate in community service. Depending on the seriousness of the offense, students attend the program for one semester or one year. Upon successful completion of the program, grades are sent to the home schools and students are readmitted. To date, 90% of the students enrolled have successfully completed the program. The program has been operating for three years and has a maximum capacity of eight students in the morning class and eight in the afternoon class. The Second Chance School has developed partnerships between the juvenile courts, the public schools, the police department and the recreational department.

## **Comprehensive Initiatives**

The programs that are identified in the *Program Directory* are listed alphabetically, and all programs, even those without any evaluation, have been listed so that the reader obtains a sense of the types of approaches possible. Research outcomes are indicated for those programs that have been evaluated. This enables the reader to choose the type of programming best-suited for the needs of their community or state. It is the belief of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, however, that any individual program alone will not suffice to solve the problem of youth gun violence. For example, ridding a public school of weapons cannot be effectively addressed simply through a metal detector or gun safety-awareness program exclusive of other directly related issues:

"Time and again students say the primary reason they bring weapons to school is for self-protection traveling to and from school. Violence is a problem at schools, but principally it is a community problem. Many schools are surrounded by a 360 degree perimeter of community crime. Consequently, the strategies developed in response to school safety needs must go beyond the schools. The presence of weapons at schools cannot be separated from other community safety concerns. Each concern must be addressed in developing a comprehensive response." [National School Safety Center, 1993].

A comprehensive approach should be based on what we know from the research about the increased access to and use of guns by juveniles since 1985; young people's fondness for particular types of guns; the impact of cultural influences, particularly media violence and notions of manliness, on young people's behavior; the impact of drugs and the illicit drug market on youth gun violence; the effect of prior deviant behavior, gun socialization, and attitudes towards law enforcement on youth gun violence; the age when boys are most prone to the lure of guns; and the detrimental effect of the cycle of fear and lack of viable opportunities in many communities on youth gun violence. A comprehensive approach which incorporates this research base, includes a combination of individual approaches, involves a number of various youth-serving agencies or organizations, and has community involvement (including youth participation) is likely to be the most successful. An effective weapons reduction strategy will be multidisciplinary, comprehensive, politically sensitive and practically relevant. An effective gun violence prevention program will be age-appropriate, target the age groups most inclined toward gun violence, and truly involve parents and the community (including business, media, recreation, etc). Curricula approaches are effective at getting a message to young people, but they are limited unless they involve the development of consistent standards across the areas of children's lives (family, media, recreation, community) and unless they are coupled with actual experiences of positive alternatives. Only community-wide efforts that combine all of the activities described above will address the cycle of fear and will provide the first steps toward building an environment of safety for all.

The NIJ is supporting such comprehensive activities through its interagency project to reduce youth gun violence. In Atlanta, the **Center for Injury Control** at Emory University is working together with the community, with state and local governments, and with Project Pulling America's Cities Together (PACT) to analyze the magnitude, extent, and characteristics of youth firearms violence and to develop a broad-based strategy addressing the problem. The planned intervention will apply a three-part strategy: (1) reducing demand for firearms through a comprehensive community education program; (2) reducing

supply by promoting safe storage of firearms and by law enforcement efforts to interdict the illegal gun market; and (3) prompting aggressive rehabilitation seeking to decrease recidivism among juvenile gun offenders.

The St. Louis Police Department has developed a similar comprehensive approach to reduce violence within two at-risk populations: (1) African-American males between 15 and 29 years old in the City of St. Louis; and (2) younger males at risk for direct and indirect violence, and also adolescent and young adult females at risk for family violence, sexual assault, and co-victimization.

The project will do this through two strategies: (1) Behavioral change objectives - reducing morbidity and fatalities caused by gun-related assaults, reducing the carrying of weapons, and reducing risk from assault; and (2) System improvement objectives - expanding and refining local surveillance of violence, expanding screening and treatment for violence within medical facilities, and establishing Assault Crisis Teams (ACT) as change agents for youth violence reduction in St. Louis. ACTs will operate in an emergency medical treatment center serving high risk populations, in a juvenile detention facility, in an adult medium security institution, and in one or two neighborhoods with high levels of violence. The functions of the teams are to monitor levels and patterns of violence within these locations, to establish mentoring and education programs for high-risk youth in nonviolent conflict resolution techniques, and to mediate selected disputes with a high potential for violent outcomes.

Other comprehensive initiatives also exist in many cities or states. These initiatives tend to involve more grassroots participation and youth; and offer intervention services through public health services rather than through law enforcement. Some were inspired by legislative changes and social service system reform (e.g., Virginia), while others emanated from university centers (e.g., The Harvard School of Public Health).

Below are a sample of such city- or state-wide youth gun violence reduction initiatives and the programmatic components involved in the initiative. They are presented in a check-list format, organized by the types of strategies described above: legislative, research, intervention, prevention, hospital-based prevention, and public education." Community involvement" and "collaborative governance" have been added to the list, because they are essential to ensuring the success and long-term sustainability of any initiative. The check-list format is designed to assist readers in considering the strategy components that they could implement or coordinate in their own local jurisdictions. Detailed descriptions of the individual programs can be found in the *Program Directory*.

### **Boston, Massachusetts**

**Legislation:** NA.

**Research:** Harvard Project on Guns, Violence and Public Health.

**Intervention:** Boston Gun Reduction Program; and Barron Assessment and Counseling Center.

Prevention: Violence Prevention Curriculum and Conflict Resolution.

Hospital-Based Prevention: Identification and Prevention of Youth Violence: A Protocol Package for Health Care Providers; and Firearm Injuries.

Public Education Campaign: Hands Without Guns; and Words Not Weapons.

Community Involvement: Citizens for Safety.

Collaborative Governance and Service Delivery: Boston Violence Prevention Project.

## California

### Legislation:

- A minor may not possess a pistol, revolver, or other firearm capable of being concealed upon the person.
- It is unlawful to possess a firearm in a school zone without the written permission of school authorities.

Research: Pacific Policy Center.

Intervention: NA.

Prevention: WARN curriculum.

Hospital-Based Prevention: Teens on Target; Youth Alive.

Public Education Campaign: Campaign to Prevent Handgun Violence Against Kids; and The Fresno Youth Violence Prevention Network.

Community Involvement: Fresno Youth Violence Prevention Network.

Collaborative Governance and Service Delivery: The Oakland Corridor; California Wellness Violence Prevention Grants; Policy, Action, Collaboration, and Training (PACT); Violent Injury Prevention Program; and Contra Costa Continuum of Care.

## Chicago, Illinois

Legislation: The handgun ammunition law makes it illegal to sell, offer for sale, barter, or give away the kinds of ammunition most commonly used in gang warfare.

Research: NA.



Intervention: The Chicago Ordinance; State Police Security Facilitator Program; and Cermack Health Services of Cook County.

Prevention: ULICH Center.

Hospital-Based Prevention: STOP.

Public Education Campaign: Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence.

Community Involvement: Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence.

Collaborative Governance and Service Delivery: Recently a Chicago Partnership for the Prevention of Violence has been formed.

## New Jersey

Legislation: Proposed NJ legislation includes the following bills:

- a2557 - increases penalties for unlawful possession of firearms in schools;
- a1082 - mandates waivers to adult court for any cases involving juveniles age 14 or older who commit serious offenses with a firearm;
- s732 - strengthens current laws regarding access to loaded firearms by minors;
- P.L. 1990, Chapter 31, a model assault firearms law, bans the sale and severely restricts possession of assault weapons.

Research: NA.

Intervention: NA.

Prevention: Camden County Prosecutor's Office

Hospital-Based Prevention: Injury Prevention and Control Unit and Hospital-Based Youth Violence Prevention Program

Public Education Campaign: Injury Prevention and Control Unit.

Community Involvement: NA.

Collaborative Governance and Service Delivery: State Attorney General's Law Enforcement and Educational Task Force; and School Based Youth Service Program -- Students Against Violence and Victimization of Youth.

## Virginia

### Legislation:

- One Handgun a Month law.
- Juvenile Possession of Handguns prohibits the possession of handguns by juveniles except within their homes, while engaged in lawful hunting or supervised target shooting, or when serving in the military.
- The Firearms Dealers: Record Keeping/Penalty Enhancement bill requires gun dealers to submit to state police the type and number of firearms sold to each client, allowing state police to track gunrunners. The bill also increases the time police are required to keep this record from 30 days to 12 months. Gun dealers who illegally sell, rent, or transfer firearms would be charged with a felony instead of a misdemeanor if they violate this law.

Research: The Dept of Criminal Justice Services' Criminal Justice Research Center, in collaboration with the Virginia Commonwealth University Survey Research Laboratory, conducted a statewide survey of 815 residents which found that 83% agreed that there should be a limit on the number of handgun purchases per month; and 63% thought strict gun control laws would reduce violent crime.

Intervention: University of Virginia Youth Violence Project; Juvenile Criminal History Records - Virginia is one of the first states to have a computerized system operated by the state police, the Central Criminal Records Exchanger (CCRE), that informs gun dealers, if a prospective buyer has a criminal record.

Prevention: NA.

Hospital-Based Prevention: NA.

Community Involvement: Enough is Enough, Inc.

Collaborative Governance and Service Delivery: In June of 1992, the Governor's multidisciplinary Commission on Violent Crime was convened to study the problem and propose solutions; The Comprehensive Services Act also provides for better coordinated delivery of social services to at-risk youth and their families.

In the majority of the comprehensive initiatives just listed, there are often multiple efforts underway in the same city which have not been coordinated. Next steps, on the level of federal support, and state and city involvement, should be to facilitate the coordination of these programs. In particular, most of the comprehensive initiatives could benefit from direct inclusion of public housing efforts. The Department of Housing and Urban Development's federal program, Operation Safe Home, is an obvious link. One program in New York City, the Keep Our Kids Alive program, targets public housing youth who carry and use guns. The program trains housing youth officers to identify kids who fit a gun carrier profile to

work as mediators; and trains resident youngsters to implement an anti-gun violence education program for other young residents. This program would provide a good complement to school-based strategies and a public education campaign.

Initiatives also need to attend to building opportunities and linking job training, neighborhood restoration and economic development to youth gun violence reduction programs. While such areas of concentration may seem unconnected to youth handgun violence, as the research has pointed out, involving young people in practical experiences which develop their ability to contribute to society, improves their ability to recognize the sanctity of life and the errors of getting involved in delinquent behavior.

## **Conclusion**

This document has summarized the research relevant to understanding the current epidemic of youth gun violence confronting our nation. It has also provided a range of approaches currently being implemented across this country which indicate ways for others to begin addressing the epidemic. Based on preliminary efforts in the area, it is clear that comprehensive youth gun violence reduction initiatives need to ensure that they provide a continuum of care and sanctions to consistently attend to the safety of children and families throughout their lives. Because city or state-wide initiatives have developed out of a variety of concerned sectors and isolated projects which came together, there are sometimes gaps in the delivery of services or development of sanctions which reduce the effectiveness of the overall initiative.

As with all comprehensive efforts, a combination of the strategies laid out in this document will be most likely to lead to success: from legislative mandates to further research; from intervention to prevention programs; from hospital-based prevention programs to grassroots and youth-based collaborative efforts; each one of us holds the key to effectively contributing to a comprehensive youth gun violence reduction initiative which will make our homes, streets, and neighborhoods safe.



**II.**

**YOUTH GUN VIOLENCE  
PROGRAM DIRECTORY**



## **II. YOUTH GUN VIOLENCE PROGRAM DIRECTORY**

The following are summaries of programs which seek to reduce youth gun violence. The programs noted with an asterix are part of a city-wide violence reduction strategy. In some cases the noted programs are coordinated with one another, in other cases they simply exist in the same city or state and need to be coordinated.

### **Assault Crisis Teams**

**Preventing Youth Violence Through Monitoring, Mentoring and Mediating**

**St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department**

**1200 Clark Street**

**St. Louis, MO 63103**

**tel: 314/444-5620**

**fax: 314/444-5958**

**Colonel Clarence Harmon, Chief of Police**

The National Institute for Justice has recently funded the St. Louis Police Department to reduce violence within two at-risk populations: (1) African-American males between 15 and 29 years old in the City of St. Louis; and (2) Younger males at risk for direct and indirect violence, and adolescent and young adult females at risk for family violence, sexual assault, and co-victimization.

The project will do this through two strategies: (1) Behavioral change objectives - reducing morbidity and fatalities caused by gun-related assaults, reducing the carrying of weapons, and reducing risk from assault; and (2) System improvement objectives - expanding and refining local surveillance of violence, expanding screening and treatment for violence within medical facilities, and establishing Assault Crisis Teams (ACT) as change agents for youth violence reduction in St. Louis. ACTs will operate in an emergency medical treatment center serving high risk populations, in a juvenile detention facility, in an adult medium security institution, and in one or two neighborhoods with high levels of violence. The functions of the teams are to monitor levels and patterns of violence within these locations, establish mentoring programs for high risk youth in nonviolent conflict resolution techniques, and mediate selected disputes with a high potential for violent outcomes.

### **\*Boston Gun Reduction Project**

**Harvard John F. Kennedy School of Government**

**Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management**

**79 John F. Kennedy Street**

**Cambridge, MA 02138**

**tel: 617/495-5188**

**fax: 617/496-9053**

**Susan Michaelson, Assistant Director**

In Boston, the Police Department has teamed up with the Kennedy School of Government to implement a gun market disruption and youth gun violence prevention project, based on David Kennedy's research.

**\*Barron Assessment and Counseling Center**

Boston Public Schools  
25 Walk Hill Street  
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130  
tel: 617/635-8123  
fax: 617/635-8117  
Frank Barron, Founder

The Barron Assessment and Counseling Center is a project of the Boston public school system. It was begun by Frank Barron in response to a dramatic increase in the number of students carrying guns and other weapons to school. If a student is found to have or to have had a weapon on school property, he or she is charged under the disciplinary code and given a hearing with the community superintendent. If the charges are substantiated, the parents are notified and the student is referred to the center.

At the center, students (elementary through high school) receive academic, psychological and social assessments, as well as crisis intervention counseling. The students continue to receive assignments from school. The program has an aftercare component to continue services to the youth after release from the center. Staff prepare individualized service delivery plans for each client. Special workshops to teach these youths alternatives to violence are provided by Northeastern University School of Law, Office of Emergency Medical Services and Vietnam Veterans Against Violence. This program is coordinated with the juvenile court, probation officers and the Departments of Youth Services, Social Services and Mental Health. While outside evaluation has not yet been completed, internal evaluation indicates a recidivism rate of 5% from 1987 to 1993. This recidivism rate was determined when the center served first-time offenders only. Second-time offenders are now also being served.

**\*Boston Violence Prevention Project**

1010 Massachusetts Avenue  
Boston, MA 02118  
tel: 617/534-5196  
fax: 617/534-5358  
Franklin Tucker, Director  
Raphael DeGruttola, Asst. Director

Begun in 1986, the Violence Prevention Project is a multi-institutional, community-based initiative designed to reduce the incidence of interpersonal violence among adolescents, along with the associated social and medical hazards. The major intervention used to conduct this project is a violence prevention curriculum designed for adolescents that focuses on conflict resolution.

They have, in collaboration with EDC, developed "Identification and Prevention of Youth Violence: A Protocol Package for Health Care Providers." Published in 1992, the protocol guides providers in addressing and responding to young patients at high risk for violent behavior. It is currently used in several Boston neighborhood health care centers.



**Campaign to Prevent Handgun Violence**

California Wellness Foundation

454 Las Gallinas Avenue, Suite 177

San Rafael, CA 94903-3618

tel: 415/331-3337

fax: 818/593-6614

Gary Yates, Director

By far the most extensive public education campaign against youth gun violence is the California Wellness Campaign to Prevent Handgun Violence Against Kids. This campaign is a \$2 million state-wide public education campaign which has conducted extensive research, surveys, polling, focus groups, and analysis of target audiences; produced multiple 30-second television PSA's that run on prime time in both english and spanish; communicated critical information on youth gun violence through its "First Aid" portfolio to more than 8,000 elected officials, key media leaders, and public agencies; received more than 75,000 calls and 11,000 supporters through its 1-800-222-MANY hotline and information service; organized a women's coalition against gun violence; and developed a video teleconference town hall meeting throughout the state to unveil its policies on handguns and firearms.

This project is linked to a broader \$30 million, five year state-wide initiative to reduce youth violence in California. The project includes the Pacific Center for Violence Prevention, the policy branch of the initiative; a leadership program; a community action program which has funded ten sites to form broad-based coalitions of major local public and private entities in developing pilot projects to reduce youth violence; and a research program.

**\*Cermak Health Services of Cook County**

2800 South California Avenue

Chicago, IL 60608

tel: 312/890-7488

fax: 312/890-7792

Dr. John P. May, Director

According to a 1993 survey of 582 inmates at Cook County Jail, one in every four men has been shot at least once in his life. Involvement in the criminal justice system may be the single best predictor of the probability that a person becomes injured through violence. Presently, nearly 20 million people move in and out of jails in the United States each year. Many have past violence-related injuries and are at high-risk for future violent injuries or death. Jail health care services have opportunities and obligations to intervene in both health risk situations and medical problems which might otherwise impact the community. Development of multi-disciplinary strategies to reduce risks of violence would be appropriate. These include treating the emotional trauma of a witnessed or experienced violent event, removing gang tatoos, providing hope for a future, reducing criminal recidivism through carefully evaluated reintegration programs, and reducing the accessibility of firearms.

**\*Chicago Ordinance**  
Department of Revenue  
City Hall, Room 107  
Chicago, IL 60602  
tel: 312/744-2604  
fax: 312/744-0471  
John Holden

A 1992 Chicago ordinance empowers police officers to impound any car transporting an illegal firearm. Once impounded, the vehicle can be reclaimed only through a \$500 nonrefundable bond or, if the owner claims the seizure was improper, in a hearing before an administrative officer. Since October 1992, nearly 2,000 cars have been impounded, most from youth under 25.

**\*Citizens for Safety (CFS)**  
100 Massachusetts Avenue, 4th Floor  
Boston, MA 02115  
tel: 617-542-7712  
Diedre Butler-Henderson, Director

CFS is a community-based coalition working to reduce violence in Boston. CFS's membership includes 50 neighborhood and youth organizations as well as over 500 citizens from across the city. In 1993 CFS organized a gun buy-back program which removed 1,302 guns from circulation. Ongoing activities include expanding the buy-back program; conducting "Guns Kill" workshops for teenagers; and sponsoring an annual 24 hour Soccer Marathon for Peace and the Peace League, a summer educational and recreation program for gang members.

**Eddie the Eagle**  
Elementary Gun Safety Education Program  
National Rifle Association of America  
1600 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
tel: 202/651-2560

The Eddie the Eagle program, for elementary grades K-5, is designed to make children aware that guns are not toys and to teach proper safety steps to follow if they see a gun. The message is: "Stop, Don't Touch; Leave the Area, and Tell an Adult."

The gun safety program materials may be covered in either a single class period or in two or more class periods. The materials and activities are geared for two age levels. Each child receives a copy of the parent's guide to take home to reinforce the gun safety message at home.

**Enough is Enough, Inc.**  
P.O. Box 138  
Ashton, MD 20861

tel: 301/236-9236  
fax: 301/236-9236  
Julie A. Elseroad, Founder

Enough is Enough was founded in 1991 in order to work with the community to combat violence in our society. It currently functions with eight volunteers, and a five member board of directors. As a suburban Maryland gun violence prevention education program, Enough is Enough has sponsored four successful gun turn-ins (which removed more than 600 guns from the streets) and has implemented a White Ribbon Campaign. The organization emphasizes the dangers of owning a gun.

### **Firearm Injuries**

Educational Development Center, Inc.  
55 Chapel Street  
Newton, MA 02158-1060  
tel: 617/969-7100 x 2331  
fax: 617/244-3436  
Christine Bennett

A program developed by EDC is one of the Educating Professionals in Injury Control (EPIC) resources. It describes the public health approach to firearm injury prevention, the magnitude and cost of the problem, the epidemiology of intentional and unintentional firearm injury and death, the ballistics of firearm injury, and strategies for prevention.

### **Firearm Injury Prevention Curriculum**

New Mexico Emergency Medical Services for Children (EMS-C) Project  
University of Mexico School of Medicine  
Emergency Medical Dept.  
2211 Lomas N.E.,  
Ambulatory Care Center 4 West  
Albuquerque, NM 87131  
tel: 505/272-5062  
fax: 505/272-6503  
Lenora Olsen, Program manager

Firearm Injury Prevention is a recently published K-8 curriculum developed by EMS-C Firearm Injury Prevention Taskforce as one of their several injury prevention activities as part of a three-year grant from MCHB. (Other activities include development of posters, PSA's, and tags on guns for sale warning parents about the risk of unsecured loaded guns). The curriculum began as a pilot program in the Albuquerque Public Schools during 1992-93 academic year. The 110-page curriculum covers a discussion about the importance of involving youth in the project's formative stage; stories based on actual firearm fatalities that occurred in New Mexico resulting in the death of a child; lesson plans around problem solving, peer refusal skills, and strong self-esteem; creative exercises emphasizing hands-on application of interdisciplinary lessons; and a 32-page student supplement that includes the drawings, stories, and comments of youth who participated in the pilot project.

**\*Fresno Youth Violence Prevention Network**

Radio Bilingue, Inc.

1111 Fulton Mall, Suite 700

Fresno, CA 93721

tel: 209/498-6965

fax: 209/498-6968

Nora Benavides, Project Director

Fresno Youth Violence Prevention Network, previously known as Radio Bilingue, is the result of a collaboration by Chicano Youth Center, House of Hope, Save Our Sons and Daughters, and End Barrio Warfare. Fresno Youth Violence Prevention Network aims to strengthen the coalition programs that serve at-risk youths with the goal of empowering young people and communities of color to work together to reduce violence in their neighborhoods. Violence prevention activities include developing gun-free zone programs in city parks and neighborhoods, school emergency response and mediation teams led by directors of organizations that serve high-risk youths, youth conferences, and youth leadership programs.

A key participant in the coalition is the Radio Bilingue, a Hispanic-controlled, noncommercial radio station serving the San Joaquin Valley. Radio Bilingue broadcasts anti-violence and anti-drug public service announcements and sponsors Paz, a unique violence prevention radio program targeted toward at-risk youths, educating them about the causes of violence and the impact of gun violence. The program features local speakers, including police officers, school officials, and community citizens.

**Gun Court**

250 Benefit Street

Providence, RI 02903

tel: 401/277-3250

Judge John Bourcier

Gun Court is a special court recently established in Providence, RI to take aim at gun crimes. All gun crimes are referred to a single judge who processes cases on a fast track. New rules have cut the life span of gun crime cases in half and of the 18 cases heard to date, Judge Bourcier has sent 15 defendants to jail. Many defendants are now pleading guilty in exchange for two years of a 10-year mandatory sentence instead of taking their cases to trial.

The Gun Court model has received support from both gun control advocates and the NRA. Legislators in Texas and Court Administrators in Louisiana and Illinois are proposing Gun Courts of their own based on the Providence model. Dade County is also looking at the model, however, capacity to handle the case loads in Dade County has been a point of concern.

**Gun Recovery Unit**

1624 V. Street, NW

Washington, DC 20009

tel: 202/673-6818

fax: 202/673-2154

Lieutenant Richard Hobson

Washington, D.C.'s Gun recovery Unit is a specially trained squad of officers assigned to a part of the city with an unusually high rate of firearms crimes. Patrolling the area, the squad identifies and frisks individuals who raise a reasonable suspicion of being armed. The vast majority of frisked individuals are under 22 years of age, and about 40 percent of them are minors.

### **Gun Safety Awareness Program**

Safety and Driver Education

Dade County Public Schools

6100 N.W. 2nd Avenue

Miami, FL 33127

tel: 305/757-0514

fax: 305/757-7626

Stephanie Harrington, Division of School Police

In Dade County, Florida a Youth Crime Watch program, mandated for all schools, was created in 1984 to extend the neighborhood watch concept to schools. The Gun Safety Awareness Program, a district-wide effort, began in November 1988. In addition to the comprehensive curriculum, the school board declares a week in November as "Gun Safety Awareness Week." The Gun Safety Awareness Program targets K-12 students and their parents, examining causes of handgun violence in the community and educating youth and parents on how to prevent gun related violence, encourages anonymous reporting of guns, and teaches the consequences of being arrested.

The curriculum is supplemented by area Youth Crime Watches, school resource officers, and police officers. Training workshops for parents on handgun safety awareness have been conducted in each school by Parent Education Department Staff. Metal detectors are used unannounced at selected schools, and students caught with guns are referred to juvenile or adult court and recommended for expulsion to an alternative school. Awareness levels among youth and parents about the need to prevent handgun violence have increased in Dade County as a result of the program.

### **Guns, Teens, and Consequences**

Tulsa Public Schools

3027 South New Haven, PO Box 470208

Tulsa, OK 74147-0208

tel: 918/745-6800

fax: 918/745-6597

Dr. Lyle Young

To keep all schools in the district free from weapons, the school district mailed a summary of relevant state laws to each family. One of the city's police officers, who is also a D.A.R.E. officer, produced a video, "Guns, Teens, and Consequences." To date, it has been shown to more than 6,000 middle and high school students.

### **Handgun Violence Reduction Program (HVRP)**

Baltimore County Police Department

700 East Joppa Road  
Towson, MD 21286-5501  
tel: 410/887-5203  
fax: 410/887-5337  
Sergeant Karen Sciascia

The Handgun Violence Reduction Program is a project of the Baltimore County Police Dept. It is a combination public information campaign and handgun safety program. The public information campaign consists of a hotline, PSA's, and presentations in the community that provide information on safe storage of guns, the legal issues and liabilities of gun ownership, and the limitations of guns as personal protection.

The police department also collaborated with the public school system to design gun safety curricula for the third, seventh, and ninth grades. The purpose of the school-based curriculum is to teach children about the dangers of handgun misuse. Uniformed police officers make presentations in schools about gun safety and violence prevention. These curricula seek to deglamorize handguns and to provide information on how kids should respond when they come in contact, or are threatened, with a gun.

A three-year evaluation indicated that the program improved students' attitudes, knowledge, and behavior (based on how students reported they would respond to scenarios involving guns) both immediately after the program and three months later.

#### **Hands Without Guns**

Educational Fund to End Handgun Violence  
110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Box 72  
Washington, DC 20002  
tel: 202/544-7227  
fax: 202/544-7213  
Josh Horowitz, Executive Director

Hands Without Guns is a collaborative project utilizing six organizations - The Educational Fund to End Handgun Violence, The National Institute for Violence Prevention, The Harvard Injury Control Center, Citizens for Safety, New England Medical Center and 2 PM - who have joined together to launch a new public health campaign in Boston designed to reduce gun violence. The effort will develop a model public education campaign with the following key elements:

- a unique partnership between health care providers, community advocates and leaders, public health experts, victims, and a CDC funded research center;
- a clearly defined public health focus and the use of innovative multimedia techniques to communicate the message;
- grass-roots community organization focused on empowering youth, families and neighborhoods to reduce handgun violence;
- a national visibility through the networking leadership of the Educational Fund;
- evaluation by the multi-disciplinary research center based at the Harvard School of

**Public Health;**

- a program capable of replication in cities throughout the United States.

**Hazelwood Center High School -- Student Intervention Program**

15955 New Halls Ferry

Forissant, MO 63031

tel: 314/839-9500

fax: 314/839-9524

Nancy Snow/Mike Adam, Counselors

Students who are suspended for assaults, weapons, or drugs are referred to a four-week alternative program at a location away from their home school. Students engage in four hours of individualized course work and participate in group counseling sessions daily. Students also attend weekly individual counseling sessions. Counseling focuses on issues such as conflict mediation, habits and addictions, and communication. Parents are mandated to participate in three counseling sessions focused on family history, parenting skills, and school-related family issues. After completion of the four-week program, students are evaluated by school administrators to determine if the rest of the 90-day suspension can be completed through in-school probation.

**\*Hospital-Based Youth Violence Prevention Program**

Camden County Prosecutor's Office

25 North Fifth Street

Camden, New Jersey 08102

tel: 609/225-8400

fax: 609/963-0083

Edward Borden, Jr.

The program is based at Cooper Hospital/University Medical Center (Trauma Center), and targets children who have been charged, or convicted of crimes, and referred to the Intensive In-House Supervised Detention Program. The objectives of the program are to present a realistic portrayal of the trauma resuscitation process; to discuss the emotional, social and physical impact of violent crime injury; and to discuss alternative solutions to avoid and/or minimize violent behavior. Program activities include: tours of the resuscitation area, audio visual aides and graphic depictions of the physical effects of violence, close-up pictures of bullet and stab wounds, tours of the hospital morgue and trauma intensive care unit. In the intensive care unit, patients' conditions, life support equipment, pain and prognoses are discussed.

**\*Injury Prevention and Control Unit**

Health Promotion and Disease Prevention

New Jersey Dept of Health (NJDOH)

50 East State Street, CN-364

Trenton, NJ 08625-0364

tel: 609/984-6137

fax: 609/292-3580

Liz Congdon, Program Manager

The program supports youth violence prevention programs focusing on three of the state's urban areas with the highest rates of gunshot wound deaths (Camden, Newark, and Paterson). NJDOH, an active participant on the Medical Society of New Jersey's Subcommittee on Violence (represents 9,500 New Jersey physicians) has identified preventing violence and helping victims of violence as major public health priorities. The subcommittee has developed and distributed model medical policies for use by physicians in identifying and properly handling or referring cases of violence. Other activities have included involving the youth in developing videos on guns, national lobbying for restrictive gun legislation, and educating medical community on gunshot injuries and prevention.

NJDOH is also involved in interagency efforts. It is represented on the Violence and Vandalism Task Force, a Dept of Education working group that is developing recommendations to reduce school violence and vandalism.

**\*Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence**

202 S. State Street, Suite 1100

Chicago, IL 60604

tel: 312/341-0939

Dan Kotowski, Project Coordinator

Mark Karlin

The Council has helped law enforcement officials ban "Cop Killer" bullets in Illinois; raised public awareness about the proliferation of handguns in the streets; monitored judicial action regarding firearm offenders; formed ONTARGET, a 200 member coalition of law enforcement and elected officials, health care professionals, community groups and professional organizations to reduce gun violence in Illinois. The Council established a membership base of 5,000.

They are currently fighting for a text on firearms and ammunition to pay for trauma care; seeking to hold manufacturers legally responsible for death and injuries caused by "Saturday Night Specials" and assault weapons; urging stricter regulation of the 10,000 Federally licensed gun dealers in Illinois; and public education campaigns.

**\*Illinois State Police School Security Facilitator Program**

Illinois State Police

Training Academy

Springfield, Illinois

tel: 217/786-6902

fax: 217/786-7208

Linda Lange

The ISP identifies a jurisdiction where concerns about, and levels of, school violence are in evidence. Representatives from all community programs (private, government, not-for-profit) that play a role in youth crime/violence problems are invited to attend an intensive 5 day team building/education program



at ISP's training academy. A typical "team" will include:

- Law enforcement personnel (youth officers, others)
- School administrators/teachers
- Local state's attorney/public defender
- Prevention and treatment staff (local programs)
- Other court officials
- Other concerned community members

Community teams range in size from 5 to 15. Each member lives at the academy (in trooper dorms) with his/her team members throughout the training program. The courses are divided between 1) youth violence issue education and 2) violence reduction strategies. Part of the curriculum in this training effort deals directly with the interdiction of guns coming into schools. Trainers highlight identification of situations where violence may escalate to use of a weapon, investigative techniques to acquire secondary /tertiary source information on any weapons that might be in the school, and actual strategies for weapon removal and cooperation with law enforcement authorities. Additional programs such as locker searches, canine searches, metal detectors are also discussed. School administrators are cautioned about direct intervention with an armed student. Teams are "returned" to their communities to educate others on youth violence issues and implement selected strategies for violence reduction. No short or long term evaluation of this program has been implemented. Anecdotal information from prior participants would indicate some degree of success.

#### **Juvenile Diversion Program**

County Attorney's Office

2225 East Ajo Way,

Tuscon, AZ 85713

tel: 602/740-5089

fax: 602/770-9212

Clint Stinson, Assistant County Attorney

In Pima County, Arizona, the Juvenile Diversion Program has set up a firearms prevention course for youngsters who are not hard core delinquents but who have been referred to juvenile court for firing or carrying a gun as well as young people at risk for becoming involved with guns. At least one parent is required to attend the monthly sessions. During the course, the assistant prosecutor informs the juveniles and their parents about gun laws. Parents are given instruction on safe gun storage. By agreeing to take the course, the youngsters do not have their case adjudicated and are not placed on probation; however, they do acquire a juvenile record.

#### **Kansas City Weed and Seed Program**

1201 Walnut Street, Suite 2300

Kansas City, MO 64106

tel: 816/426-3122

fax: 816/426-4176

Steven Hill, US Attorney

The Kansas City Weed and Seed program is a joint effort between the U.S. Dept of Justice, the U.S. Attorney, and the Kansas City Police Department. They have pulled together a working group consisting of law enforcement, human service agencies, and community organizations including the Regional Office of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development; the Small Business Administration; the Kansas City Neighborhood Alliance; and the Ad Hoc Group Against Crime.

The program has been conducted by focusing police efforts in high-crime neighborhoods to routinely stop traffic violators, youth violating curfews and other infractions of the law. During these routine stops, police look for any infractions that give them the legal authority to search a car or pedestrian for illegal guns. Special gun-intercept teams have been used and determined to be 10 times more cost-effective than regular police patrols. In an 80-block neighborhood with a homicide rate 20 times the national average, the program reduced crime by at least 50% during a six-month period through a gun-intercept experiment. Despite the fact that previous police campaigns have drawn protests of discrimination, the gun intercept programs in Kansas City and Indianapolis have not drawn protests. Police involved community and religious leaders in initially planning and neighborhoods have made requests for greater police activity.

**Keep Our Kids Alive**  
Housing Authority Police  
216 East 99th Street  
New York, NY 10029  
tel: 212/410-8505  
fax: 212/996-0137  
Sergeant Ricardo Aguirre

The Keep Our Kids Alive program targets public housing youth who carry and use guns. The program trains housing youth officers to identify kids who fit a gun carrier profile to work as mediators; and trains resident youngsters to implement an anti-gun violence education program for other young residents.

**\*KIDS + GUNS: A Deadly Equation**  
Center to Prevent Handgun Violence  
1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100  
Washington, DC 20005  
tel: 202/289-7319  
fax: 202/371-9615

Dade County Public Schools, the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, and Youth Crime Watch of Dade have jointly developed the nation's first program for students in pre-K-12. KIDS + GUNS is designed to teach students about the dangers of playing with or carrying guns. Classroom and general assembly activities for all grades and a video for grades 7-12 provide students with help in recognizing unsafe situations, suggestions on how to react when encountering guns, how to resist peer pressure to play with or carry guns, and how to distinguish between real-life and TV violence. Moreover, the curriculum explains to the children what can happen, physically and legally, when guns are not taken seriously. A parent education component is included in the program. Group presentations, a brochure and a video for parents are provided as basic safety information to help them keep guns out of children's hands.

**Kid With a Gun/Call 911 Campaign**

Mobile Partnership for Youth

305A Glenwood Street

Mobile, AL 36606

tel: 205/473-3673

fax: 205/479-8831

Ninki Vickers, Director

The Mobile Bay Area Partnership for Youth, a community based organization, in coordination with the police and sheriff's departments created the Kid With a Gun/Call 911 Campaign to encourage citizens to call 911 upon seeing an armed youth. A three-month long media campaign in 1992 focused local attention on youth violence and gun safety and raised parents' awareness about these issues. Since then, whenever the gun problem recurs, the police ask the media to repeat the campaign's public service announcements.

**MAD DADS (Men Against Destruction--Defending Against Drugs and Social Disorder)**

221 North 24th Street

Omaha, NE 68110

tel: 402/451-3366

fax: 402/451-3500

Edward Staton, President

The Omaha MAD DADS is a member of the nationwide coalition of community fathers who offer violence prevention through community service. Using community policing strategies, MAD DADS cooperates with law enforcement agencies by providing weekend street patrols within troubled areas; reporting and videotaping crime, drug sales, and other destructive activities to authorities; painting over gang graffiti; and challenging drug dealers and gang members to leave the area. Community activities offered for youths include chaperoning community events and providing counseling services. MAD DADS also makes quarterly visits to local jails and prisons to counsel and encourage youths and adults to join the program.

The Omaha, Nebraska, MAD DADS also has conducted successful gun buy-back programs with the police department, and sponsored gun safety classes with local law enforcement officials and the Omaha office of the FBI. MAD DADS sponsors an annual citywide Drug Treatment Awareness Week with the Omaha Community Partnership and a citywide youth Anti-Violence Task Force with the University of Nebraska Medical Center and Pizza Hut Restaurants of Omaha. MAD DADS operates in communities in Lincoln and Omaha, Nebraska; Houston, Texas; Denver, Colorado; 23 cities in Florida; Greenville, Mississippi; 3 in New York City; Baltimore, Maryland; Columbus, Ohio; and Council Bluffs, Iowa. The gun buy-back program has resulted in the collection of more than 2,500 guns at a cost of \$70,000 since 1991.

**New York City Metal Detector Program**

New York City Public Schools

Director of School Safety

600 East Sixth Street

New York, NY 10009  
tel: 212/979-3300  
fax: 212/979-3283  
Mrs. Zachary Tumin, Director

In 1988, in the context of a broader violence prevention program in the schools which included curricula, peer mediation, and crisis intervention teams, the New York City school system instituted a metal detector program. The 16 schools chosen to participate were ones where the highest numbers of weapons were being found. School security staff began using hand-held metal detectors to conduct unannounced lobby searches of students at the start of the day. The program required a mobile staff of 120 and cost \$300,000 per year per school. According to the school system personnel, aside from removing more than 2,000 weapons (the most commonly confiscated item was a razor-blade box cutter) weapon-related incidents of all types decreased in 13 of 15 schools; attendance improved; and anecdotal outcomes included many students' expressions of an increased sense of security.

Since that time, the number of NYC schools with metal detectors has risen to 41 (out of 125). But weapon-related incidents continue. In one, which also uses X-ray machines to screen book bags and backpacks, magnetic identity cards, security guards, and magnetic door lock, a stabbing occurred. When environmental interventions such as these are used they are often viewed as infringements on personal freedoms and criticized because they are touted as an immediate solution to a problem that cannot be solved without addressing the underlying social and psychological causes of aggressive behavior.

**\*PACT (Policy, Action, Collaboration, and Training)**  
Violence Prevention Project  
Contra Costa County Health Services Department  
75 Santa Barbara Road  
Pleasant Hill, CA 94523  
tel: 510/646-6511  
Larry Cohen, Project Director

The program represents a collaboration among the Contra Costa County Health Services Department Prevention Program, West Contra Costa County organizations, and the California Department of Health Services. A coalition of 10 local agencies guide implementation of activities to identify causes of violence, to study strategies for reducing violence, and to advocate for solutions. The cornerstone of PACT is violence prevention leadership training for African-American, Laotian, and Latino youths. The training and follow-up activities help the youths focus on issues of violence in their own strategies for violence prevention.

Youth outreach is supported and enhanced by neighborhood partnerships involving business, schools, government, neighborhood residents, and community organizations. PACT's multicultural collaboration promotes awareness and respect for West Contra County's diversity through activities such as community forums, parent councils, and cultural festivals.

PACT staff have also compiled a set of resources for a public health policy response to gun violence in

local communities for use by policy makers, media representatives, and other health department personnel working to prevent gun injuries and deaths. Most recently, the project developed an action plan for preventing violence in Contra Costa County. The plan was placed on the November 1994 ballot by the County Board of Supervisors. The plan is supported by a "Framework for Action" that enumerates many of the specific activities local communities and governmental bodies can undertake to reduce and prevent violence.

The project has an evaluation component to assess the degree of involvement by community organizations, the relationship between county government and community organizations, and changes in youths' attitudes about violence.

### **People Opening the World's Eye to Reality (POWER)**

Goldwater Memorial Hospital

Roosevelt Island

New York, NY 10044

tel: 212/318-4361

fax: 212/318-4370

Samuel Lehrfeld, Program Director

POWER members are patients at Goldwater Memorial hospital who are disabled and sometimes dependent on respirators. All were seriously injured as a result of drugs and/or street violence. They range in age from 19-44. Confined to wheelchairs, they pay visits twice a week to high schools, correctional facilities, probation agencies, and community centers to tell their stories to youths of similar ages and circumstances. Because some members were incarcerated due to their involvement with drugs and substance abuse, they are in a unique position to warn their peers about the hazards of drugs. Their fundamental message to the youths of New York is simple: "Put down the guns and drugs and pick up the books, because drugs, guns, and violence have only three results: jail, paralysis, or death!"

### **The Prevention Partnership**

Center for Substance Abuse Prevention Grant

139 Menahan Street

Brooklyn, New York 11221

tel: 718/919-3900

fax: 718/574-5100

Anthony Brown, Acting Project Director

This program aims to provide incentives for people to turn in guns. This program involves the Fighting Back community partnership, a local high school, and two police precincts (83d & 104th). Guns are exchanged for food vouchers.

### **Project LIFE**

(Lasting Intense Firearms Education)

Training and Alternative Programs

Marion Superior Court, Juvenile Division

2451 N. Keystone Avenue  
Indianapolis, IN 46218  
tel: 317/924-7440  
fax: 317/924-7508

Stacia Lozer, Director of Hiring, Training and Alternative Programs

Project LIFE is operated by the Marion County (Indianapolis), Indiana Juvenile Court. It is a diversion program for juveniles arrested on gun charges. As in the Pima County program, parental participation is required. The program is designed to help youth and their parents learn about the effects of gun violence and accidents through an experiential exercise. Children and their parents prepare a paper on the effect of guns. A discussion based on these papers opens the education session. After the discussion, a videotape of an actual accidental shooting is shown. Participants engage in another discussion on the impact they would have felt had the delinquents been the victims of gun violence or accidents rather than the violators of gun laws. They imagine and discuss, for example getting a call from the morgue rather than from the jail. The majority of the families do not return to juvenile court on gun charges.

#### **Rebound/Lookout Mountain Camp Falcon Juvenile Facility**

Rebound Corporation  
1700 Broadway, Suite 2200  
Denver, CO 80290  
tel: 303/861-9717  
fax: 303/861-0111  
Bob Hietala, Program Director

Camp Falcon was created during a special 1993 session of the Colorado legislature in response to public concern over an increase in violent juvenile crime. This highly structured and regimented boot camp will provide a sentencing alternative for first-time and other juvenile offenders, in lieu of a 45-day detention, probation, or commitment to the Division of Youth Services. Camp Falcon is located on the grounds of Lookout Mountain Youth Services Center's secure campus. The program consists of a 60-day, regimented military boot camp that includes academic education, life-skills building, and drug and alcohol abuse education. Youth are supervised by highly trained staff 24 hours a day; the program structures every minute of a youth's time from 5 a.m. when he wakes up to 9 p.m. when the lights are turned off. Youth sentenced to Camp Falcon must be adjudicated, delinquent males sentenced by the court to regimented juvenile training; be 12 to 18 years old; be psychologically capable of handling a confrontational, disciplinary milieu; and be physically capable of participating in an intensive training regimen.

The program is designed for first-time offenders, probation violators, and youth sentenced under the new handgun legislation. In general, the youth have committed property crimes but may have some assaultive behavior. The judge hearing the case makes the initial sentencing decision based in part on the pre-sentencing report of the juvenile's probation officer. Post-sentencing, mental and physical assessment, and time spent in detention may reduce the standard 60-day length of stay. An aftercare program is provided upon a youth's completion of the Camp Falcon program.

**Second Chance School**  
Topeka Schools USD 501  
423 South East Norwood  
Topeka, KS 66607  
tel: 913/233-0313  
fax: 913/575-6161  
Rome Mitchell, Director

The Second Chance School is a half-day instructional program for voluntary students who have been expelled for possession of weapons or assaulting a staff member. Students engage in studies of math, social sciences and language skills, participate in some recreational activities and are required to participate in community service. Depending on the seriousness of the offense, students attend the program for one semester or one year. Upon successful completion of the program, grades are sent to the home schools and students are readmitted. To date, 90% of the students enrolled have successfully completed the program. The program has been operating for three years and has a maximum capacity of eight students in the morning class and eight in the afternoon class. The Second Chance School has developed partnerships between the juvenile courts, the public schools, the police department and the recreational department.

**Shock Mentor Program**  
Prince George's Hospital Center  
3001 Hospital Drive  
Cheverly, MD 20785  
tel: 301/618-2100  
fax: 301/618-3966  
Allan E. Atzrott, President

The Shock Mentor program was recently developed by Prince George's Hospital Center and Concerned Black Men, Inc., a District-based mentoring group of African American professionals. The program brings Prince George's high school students into the shock trauma and emergency rooms to watch doctors patch together the victims and perpetrators of violence. This program is part of a larger county school-wide conflict-resolution program, peer mediation training program, black male achievement program, and county-wide forums on violence prevention.

The visits continue throughout the school year and each time students go through the trauma center, they are accompanied by a member of Concerned Black Men. Their role is to provide support to the young people as well as show them that there is an alternative to becoming a statistic in a trauma unit.

**Solutions Without Guns**  
Gun Safety Institute  
320 Leader Building  
Cleveland, OH 44114  
tel: 216/623-1111  
fax: 216/687-0115

**Dr. Joseph D. Clough, Founder and President**

Conducted an attitude survey of students with the support of the W.T. Grant Foundation in Cleveland Public Schools and determined four major factors contributing to gun-proneness. A substantial increase in gun-proneness occurs between fifth and sixth grade. "Solutions Without Guns" is geared towards kids in that age group. So far teachers and students have both been enthusiastic.

The Solutions Without Guns program is a multi-media education curriculum designed to address four gun-proneness factors which were identified in their study as being the main cause of handgun violence among youth: 1) guns and the people who use them are exciting; 2) guns provide both safety and power; 3) aggression is a response to shame or disrespect; 4) children are comfortable with aggression. The program is based on the view that students, teachers and parents must understand what these factors are and that children must learn to choose positive alternative behaviors when faced with situations that have the potential to result in gun violence.

The program's goals are geared toward prevention, not interdiction, providing students with skills to identify the four gun-proneness factors in themselves and others; identify and choose alternative positive behaviors; resist negative peer pressure in regard to the four factors; and practices appropriate pro-social behavior themselves and encourage the same in others. The curriculum is Language Arts-based but is meant to be integrated into other daily classroom lessons, through academically oriented activities and exercises.

**Southeastern Michigan Spinal Cord Injury System**

Rehabilitation Institute of Michigan

261 Mack Avenue

Detroit, MI 48201

tel: 313/745-9740

fax: 313/993-0812

Marcel Diskers, Director

The Southeastern Michigan Spinal Cord Injury System provides a video and discussion guide to high schools about gunshot victims and injuries. "Wasted Dreams" (distributed by Film Ideas, Inc. at 800/475-3456) is a peer-to-peer video on the effects of violence on seven young men. This group of teenagers, and one young man who can breathe only with the help of a respirator, all describe how they were shot, and, in hindsight, how they could have avoided becoming victims. Produced by the Rehabilitation Institute of Michigan.

**\*State Attorney General's Law Enforcement and Educational Task Force**

Division of Criminal Justice

25 Market Street, CN085

Trenton, NJ 08625-0085

tel: 609/292-4925

fax: 609/292-3508

Deborah Poritz, State Attorney General



The State Attorney General's Law Enforcement and Educational Task Force is an interagency effort to lower the incidence of school violence. The task force recently signed agreements (1993) with all school superintendents regarding guns in school grounds. This memorandum of agreement between the departments of education and law enforcement officials includes provisions for dealing with weapons on school property and establishes reciprocal rights and responsibilities for teachers, parents, and law officials.

**\*Steps to Prevent Firearm Injury (STOP)**

American Academy of Pediatrics  
141 Northwest Point Boulevard, P.O. Box 927  
Elk Grove Village, IL 60009  
tel: 800/433-9016  
fax: 708/228-5097  
Michelle Esquivel, Director

A collaborative effort with the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence has led to The Childhood Firearm Injury Prevention Project which is the first national educational program designed for pediatricians to use when counseling parents on the risks of keeping a gun in the home and the dangers guns pose in the community.

The program consists of (1) a monograph on firearm injury and death; (2) a bibliography of resources related to gun violence in America; (3) an audiotape that models dialogue between pediatricians and parents; (4) an eight-page brochure for parents that describes the dangers guns present and ways to minimize them; and (5) a poster for display in waiting rooms.

The package, which has been disseminated to more than 700 AAP members is currently being evaluated. Preliminary findings show an increase in pediatrician's willingness to talk about the issue after receiving the materials.

**Straight Talk About Risks (STAR)**

Center to Prevent Handgun Violence  
1225 Eye Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
tel: 202/289-7315  
fax: 202/962-4601  
Nancy Gannon, Director of Education

Straight Talk About Risks (STAR) is a curriculum for four grade clusters: K-2, 3-5, 6-8, and 9-12. STAR is a comprehensive school-based program designed by the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence to reduce gun injuries and deaths with prevention activities for children and their families. Through STAR, students also learn how to make better, safer decisions and resolve conflicts without violence through role-playing, how to resist peer pressure to play with or carry guns, how to distinguish between real life and TV violence, goal setting, and the development of leadership skills.

The program includes the curricula in English, Spanish, training, technical assistance, and safety information for parents. The curricula provides a flexible format: the activities may be taught alone, through a health or social skills class, or can be taught over several weeks. Many of the activities are suitable for use across the curriculum in English, mathematics, science, or visual and performing arts classes. A recent evaluation found that the program was most effective for students in grade 3-5 in terms of improvement in knowledge, attitudes and behavior.

**\*Teens on Target & Youth Alive**

Summit Medical Center

South Pavilion, 4th Floor

350 Hawthorne Avenue

Oakland, CA 94609

tel: 510/444-6191

fax: 510/444-6195

Deane Calhoun, Director

Youth Alive, a statewide nonprofit agency based in Oakland, provides expert testimony, presentations, and interagency communication to policy makers and the media about the incidence, cost, and impact of youth gun violence. Teens on Target (TNT) is a grass-roots organization in Oakland California, established in 1988 after two junior high school students were shot in school. TNT was founded on the assumption that young people can address the problem of gun violence better than adults. Each year an Oakland teacher and a San Francisco Trauma Foundation staff member educate a group of high school students on gun violence. The students develop their leadership and public speaking skills, then become violence prevention policy advocates, peer educators, and mentors for middle and elementary school students.

Youth Alive also runs a program called "Caught in the Crossfire." The program sends young counselors into Highland Hospital to try to persuade teenage gunshot victims to avoid further violence by not retaliating. Counselors emphasize that all revenge is going to do is destroy another life and put friends (who are doing the retaliating) at risk of being locked up. Several high school students, belonging to a group called Teens on Target, were trained by Youth Alive to be advocates against violence and to be volunteer counselors for the hospital program.

**\*UHLICH Children's Home**

3737 N. Mozart Street

Chicago, IL 60618-3689

tel: 312/588-0180

fax: 312/281-4237

Thomas VandenBerk, President

Mr. VandenBerk has developed a fact sheet on How Child Welfare Agencies and Child Advocates Can Help End the Epidemic of Death, Disability and Suffering due to Handguns. Suggestions include providing conferences, informational sessions, and programs to educate parents and parents about the risks of weapons in the home.

**\*University of Virginia Youth Violence Project**

University of Virginia  
Hampton Roads Center  
Virginia Beach, Virginia  
tel: 804/552-1890  
fax: 804/552-1898  
Dyanne Bostain, Director

UVA's project focuses on reducing youth violence through a team approach. Staff bring together a multi-disciplinary team of experts on youth aggression and violence (education, psychology, law enforcement, planning, crime prevention) who present 4 to 45 hour instruction courses in selected Virginia cities. Prior participating cities include: Falls Church, Newport News, Roanoke, Richmond and Virginia Beach.

Program participants (primarily school and law enforcement officials from target jurisdictions) are exposed to a variety of issues (risk factors for violence, multi-cultural dynamics, etc.) and asked to implement a series of actions in their schools including building security assessments and peer mediation. Many of the instructors in this program are local police officers. Part of their curriculum also deals with weapon identification and interdiction. School collaboration/cooperation is stressed, since school officials are not trained in defensive weapon removal/disarming tactics. In 1994, the project will expand its reach through a televised version "School Safety and Youth Aggression" to be downlinked to 24 sites across the Commonwealth.

No short or long term evaluation of this program has been implemented. Anecdotal information from prior participants would indicate some degree of usefulness/success. UVA staff would be supportive of any credible outside evaluation effort.

**\*Violent Injury Prevention Program (VIPP)**

Monterey County Health Department  
Injury Prevention Section  
1000 South Main Street, #306  
Salinas, CA 93901  
tel: 408/755-8486  
fax: 408/758-4770  
Diana Jacobson, Chief

VIPP, directed by a Violent Injury Prevention Coalition and a steering committee, seeks to prevent and reduce acts of violence in Salinas through community unification and education by disseminating resources and information. The steering committee, composed of representatives from diverse sectors of the community (e.g., education, religious, criminal justice, health, and government), identified and prioritized violence issues in the Salinas community and then developed recommendations for the Violent Injury Prevention Coalition to implement. The identified issues ranged from alcohol and other drug abuse to a perceived need to take a firmer approach to violence. Recommendations to address these concerns included the creation of a community information hotline and the development of anti-violence public

service announcements (PSA's), weapon safety materials, and a discount trigger lock coupon program. The program sponsored a "Stop the Violence Day that featured a variety of events, including a peace rally. In April 1992, as part of "Violence Prevention Month," nearly 1,900 people pledged to stop violence. The program also aired violence prevention PSA's on local television stations.

In addition, the program distributes an information sheet for parents to fill out whenever their children visit friends. On this sheet, parents can document where their children are, whether there are any guns in the house and, if so, whether the gun are locked up. All information distributed by the program is printed in English and Spanish. Evidence of success is indicated by the institutionalization of this private-sector partnership in the community.

**\*WARN (Weapons Are Removed Now)**

Reseda High School  
18230 Kittridge Street  
Reseda, CA 91335  
tel: 818/342-6186  
fax: 818/776-0452  
Mr. Shaffer, Director

WARN is an anti-weapons program designed to keep weapons off school campuses. The WARN objectives demonstrate that violence is an improper method for settling disputes; that weapons on campus are life threatening; and that informing on those who bring weapons on campus is the morally correct thing to do.

The program operates by training high school students to visit their neighborhood elementary and middle schools and speak to students concerning the danger of weapons on campus. The high school students may go alone or in groups. The method of presentation is left to a student's discretion with adult guidance. The administration of the high school will assist the students by confirming contacts with local feeder schools and by providing transportation if needed.

**Weapon Watch**

Mental Health Center  
Memphis City School District, Room 102  
2597 Avery Avenue  
Memphis TN 38112  
tel: 901/325-5810  
fax: 901/325-7634  
Dr. Gerry Nichol, Director

Weapon Watch was implemented to get children involved in ridding their schools of weapons. The school district joined forces with the Memphis Police Dept and Crime Stoppers, a group that financially rewards citizens for calling in tips about crimes. Instead of buying metal detectors, Memphis officials decided to get students involved in weeding out the weapons.

A hot line was established for students to call anonymously with information pertaining to a class mate who brings a weapon to school. Students who call in are given a secret code number. Once the call is received, police are dispatched to the school, and officers conduct an investigation. Students are rewarded if the information leads to the confiscation of weapons and the arrest of the classmate who brings a weapon on campus.

**\*Words Not Weapons**

Office of Violence Prevention  
Massachusetts Department of Public Health  
150 Tremont Street  
Boston, MA 02111  
tel: 617/727-2700  
fax: 617/727-1246  
Salena Respass, Director

The Words Not Weapons campaign is currently coordinated by the Office of Violence Prevention and co-sponsored by the state department of education, the Massachusetts Committee on Criminal Justice, and the Governor's Alliance Against Drugs.

Enrollment in the program is open to schools in cities and towns in all areas of the state. The governor (Weld) has pledged to make personal visits to each participating school to meet students and staff. Plans include training for teachers and other school personnel and creating linkages among parents, the media and community agencies. Although the initial efforts will focus on schools, the long-range goal is for community-wide expansion that includes many segments of society - law enforcement, criminal and juvenile justice, business, religious institutions, health care and social service organizations.

**Youth, Firearms and Violence in Atlanta:**

**A Problem -Solving Approach**

Emory University School of Public Health  
1599 Clifton Road, NE  
Atlanta, GA 30329  
tel: 404/727-5481  
fax: 404/727-8744  
Dr. Arthur Kellerman

In Atlanta, Dr. Arthur Kellerman of Emory University is working together with the community, state and local governments, and Project Pulling America's Cities Together (PACT) to analyze the magnitude, extent, and characteristics of youth firearms violence and develop a broad-based strategy to address the problem. The planned intervention will apply a three-part strategy: (1) reducing demand of firearms through a comprehensive community education program; (2) reducing supply by promoting safe storage of firearms and by law enforcement efforts to interdict the illegal gun market; and (3) aggressive rehabilitation seeking to decrease recidivism among juvenile gun offenders.

**Youth Trauma Team**  
Howard University Violence Prevention Project  
525 Bryant Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20059  
tel: 202/797-0723  
Hope Hill, Director

A group of two psychologists, four social workers, 16 community recreation workers, and 45 trained police officers formed the Youth Trauma Team which patrols the city at all hours helping children cope with the violence they so often witness. The work of the Team is helped by the Howard University Violence Prevention Project which offers an after-school middle school program, a pre-school program, and a summer camp which provides social support, tutoring, esteem-building, and cultural enrichment for children who have been exposed to serious violence, including gun violence. The program gives children an opportunity to receive the services they need so they do not perpetuate the cycle of violence.

**Zero Tolerance Program**  
San Diego City Schools  
4100 Normal Street  
San Diego, CA 92103-2682  
tel: 619/293-8418  
fax: 619/293-8067  
Dr. Frank Till, Director

The Zero Tolerance Program applies to middle, junior and senior high school students. All students who possess a firearm, knife, explosive or any other dangerous object in school shall be immediately suspended and recommended for expulsion. The student is given the option to attend a district Zero Tolerance Program for a minimum of one semester. If the student elects to attend the program, the expulsion is suspended.

The Program is established so that students are able to continue with their studies, receive counseling and more individual attention, work at their own pace and complete as many courses as possible.

All objects used in a threatening manner are considered to be a weapon even if typical use is not as a weapon. Trespassing on school grounds by students who are not enrolled and who have not been cleared by the school office shall be a recorded, suspendable offense, and a third offense shall require attendance at a Zero Tolerance Program. In every case where students violate applicable Education Code and Penal Codes, they will be charged and arrested and taken to a juvenile detention facility or county jail.

**III.**

**A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DIRECTORY**





### **III. A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DIRECTORY**

#### **Advocacy Institute**

1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, Suite 600

Washington, DC 20036-3118

tel: 202/659-8475

fax: 202/659-8484

Michael Pertschuk, Co-Director

The Advocacy Institute is working to build an infrastructure for the movement against gun violence, including a computer network (Safety Net) to link advocates fighting gun violence. Its objective is to facilitate unified voices and alliances that can challenge and surpass the influence of the NRA and its allies in the arena of public policy and values. AI plans to develop and provide a gun violence training program for community-based advocates; provide technical assistance to researchers in monitoring and timely disseminating of gun policy and policy-related research.

#### **American Academy of Pediatrics**

141 N. West Point Boulevard

P.O. Box 927

Elk Grove Village, IL 60009-0227

tel: 800/433-9016

Dr. Joe M. Sanders, Jr., Director

In 1985, the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) issued a policy statement encouraging its members to support gun control. In 1992, the recommendations extended beyond legislative and regulatory measures and included: (1) removing handguns from the environment in which children live and play; (2) reducing the destructive power of ammunition; and (3) reducing the romanticization of gun use in the popular media.

The membership recommended that gun manufacturers and retailers develop and sell gun safety devices. For the long term, AAP advocated that legislative bans be placed on various firearms and the public be made aware of the prevalence of childhood gun injuries.

#### **American Bar Association**

750 North Lake Shore Drive

Chicago, IL 60611

tel: 312/988-5109

fax: 312/988-5100

George E. Bushnell, Jr., President-Elect

The ABA and its membership of over 370,000 lawyers nationwide is engaged in a range of activities aimed at the reduction of gun violence in our nation. The ABA Legal Solutions to Gun Violence assists cities, counties and states in drafting and enacting ordinances and laws to regulate firearms, including

legislation to ban the manufacture, sale and possession of all assault weapons. Additionally, the ABA is working with a broad coalition of law-enforcement, medical and public-health, victim advocacy and community and locally-based organizations in public education efforts related to the Second Amendment to the Constitution, risks and costs of gun violence, and the impact of gun violence on children and youth. The ABA supports the efforts of the recently formed private bar groups in San Francisco (Legal Community Against Violence) and New York (Lawyers' Committee Against Violence), for the primary purpose of pursuing damage suits on behalf of victims of gun violence.

**American Psychological Association**

Commission on Violence and Youth

750 First Street

Washington, DC 20002-4242

tel: 202/336-5500

fax: 202/336-6063

Jackie Gentry, Director

An American Psychological Association commission was created in 1991 to review current and past research on youth violence. In August, 1993, the Commission released a report entitled "Violence and Youth: Psychology's Response." Next steps involve a conference in January on the subject.

**Annie E. Casey Foundation**

701 St. Paul Street

Baltimore, MD 21202

tel: 410/547-6600

fax: 410/547-6624

Bart Lubow, Senior Associate

The Annie Casey Foundation is considering the following issues which can contribute to developments to protect children and youth from handgun violence.

- How to build a movement to end the political and cultural traditions that sustain unregulated handgun manufacture and distribution;
- How to avoid (and/or undo) regressive juvenile and adult justice system laws and policies that punishes kids mindlessly while consuming vast amounts of scarce tax dollars for practices with no relation to improved community safety;
- What to do, in terms of research and information system development, to ensure that policies developed to prevent or reduce handgun violence are data-driven;
- How to focus more attention in the gun violence arena on the particularities of the issue for disadvantaged children and communities. How to bring community perspective and experience into these efforts;

- ● What is the state of the art in policies and programs to reduce violence, especially handgun violence;
- How can system reform initiatives incorporate both a message in support of new policies and effective strategies to reduce handgun violence?

**Centers for Disease Control (CDC)**  
National Center for Injury Prevention and Control  
Division of Violence Prevention  
4770 Buford Highway, NE, Mailstop K60  
Atlanta, GA 30341-3724  
tel: 404/488-4362  
fax: 404/488-4349  
Jim Mercy, Director

The CDC is currently tracking baseline data and delineating strategies to address each of the "Healthy People 2000: National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives" which include three objectives (out of 18) which concern firearm accessibility.

Through the extra-mural research grants, CDC is funding the State-based Firearm Injury Surveillance Projects. The purpose of the state-based firearm injury surveillance projects is to fund seven (7) states to begin to develop a system to provide more complete epidemiologic descriptions of firearm injuries. This information can, in turn, be used to identify intervention points and to design, implement, and evaluate prevention activities. Missouri, Maryland, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Washington, Wisconsin, and Colorado are collecting data from emergency rooms, police, newspaper accounts, child fatality offices, etc. These projects will help determine the most useful sources of data and the most efficient methods for combining information from those sources. The final goal is a system that will monitor the number, severity, cost, causes, and other epidemiologic characteristics of firearm injuries both locally and nationally.

Cooperative agreements have been undertaken to evaluate specific interventions that may reduce injuries and deaths related to interpersonal violence among adolescents and young adults. The interventions have theoretical and empirical foundations. Thirteen projects have been funded.

Community Demonstration Projects, which are five-year cooperative agreements are funded. These projects are meant to give information about the effectiveness of the interaction of multiple community forces in a coordinated violence prevention program that contains multiple interventions. The projects are designed so that CDC may assist communities to design and implement multifaceted community youth violence prevention programs.

**Center for Injury Control**  
Emory University School of Public Health  
1462 Clifton Road, NE  
Atlanta, GA 30322

tel: 404-727-9977

fax: 404/727-8744

Dr. Arthur L. Kellerman, Director

Kellerman's research focuses on guns in the home. In studies of gun deaths in Washington state, British Columbia, Tennessee and Ohio, his research has shown that guns kept at home are used far more often to commit suicide or to kill a family member than to fend off a potentially fatal criminal attack. His prevention strategy is based on public education much like that of early anti-smoking campaigns.

### **Center to Prevent Handgun Violence**

1225 Eye Street, NW

Washington, DC 20005

tel:202/289-7315

fax: 202/408-1851

Kris Robinson: 202-289-5784

Nancy Gannon, Director of Education Program, (HELP): 202-289-5769

The Center To Prevent Handgun Violence is a national, nonprofit organization formed to help America understand the realities of handgun violence and the dangers posed by loaded, easily available handguns. The Center educates the public about ways to reduce gun violence through partnerships with experts in medicine and public health, law, education, law enforcement, community groups, the media, and the entertainment industry. Its activities include legal action (e.g., amicus briefs on behalf of victims), primary prevention, education, and efforts to affect the way that entertainment media portray gun violence. The Center has developed programs for use in school and in law enforcement and health settings.

CPHV has been involved as amicus curiae in *U.S. v. Lopez*; a United States Supreme court case regarding the constitutionality of the federal Gun Free School Zones Act which was enacted in 1990. The challenge to the Act is being brought by a 12th grade student who was caught carrying a concealed .38 caliber handgun and five bullets at a San Antonio high school. He told police he was planning to deliver the gun to another student who was going to use it in a "gang war." He argues that because possession of guns is a local matter, Congress lacks power under the Constitution to enact a law banning their possession in school zones.

Joined by six national educational and seven national law enforcement organizations, the Center argues that the possession of guns near schools, by fueling gun violence, has a substantial effect on interstate commerce. In addition to imposing enormous direct costs on society, gun violence in schools threatens the educational process with far-reaching consequences for the national economy. The result of the case may be that youth may have to be regulated on state-by-state basis.

The Center recently collaborated with Disney Educational Productions to produce a gun violence prevention video, "Under the Gun" which challenges the glamorization of guns and the notion that guns make us safer. Disney plans to market the video to schools, recreation centers, police departments, juvenile justice facilities, hospitals, rehabilitation centers, and other educational organizations.

**Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence**

University of Colorado, Boulder

Campus Box 442

Boulder, CO 80309-0442

tel: 303/492-1032

fax: 303/443-3297

Laura Greiner, Project Coordinator

The Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence was founded in 1992 with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to provide informed assistance to professional groups committed to understanding and preventing violence, particularly adolescent violence.

CSPV has a three-fold mission. First, an Information House serves to collect research literature on the causes and prevention of violence and provides direct information services to the public by offering topical bibliographic searches. Second, CSPV offers technical assistance for the evaluation and development of violence prevention programs. Third, CSPV maintains a basic research component through data analysis and other projects on the causes of violence and the effectiveness of intervention and prevention programs.

**Children & Family Justice Center**

Northwestern University Legal Clinic

357 East Chicago Avenue

Chicago, IL 60611

tel: 312/503-0135

fax: 312/503-8977

Bernadine Dohrn, Director

The Children & Family Justice Center hosted the meeting "Framing the Message on Youth and Guns: A Dialogue on Juvenile Justice" held at the Children's Defense Fund.

**Children's Defense Fund**

**Cease Fire: A Gun Violence Prevention Campaign**

25 E Street, NW

Washington, DC 20001

tel: 202/628-8787

fax: 202/662-3540

Hattie Ruttenberg

The Children's Defense Fund is a research and advocacy organization interested in all issues pertaining to children. Attorneys working for CDF write publications on reducing firearms. CDF collects data on who is getting killed. CDF is addressing the problem of gun violence through multiple approaches:

1) Legislation.

2) Community Mobilization - The Children's Sabbath; Child Watch violence module; and Safe Start Component (leadership training in 3-10 cities).

3) Data Collection - on gun fatalities among children.

4) Public Education - The first phase was for an adult audience; the next one is for a teenage audience.

The Cease Fire campaign involves 10 steps to stop the war against children in America including removing guns from our homes, creating opportunities, safe havens, being informed about violence, and media violence, and resolving conflicts peaceably. The campaign also features television public service announcements and the "Wall of Names," a print presentation of more than 600 children killed from 39 states by gun fire in 1993-1994.

### **Coalition to Stop Gun Violence**

100 Maryland Avenue, NE

Washington, DC 20002

tel: 202/544-7190

fax: 202/544-7213

Michael Beard, President, Founder and Director

The Coalition to Stop Gun Violence (CSGV) is one of the nation's oldest anti-gun lobbies. A coalition of citizens groups and religious, professional, labor, medical and educational associations, CSGV also has 120,000 individual members nationwide. The goal of the Coalition, which was founded in 1974, is to eliminate most handguns and assault weapons in the United States through bans on importation, manufacture, sale, transfer, ownership, possession, and use by the general public. This would be accomplished by limiting the availability of gun dealers' licenses; increasing gun dealers license fees; user licensing; increasing the handgun ammunition taxes to offset health care costs; strict liability for gun manufacturers and dealers; and enacting a national one handgun a month law. Exceptions for police, military, security officers, and gun clubs would be made.

In an effort to accomplish their goals, CSGV engages in a vigorous program of lobbying the US Congress; counteracting the NRA; maintaining an active legal program; initiating or assisting litigation cases against manufacturers and dealers; conducting public education and awareness campaigns; and coordinating a network of grass-roots activists across the country. The Educational Fund to End Handgun Violence is the educational arm of the CSGV.

### **Communications Consortium**

1333 H Street, NW

Washington, DC 20005

tel: 202/682-1270

fax: 202/682-2154

The Communications Consortium is developing a public policy and education campaign "Women's Voices on Gun Violence: Building New Alliances for Public Safety." According to this project, there are

numerous precedents for redefining an issue in terms of how it affects women and families and woman's role in making the decisions that affect everyday lives (cigarette smoking; abortion and reproductive rights; etc). They have reviewed past polling and media trends to probe public perceptions on women and guns; identified at least 14 regional areas in the United States which have a combination of elements that characterize them as potential media markets for building new alliances among women for public safety; and made an assessment of campaigns that led to mobilization around social issues.

**Educational Development Center, Inc.**  
Children's Safety Network (CSN)  
Adolescent Violence Prevention Resource Center  
or National Injury and Violence Prevention Resource Center  
55 Chapel Street  
Newton, MA 02158-1060  
tel: 617/969-7100 x2359  
fax: 617/244-3436  
Beth Jacklin, Director

The goal of the resource center is to improve the science and practice of youth violence prevention. To accomplish this goal, the center is providing state MCH agencies with information, resources, materials, and technical assistance that will encourage the development of new adolescent violence prevention programs and the improvement of current efforts.

**Educational Fund to End Handgun Violence**  
110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Box 72  
Washington, DC 20002  
tel: 202/544-7227  
fax: 202/544-7213  
Josh Horowitz, Executive Director

A project of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence (CSGV), the Educational Fund to Handgun Violence was founded in 1978. To meet the goal of ending violence caused by the use of firearms, the Fund activities consist of research and scholarship; public education; and a firearms litigation clearinghouse. Their primary project is "Hands Without Guns", a collaborative public education campaign.

**Entertainment Resources Department**  
Center to Prevent Handgun Violence  
10951 West Pico Boulevard  
Los Angeles, CA 90064  
tel: 310/475-6714  
fax: 310/475-3147  
Nancy Gannon

Entertainment Resources Department is branch of Handgun Control Incorporated, which has a legal action project, and curriculum in the schools (straight talk about risks) (STAR), and entertainment

resources. They work with entertainment industry to help them portray gun violence in a more realistic fashion. They consult on scripts to ensure accuracy of information.

**Gun Safety Institute**

The Leader Building

East 6th Street

Cleveland, Ohio

tel: 216/574-9180

fax: 216/687-0115

Dr. Joseph D. Claugh, Founder and President

The Gun Safety Institute commissioned research from the Child Guidance Center of Greater Cleveland to measure attitudes towards guns and violence among urban youth. In a survey of 461 fifth-, seventh- and ninth-grade students in the Cleveland Public School System, the data yielded the following four factors which address the question of why many youth are attracted to guns: they are perceived as fun; that safety is achieved through power; young people have more confidence in aggression than in negotiation; and many students believe that shame can be undone through aggression.

**George Gund Foundation**

1845 Guildhall Building

45 Prospect Avenue West

Cleveland, OH 44115

tel: 216/241-3114

fax: 216/241-6560

David Bergholz, Executive Director

The George Gund Foundation has been involved in funding some youth gun violence reduction programs, including the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, for the Legal Action Project and second amendment media campaign; and Youth Alive, for a study on the use of local zoning and business codes to regulate fire arms dealers.

**Handgun Control Incorporated**

1225 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1100

Washington, DC 20005

tel: 202/898-0792

fax: 202/371-9615

Richard Aborn, Director

The lobbying branch of the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, Handgun Control, Inc. has proposed comprehensive legislation to regulate every level of the gun industry. The lobbying branch of the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence. Handgun Control, Inc. has proposed comprehensive legislation to regulate every level of the gun industry. The proposed bills would:

- Require a license to buy a handgun; mandate fingerprint checks and safety training for



license applicants; include mandatory seven-day cooling off period; and require the registration of handgun transfers.

- Prohibit gun possession by those convicted of violent misdemeanors, including spouse or child abuse, and require a special license for possession of a gun arsenal (20 guns or 1,000 rounds of ammunition).
- Require gun dealers to pay an annual license fee of \$1,000; prohibit the sale of more than one handgun a month to any individual; mandate a federal license for ammunition dealers; require background checks for gun store employees; ban firearm sales at gun shows; and create "a private cause of action" for gun law violations.
- Ban semiautomatic assault weapons, Saturday Night Special handguns, and nonsporting ammunition; regulate gun safety; and increase the surtax on handguns and handgun ammunition.

#### **Handgun Epidemic Lowering Plan (HELP) Network of Concerned Professionals**

c/o The Children's Memorial Medical Center

2300 Children's Plaza, #88

Chicago, IL 60614

tel: 312/880-3826

fax: 312/880-6615

Amy Friedman, Director

HELP is a new organization of health professionals (first meeting was held on 10/17/93 at the Children's Memorial Hospital in Chicago) with the mission of reducing the handgun violence epidemic by addressing it as a public health problem. The HELP agenda calls for legislation to regulate handguns and handgun ammunition, increased public health surveillance of firearms deaths and injuries and the sale of weapons. Katherine Kaufer Christoffel, attending physician at CMH is head. The network publishes a quarterly newsletter; holds an annual national conference; a clearinghouse on information gathered from member organizations; and a steering committee to guide network activities. Steering Committee members include the National Association of Children's Hospitals, AAP, Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, Dartmouth Medical Center, Violence Policy Center, and NYC and LA City Departments of Health.

#### **Harvard Project on Guns, Violence, and Public Health**

Harvard Injury Control Center

Harvard University School of Public Health

718 Huntington Avenue

Boston, MA 02115

tel: 617/432-0814

fax: 617/432-0068

Deborah Prothrow-Stith, Director

Founded in 1987 with funding from CDC, the Harvard Injury Control Center is a multidisciplinary

research center which represents public health, medicine, epidemiology, program evaluation, violence prevention, criminology, economics, psychology, behavioral sciences, and statistics. The Center's goal to "promote injury control through public policy," is accomplished through applied research projects, training activities, and communications with professionals and the public.

**Injury Prevention Center**  
Johns Hopkins School of Public Health  
615 N. Wolfe St.  
Baltimore, MD 21287  
tel: 410/955-3555  
fax: 410/614-2797  
Mr. Stephen P. Teret, Director

The Center started working on the issue of guns in the early 1980's. Wants to redirect public attention from the user of the gun to the maker of the gun by requiring manufacturers to make safer or fewer guns; holding gun makers or sellers legally liable for harm their products do; educating the public about gun hazards; and controlling gun advertising. The focus of the research is on manufacturers.

**Injury and Violence Prevention Program**  
Los Angeles City Dept of Health  
313 N. Figueroa, Room 127  
Los Angeles, CA 90012  
tel: 213/241-7785  
fax: 213/250-3909  
Billie Weiss, Director

**International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP)**  
515 North Washington Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
tel: 703/836-6767  
fax: 703/836-4543  
John Firman, Director

The International Association of Chiefs of Police has been developing a research effort in the area of school violence, particularly guns in schools. The project entitled, "Reducing School Violence" is a joint effort of the University of Virginia and the IACP.

The IACP, through retired chief John Granfield (Alexandria Police Department) offers a course covering all aspects of weapon incidents in schools, including disarming suspects, weapon identification, and how to most effectively use police resources when such incidents occur. This course has been presented at a number of area schools and has been very well received.

**Joyce Foundation**  
135 South LaSalle Street

Chicago, IL 60603-4886  
tel: 312/782-2464  
fax: 312/782-4160  
Deborah Leff, President

- Developing a major gun policy center through board.
- Harvard University School of Public Health for 2 Louis Harris polls (\$93,500) and establishment of the Harvard Project on Guns, Violence, and Public Health to make guns a public health issue;
- Advocacy Institute, to research and publish "Toward a Gun-Safe Society: Movement Building Strategies;"
- HELP Network;
- Children's Express Foundation for hearing on violence in the lives of children;
- Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence;
- Cook County Hospital to produce and distribute anti-violence posters on the buses and subways;
- Communications Consortium, to develop a public policy campaign against gun violence directed toward women;
- Hyde Park Bank Foundation, to publish a book of essays, poems, and pictures created by Chicago elementary school students on their views of violence;
- Children's Defense Fund to launch its Gun Violence Prevention Campaign;
- Childhood Firearm Injury Prevention Project;
- John Hopkins University, School of Hygiene and Public Health, Baltimore, for analysis of firearm advertisements and to plan Safety Net, a data network on guns;
- Violence Policy Center;
- Medical College of Wisconsin to establish in Milwaukee County an integrated firearm injury reporting system that could serve as a national model;
- Educational Broadcasting Corporation, Public Affairs Television for a television services on children and violence.

**Legal Community Against Violence**  
A Fund of the San Francisco Foundation  
101 California Street, Suite 1075  
San Francisco, CA 94111  
tel: 415/433-2062  
fax: 415/433-3357

The Bay Area legal community, with support from government and business leaders and The San Francisco Foundation, has created Legal Community Against Violence (LCAV). The Organization is dedicated to ending the sale to the public of military-style assault weapons and ammunition and large-capacity magazines, and regulating the availability of other firearms and bullets to help protect our society from gun violence.

LCAV's goal is to mobilize the legal community and other concerned citizens to work for gun violence prevention through legislative, legal and education efforts. They support and draft gun control legislation; serve as a resource to elected officials; provide assistance and financial support on litigation against negligent gun dealers and manufacturers; and educate the public on gun control issues, including the true meaning of the Second Amendment. They have provided funding to survivors of the 101 California massacre to enable them to testify in Congress on behalf of the Brady Bill, and on the recent successful legislation to ban assault weapons.

**Marylanders Against Handgun Abuse**  
3000 Chestnut Avenue, Suite 203  
Baltimore, MD  
tel: 410/889-1477  
fax: 410/889-1480  
Vinny De Marco

In 1988, Marylanders Against Handgun Abuse (MAHA) spearheaded one of the nation's most effective gun control campaigns to ban Saturday Night Special handguns in Maryland. In 1993, MAHA kicked off its campaign to enact comprehensive gun-control legislation and to educate the public about the hazards of handguns. The key element here was creation of a statewide grassroots coalition known as Standing Together Against the Gun Epidemic (STAGE). MAHA has brought together over 150 religious, community, law-enforcement and medical provider groups into the STAGE Coalition. In 1994, MAHA, with the STAGE coalition, convinced the General Assembly to pass an assault-pistols ban. This victory helped inspire the subsequent victory in Congress of the assault-weapons ban.

**National Association of Child Advocates**  
1625 K Street, NW  
Suite 510  
Washington, DC 10006  
tel: 202/828-6950  
fax: 202/828-6956  
Eve Brooks, President

NACA performs advocacy efforts on legislation pertaining to children and provides technical assistance to state and community-based child advocacy organizations working to fight ineffective punitive approaches to juveniles and to promote more effective approaches, particularly prevention, as well as alternatives to incarceration. Goals include lifting all children out of poverty and ending childhood hunger and homelessness. NACA funds a Juvenile Justice Project which is a major focal point of nationwide information dissemination on federal and state juvenile justice and youth crime prevention policy; and co-sponsored a meeting called "Framing the Message on Youth and Guns: A Dialogue on Juvenile Justice" with the Children and Family Justice Center.

#### **National Center for Education in Maternal and Child Health**

2000 N. 15th Street  
Suite 701  
Arlington, VA 22201-2617  
tel: 703/524-7802  
fax: 703/821-2098  
Rochelle Mayer, Director

Funds the Children's Safety Network and houses "Biblio Alert! Focus on Firearms," a clearinghouse (703/821-8955 x254) with an extensive bibliography of journal articles, reports, books, and other resources.

#### **National Association of Children's Hospitals (NACHRI)**

401 Wythe Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
tel: 703/684-1355 x265  
fax: 703/684-1589  
Stacy Collins, MSW, Assistant Director, Child Health Analysis

At its 1993 annual meeting in Atlanta, the NACHRI Board of Trustees issued an Association position statement calling for actions to reduce children's access to firearms and the morbidity and mortality resulting from firearm use. In adopting the position statement NACHRI joins the American Academy of Pediatrics and other child health advocates in approaching the issue of gun violence from a public health perspective.

#### **NACHRI advocates:**

- Data Collection and trend monitoring on firearm injury and death in children's hospitals.
- Education strategies involving parents, school curricula and community coalitions.
- Prevention strategies through identification of children most at risk for firearm violence and subsequent intervention services.
- Public policy strategies with support for incremental measures such as the Brady Bill and a long-term goal of eventual elimination of private use of handguns and other highly injurious firearms.

**National Association of State Boards of Education**

1012 Cameron Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314

tel: 703/684-4000

fax: 703/836-2313

Jane Ascroft, Research Assistant

NASBE is a membership group made up of state boards of education. The group has developed policy recommendations for in and out of schools and included harassment and bullying. One of recommendations, before legislation, was that the State boards of education must protect the right of students and staff to feel safe and secure in a classroom as the right of children and youth to receive a public education. To do so, state boards must assure that a continuum of sanctions is available for children and youth who have been disruptive or delinquent. Expulsion without alternatives is not a solution to youth violence. Efforts must be made to keep disruptive or delinquent students, to the maximum extent possible, in their neighborhood school. At a minimum, alternative programs with strong academic and counseling components should be provided.

**National Institute of Justice**

US Department of Justice

633 Indiana Ave, NW

Washington, DC 20531

tel: 202/514-4787

fax: 202/307-6394

Jeremy Travis, Director

Some of the NIJ programs include:

- **Private Ownership of Firearms.** NIJ is sponsoring a national telephone survey of 3,000 households regarding private firearms ownership and use. The survey includes such issues as how, where, when, and why household members acquired handguns; the types of weapons owned; how weapons are stored, used, and disposed of; why non-owners do not own guns; previous victimization and arrest histories; and demographic characteristics. A final report is due March 31, 1995. Interim reports will be requested.
- **A Survey of High School Youth and Weapons.** This NIJ project includes a national survey of urban, suburban, and rural high school students about carrying and access to weapons in and around schools, as well as in communities. Violence incidents and victimizations, as well as gang and drug-related behavior, will also be measured. In addition, school administrators will be surveyed about their responses to guns and violence in their schools. This is a 2-year project with a begin date of January 1, 1995.
- **Juveniles, Illicit Markets, and Fear.** This NIJ project is testing the applicability of preventing juvenile gun violence through problem solving policing focused on disrupting the illicit market in firearms. The project will assist the Boston Police Department in

analyzing its juvenile gun problem and designing an intervention. Efforts will be made to disrupt the local black market in firearms and to reduce fear that may drive juveniles to acquire and carry firearms. The study will conduct a process and impact evaluation. The project will also produce information on juvenile gun acquisition and use. This is a 2-year project with a begin date of November 1, 1994.

- **Demonstration on Youth, Firearms, and Violence.** NIJ is sponsoring a demonstration and evaluation program on youth, firearms, and violence, which is being conducted in St. Louis. Its purpose is to reduce: morbidity and mortality of gun-related assaults, the frequency of carrying guns, and the frequency of assaults. The project involves the creation of Assault Crisis Teams that will work in an emergency medical treatment center serving high-risk juvenile populations. The Assault Crisis Teams consist of medical, social service, educational, and criminal justice personnel. This is a 2-year project with a begin date of October 1, 1994.

- **Youth Violence, Guns, and Links to Illicit Drug Markets.** This NIJ project will study the recent growth in juvenile homicide rates by examining, by race and age, data on homicide rates, drug arrest rates, arrest rates for weapons offenses, fractions of homicides involving guns, and other variables that might explain the growth in juvenile homicide. Findings will test the theoretical link between participation in drug markets and gun ownership, and the diffusion of guns into the community. This will be an 18-month project which is in the process of being awarded.

- **Survey of Police Departments.** A telephone survey of major police departments is being conducted by NIJ to request information on any programs and strategies their departments are implementing targeting youth and firearms. Status reports and findings are being requested. Delivery date is unknown.

**National School Boards Association (NSBA)**

1680 Duke Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
tel: 703/838-6722  
fax: 703/683-7590  
Lynne Glassman

Performed a survey and produced a booklet "Violence in the Schools: How America's School Boards are Safeguarding Your Children." The book catalogs programs by various topics, such as "Alternative Program of Schools;" "Gun-Free School Zones;" "Suspension;" "Establishing Safe Havens" on violence in the schools.

**National School Safety Center**

4165 Thousand Oaks Boulevard, Suite 290  
Westlake, CA 91362  
tel: 805/373-9977

fax: 805/373-9277

Ron Stevens, Executive Director

Sponsored by the U.S Departments of Education and Justice, this organization focuses on school crime prevention throughout the country. Special emphasis on efforts to rid schools of crime, violence and drugs, and on programs to improve student discipline, attendance, achievement and school climate. Provides technical assistance and training programs; training films; and publishes a news journal.

### **Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention**

U.S. Department of Justice

633 Indiana Avenue, NW.

Washington, DC 20531

tel: 202/307-5911

fax: 202/514-6382

Shay Bilchik, Administrator

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, (OJJDP) is responsible for all issues pertaining to youth, justice and delinquency prevention at the national level. Initiatives undertaken by OJJDP share a common purpose--to have a positive and practical impact on the serious problems affecting youth today. This goal underlies our efforts to prevent delinquency; improve the effectiveness of juvenile and family courts, detention, corrections, and aftercare; provide alternatives to youth at risk of delinquency; reduce the number of school dropouts; prevent child abduction, abuse and exploitation, and provide appropriate sanctions for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.

Some of the initiatives pertaining to guns include:

- Survey of juvenile handgun legislation and development of a model law. As mandated by the Youth Handgun Safety Act, OJJDP is funding a project to gather and analyze selected provisions of States' firearms codes. The project will develop a body of general information about key provisions of States' firearms codes (including local ordinances and relevant court decisions) that can be used by the Congress in reviewing existing and proposed legislation designed to reduce juvenile handgun violence; by Federal agencies in implementing congressionally mandated firearms provisions; and by the States in formulating firearms laws and policies to address their respective unique objectives and circumstances.
- School Violence Reduction Project. On September 26, 1994, OJJDP issued a purchase order to the International Association of Chiefs of Police for the purpose of identifying and documenting school violence reduction programs currently in place throughout the United States. Programs that emphasize reducing the number of weapons on school property will be of particular research emphasis. Three types of programs will be explored during this project: school-based programs, law enforcement-based programs; and community-based programs. An interim report is due in late November, 1994, and the full report is due December 23, 1994.



● **Gun Acquisition and Possession.** OJJDP and NIJ jointly funded a study on juvenile possession of firearms drawn from voluntary questionnaires completed by male students in inner-city high schools and male juvenile offenders incarcerated in juvenile correctional facilities. Issues studied were: the number and types of firearms owned, and where, how and why they were obtained. The findings indicate that the problem is not simply getting guns out of the hands of juveniles, but more one of reducing motivations for youth to arm themselves in the first place. Convincing juveniles not to own, carry, and use guns will therefore require convincing them that they can survive in their neighborhoods without being armed. An NIJ *Research in Brief* was published in December, 1993, summarizing the research findings.

● **Interagency Demonstration on Youth, Firearms, and Violence.** This project, awarded to Emory University located in Atlanta, Georgia, is being conducted in collaboration with the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and OJJDP. The study will employ a problem solving approach to reduce gun violence by youth in metropolitan Atlanta by working with the community and State and local governments to analyze the magnitude, extent, and characteristics of the problem. This information will then be used to implement a broad-based approach to combat youth firearms violence. After the program is implemented, the study will obtain repeat measures to evaluate its impact. These findings will be used to refine the program. The intervention will employ three complementary tactics to break the link between youth and guns: 1) *demand reduction*, through a comprehensive community education program; 2) *supply reduction*, by promoting safe storage of firearms, and by law enforcement efforts to interdict the illegal gun market; and 3) *aggressive rehabilitation*, to decrease recidivism among juvenile gun offenders.

● **Juvenile Violence Studies.** The 1992 Amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act require four violence studies to be conducted for the purposes of improving the juvenile justice system and provide valuable information regarding community violence patterns, with a particular focus on homicides and firearms. The mandated objectives of the studies are to: 1) identify characteristics and patterns of behavior of juveniles who are at risk of becoming violent or victims of homicide; 2) identify factors particularly indigenous to each area that contribute to violence; 3) determine the accessibility and use of firearms; 4) determine the conditions that cause any increase in juvenile violence; 5) identify existing and new diversion, prevention, and control programs to ameliorate such conditions; 6) improve current systems to prevent and control juvenile violence; and 7) develop a plan to assist State and local governments to establish viable ways to reduce homicides committed by or against juveniles.

● **Innovative Firearms Program.** This program will assist state or local jurisdictions to develop and implement new or enhanced projects designed to prevent the possession and use of firearms by juveniles and to control illicit firearm trafficking. Law enforcement, prosecutorial agencies, schools, community groups, and juvenile justice system representatives may participate in the program. The grantees, in cooperation with the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA), OJJDP, and

the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms will also work with U.S. Attorneys to develop and implement State and local projects related to the new Youth Handgun Safety Act. This Act prohibits the possession of a handgun or ammunition by, or the private transfer of a handgun or ammunition, to a juvenile.

**Pacific Center for Violence Prevention**

San Francisco General Hospital

Building 1

San Francisco, CA 94110

tel: 415/821-8209 x3

fax: 415/282-2563

Andrew McGuire, Executive Director

The Pacific Center for Violence Prevention is the policy branch of the California Wellness Foundation's \$30 million, five-year state-wide Violence Prevention Initiative. The Pacific Center links several leading organizations, each with a history of working for social change by blending science, community action and politics into sound public health policy. The Center's goals include 1) shifting society's definition of youth violence from a law enforcement model only, to include a public health model that addresses societal and environmental influences contributing to youth violence; 2) advocating for public policies that reduce the consumption of alcohol and other drugs which contribute to youth violence; 3) advocate for public policies that reduce firearm injury and death among youth. To this end, the Center hopes that by November 1996, a proposition to eliminate preemption in California will be on the ballot. If it passes, city and local governments will have an opportunity to pass laws controlling handgun sales and ownership.

**People United - No Children's Handguns! (PUNCH!)**

7900 West 23rd Avenue

Lakewood, CO 80215

tel: 303/233-2369

Felix L. Sparks, President

PUNCH! is a Colorado contact for the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence. Felix Sparks is a former Juvenile court justice, former district attorney, justice of the Colorado Supreme Court, and member of the governor's cabinet.

**Violence Policy Center**

1300 N Street, NW

Washington, DC 20005

tel: 202/822-8200 x3

fax: 202/783-7054

Josh Sugarman, Executive Director

The Violence Policy Center is a national non-profit educational foundation that conducts research on firearms violence in America and works to develop violence-reduction policies and proposals. Past studies

released by the Center include "Deadly Odds: An Analysis of Handgun Justifiable homicides Committed by Women in 1992; "More Gun Dealers Than Gas Stations: A Study of Federally Licensed Firearms Dealers in America; " "Firearms Industry Resource Guide"; and "Cease Fire: A Comprehensive Strategy to Reduce Firearms Violence"



**IV.**

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCH,  
EVALUATION, AND PUBLICATIONS  
ON YOUTH AND GUNS**



#### IV. A BIBLIOGRAPHY ON YOUTH AND GUNS

Advocacy Institute (1994). Toward a Gun-Safe Society: Movement Building Strategies, Washington, D.C.

This report was developed as the result of two meetings attended by health professionals, children's advocates, and others. The major points include: 1) a gun-safety movement should be developed; 2) the issues of a gun-safety movement should be reframed from crime control to the public health goal of prevention of firearm injury and safety from violence; and, 3) concerned gun owners should be separated from individuals who profit from gun traffic. Other issues include: 1) develop and disseminate science-based policy and policy-related research; 2) develop a media advocacy campaign; 3) build new alliances; 4) develop a movement infrastructure; and, 5) develop a legislative strategy to define and mobilize the gun-safety movement.

Allen-Hagen, B., Sickmund, M., and Snyder, H.N. (1994). Juveniles and Violence: Juvenile Offending and Victimization. Fact Sheet #19. Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice.

This fact sheet documented the increasing use of firearms in adolescent suicides. In 1991, 1,899 youth ages 15-19 committed suicide, a rate of 11 per 100,000 youth in this age group. Between 1979 and 1991, the rate of suicide among youth ages 15-19 increased 31%. Firearms were used in 6 out of 10 suicides among 15-19 year olds in 1989.

American Academy of Pediatrics. (1989). Report of a Forum on Firearms and Children. Sponsored by the American Academy of Pediatrics and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, August 30 to September 1, 1989. Elk Grove Village, IL.

This forum adopted the long term goal of "getting guns out of the environments of children." Due to the way guns are used in the United States, this would require bans on handguns, assault rifles, and deadly airguns. The short term goal is to develop safer guns. A suggestion was made to develop coalitions of groups including public health, victim's families, gun control groups, police and others.

American Academy of Pediatrics, Committee on Adolescence (1992). Firearms and Adolescents. Pediatrics, 89(4), 784-787.

Identifies major issues concerning adolescent firearm use. The authors encouraged a multifaceted approach to adolescent firearm use which included more restrictive legislative and regulatory measures, a health care focus on creating gun-safe homes, identification of children at risk and referral to appropriate services, the development of community-based coalitions to address the broader needs of public education, a curriculum in schools which provided violence prevention lessons and an increase in research on the precursors and correlates of firearm injuries and deaths among children and adolescents.

Firearm morbidity and mortality, which stems largely from homicide and suicide, are a major adolescent health problem as well as a social problem. The scope of the problem involves all of American society. Pediatricians and other adolescent health care providers can make a critical contribution to specific intervention and prevention strategies.

Firearms play a major role in childhood morbidity and mortality in the United States, particularly among adolescents. Reducing injuries and deaths from firearms is a critical priority for the health of adolescents. Eighty percent of firearm deaths (birth to 19 years of age) occur in children aged 10 to 19 years. Firearms are involved in 70% of teen homicides and 63% of teen suicides. Firearms are the second leading cause of death among all teenagers ages 15 to 19. Risk factors for firearm death seem related to age as rates of firearm violence peak in late adolescence (15 to 24 years) and decrease in young adulthood (25 to 34 years). Special characteristics of adolescent development must be considered in designing effective countermeasures to prevent injury and death.

American Academy of Pediatrics, Committee on Injury and Poison Prevention. (1992). Firearm Injuries Affecting the Pediatric Population. Pediatrics 89(4): 788-790.

Proposes prevention strategies in the areas of firearm design, regulation, product liability actions, public and parent education, and legislative measures.

American Psychological Association, Commission on Violence and Youth, Violence and Youth: Psychology's Response.

The Commission recommended many specific action steps to be taken by APA members and concerned others, including parents, health care providers, educators, state and local agencies, the armed services, the Federal Communications Commission, and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The Research and Public Policy Recommendations were:

- Offer psychological health services to young perpetrators, victims and witnesses of violence;
- Use education programs to reduce prejudice and hostility that lead to hate crimes and violence against social groups;
- Involve community members in designing programs and scientific approaches to prevent violence;
- Limit access to firearms by children and youth and teach them how to prevent firearm violence; and
- Reduce involvement with alcohol and drugs.

Beginning in 1985, and particularly in 1988, there was a steady growth in the use of guns by juveniles. There was no corresponding upward trend in the non-gun homicides.



The Commission also concluded that:

- The availability of guns makes youth violence more lethal.
- Little research has been done to determine why young people carry guns. Handguns are more likely to be owned by socially deviant youth than by their more socially adjusted peers, even in those sections of the country in which firearms for recreation and hunting are fairly common.
- When youth who are already predisposed to violence have easy access to guns, they may be more likely to become violent.
- Although youth can easily obtain firearms, and see them used frequently in films and on television as a method of solving problems, few violence prevention programs for youth focus specifically on preventing violence with guns.
- Firearms are more prevalent around illicit drugs.
- the general public is becoming more concerned about young people committing homicide with guns because they perceive that young people are less likely to exercise the necessary restraint in handling dangerous weapons, and particularly when they are rapid-fire assault weapons.

Anderson, Elijah (1994) *The Code of The Streets: How the Inner-City Environment Fosters A Need for Self-Respect and Self-Image Based on Violence*. The Atlantic Monthly, May.

Becker, T.M., Olson, L., & Vick, J. (1993). *Children and Firearms: A Gunshot Injury Prevention Program In New Mexico*. American Journal of Public Health, 83 (2), 282-283.

Health professionals should become involved in gun safety counseling, education programs, and legislative efforts geared toward reducing the number of loaded firearms in the home. Cooperative efforts should also be organized on the state or regional level.

Blackman, Paul H. (1994). Children and Guns: The NRA's Perception of the Problem and Its Policy Implications. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology: Miami, Florida, November 9-12, 1994.

This paper summarizes the NRA's perception of the issues concerning children and guns. NRA favors (particularly at the state level) regulations governing access and misuse of firearms by minors as long as these regulations do not impinge on adult rights. This paper posits that there is no relationship between ordinary gun ownership and the recent increases in gun-related violence involving children and teenagers. It further states that gun ownership by adults and the introduction of their children into the gun culture would appear to reduce problems associated with teenage violence and describes some programs which introduce youth to the shooting sports, among other strategies.

Blumstein, A. (1994). Youth Violence, Guns, and the Illicit-Drug Industry. Carnegie Mellon University: Pittsburgh, PA.

This age-specific analysis shows the increasing incidence of firearm homicides among young persons. The author develops a "diffusion" hypothesis to explain the increase. He reasons that as juveniles became involved in the drug trade, they acquire firearms because of the dangerousness of the enterprise. In turn, other youngsters get firearms for their own protection. Then, many of the disputes that might have been fist fights turn into shootings due to the presence of the guns. This may also be exacerbated by the problems of high levels of poverty, high rates of single-parent households, educational failures, and a widespread sense of economic hopelessness.

One solution to this problem would be to confiscate the guns from juveniles carrying them on the street. Greater investment in drug treatment, more effective prevention, or through other means of providing drugs to certified addicts would diminish the demand and volume of drugs. We also need to consider the dilemma of the large number of people who see no hope for themselves in legitimate activities of society.

Boston Commission Survey of Weapons-Carrying: The Boston Commission on Safe Public Schools. (1983, November). Making Our Schools Safe for Learning.

Brent, D. A., Perper, J. A., & Allman, C. (1987). Alcohol, Firearms, and Suicide Among Youth: Temporal Trends in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, 1960-1983. Journal of the American Medical Association, 275, 3369-3372.

Demonstrates that the presence of firearms in the home is associated with the increased risk of adolescent suicides. Concludes that physicians should recommend that firearms be removed from the homes of at-risk adolescents.

Brewer, D, Hawkins, J.D., Catalano, R.F., Neckerman, H.J. (1994). Review of Prevention Programs: Community Laws and Policies Related to Weapons. Prevention Serious, Violent and Chronic Juvenile Offending: A Review of Evaluations of Selected Strategies in Childhood, Adolescence and the Community. Developmental Research and Programs, Inc. Seattle, Washington

Various laws, regulations, and policies have been enacted with the goal of reducing firearm violence, including: restrictions on the sale, purchase, and transfer of guns; regulations on the place and manner of carrying firearms; mandatory sentencing laws for felonies involving firearms; firearm training and mandatory firearm ownership; and, metal detectors in schools. The risk factors of firearm availability and norms tolerant of crime and the protective factor of healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior are addressed.

The aim of restrictions on the sale, purchase, and transfer of guns is to reduce the number of available guns which could be used by potential offenders. Several cities have enacted restrictive regulations on the sale, purchase, and transfer of handguns within city limits. Washington, D.C., and Morton Grove, Illinois are two examples.

An evaluation of the District of Columbia law suggested that the law reduced firearm

homicides over an eleven year period. The comparison of Seattle and Vancouver also suggested that laws restricting the sale and purchase of handguns prevented violent gun-related crime. Illinois did not show any reliable evidence of significant preventive effects on reported burglaries or gun-related crime, perhaps due to weak enforcement.

Regulations on the place and manner of carrying firearms have been enacted by state and local governments in efforts to reduce the number of persons who carry and use firearms in public. Three laws regulating the place and manner of carrying firearms have been evaluated. Overall, the evidence for the effectiveness of these laws is slight and mixed. The evaluations probably do not reflect the preventive potential of laws regulating place and manner of carrying firearms because important enforcement may have been lacking for two of the three laws.

Mandatory sentencing laws for felonies involving firearms have been enacted at both the Federal and state levels. These laws impose stronger sentences for offenders who use or carry a firearm during the commission of a felony. There is data that suggest that mandatory sentencing laws for crimes involving firearms prevented firearm homicides. These laws may prevent other types of violent crime involving firearms; however, the available evaluations do not yet allow this conclusion.

Two firearm training programs and one mandatory gun ownership law were evaluated. The training programs were designed to deter crime by increasing the number of citizens who know how to use guns properly. The second law required all homes to own a gun. None of the evaluations of firearm training programs or the mandatory gun ownership law demonstrated any significant intervention effects on crime or violence.

Metal detectors usually necessitate security personnel or school staff searching some or all students for metal weapons with metal detectors. Metal detector programs may have a site-specific impact on weapon availability, which may decrease the lethality of interpersonal conflicts at such sites.

Bureau of Justice Statistics. (1992) A National Report: Drugs, Crime, and the Justice System, Department of Justice, Washington, DC.

Assailants in drug-related homicides in New York City in 1984 were likely to have known their victims and to use handguns to kill them.

Butterfield, G. E., & Arnette, J. L. (Editors). (1993). Weapons in Schools. NSSC Resource Paper. Sponsored by Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Department of Justice) Malibu, CA: National School Safety Center.

The National School Safety Center paper describes the nature and extent of the problems associated with weapons in schools and discusses strategies for dealing with these problems.

Effective strategies to deter and prevent weapons in school include: training educators in weapon identification and detection, providing adequate supervision both in and outside of the classroom, teaching pro-social skills within the curriculum to promote a positive campus climate, and fostering interpersonal success in conflict resolution. Peer assistance programs have contributed to the reduction of assaults and cases of campus intimidation. Removing serious offenders from regular schools and providing them with a more secure educational placement is also effective. Keeping weapons off campus makes a safer and more productive environment for all children.

Other strategies for keeping weapons out of schools were discussed. One of the most effective intervention tactics was to encourage students to report weapon-carrying classmates to teachers or administrators. Other intervention strategies included the use of metal detectors and unannounced sweeps and searches of lockers. Expulsion, alternative placements and enhanced security are other alternatives. The paper also discussed several strategies to prevent weapons from entering schools in the first place. The author discussed several techniques which aimed to foster positive school climates.

School districts should coordinate a local school security committee or task force comprised of school officials, law enforcers, other youth-service providers, parents and students to plan and regularly update school safety and security measures. School site administrators must acquire "crime resistance savvy" and take greater responsibility in working with the school board and district to implement site security programs. Other strategies are discussed.

School officials are concerned with all weapons. Knives guns, and explosive devices present the greatest threat to school safety. Of these three, firearms pose the greatest risk to students and school staff.

Callahan, C. M., & Rivera, F. P. (1992). Urban High School Youth and Handguns: A School-Based Survey. Journal of the American Medical Association, 267 (22), 3038-3042.

This study documents self-reported handgun access and ownership among high school students in Seattle, Washington. The authors' research objective was to determine the prevalence of handgun ownership among urban high school youth and to investigate associations with socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and deviance. Thirty-four percent of the students reported easy access to handguns (47% of males, 22% of females) and 6.4% reported owning a handgun (11.4% of males, 1.55% of females).

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (1991). Weapon Carrying Among High School Students: United States, 1990. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report, 40 (40), 681-684.

This study provides the incidence and prevalence of self-reported weapon-carrying among high school students (grades 9-12) in the United States during 1990. Nearly 20% of the students had carried a weapon at least once during the 30 day period (males: 31.5%.

females: 8.1%). To achieve the greatest reduction in the number of weapon-carrying youth, the authors suggested that efforts be directed at frequent weapon carriers, peers and families. Also, because the fear of assault was often claimed as the reason for carrying a firearm, the author argued that programs should be implemented which address the actual or perceived risk of victimization.

The 1990 Youth Risk Behavior Survey baseline data indicate that 71 weapon-carrying episodes occurred per 100 students during the 30 days preceding the survey. To achieve the year 2000 Objective, the incidence rate must be reduced to 57 episodes per month.

Centers for Disease Control (1993). Violence-Related Attitudes and Behaviors of High School Students - New York City, 1992. Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report Vol. 42, No. 40.

During the 1991-92 school year, 36.1% of all 9th to 12th grade New York City public school students surveyed reported being threatened with physical harm. Twenty-one percent of students reported carrying a weapon such as a gun, knife or club 1 or more days during the 30 days preceding the survey with 7% carrying a handgun.

Cheatwood, D., & Block, K. (1990). Black Homicides in Baltimore, 1974-1986: Age, Gender and Weapon Use Change. Criminal Justice Review, 15, 192-207.

Collison, B. B., Bowden, S., Patterson, M., Snyder, J. et al. (1987). After the Shooting Stops. Special Issue: Counseling and Violence. Journal of Counseling and Development, 65 (7), 389-390.

This article examines the consequences upon parents, students and teachers of a fatal shooting spree within a small community school.

Christoffel, K. K. (1991). Toward Reducing Pediatric Injuries From Firearms: Charting Legislative and Regulatory Course. Pediatrics, 88 (2), 294-305.

Pediatricians in the United States are focusing increasing attention to the problem of injuries from firearms in children and adolescents. They are motivated by their increasing alarm at the degree to which the epidemic of injuries from firearms is intruding into the child and adolescent populations and by a sense that now is the time to undertake initiatives to reduce the frequency of injuries and deaths caused by firearms. Pediatricians have important roles in this process, including that of educators of parents, expert consultants in engineering efforts, and advocates for children in the political process.

Some of the approaches to reduce pediatric injuries from firearms include: enforce existing laws, develop regulation under existing laws, hold owners liable for child use, require gun safety education in schools, increase sales taxes, require firearm registration and licensure, perform background checks, modify ammunition, modify engineering design of guns, ban assault weapons ban, ban handguns where there are children, ban handguns in general, regulate long gun ownership and use, regulate toy gun construction,

ban plastic handguns (and other toy like guns), develop legislation to reduce deadliness of non-powder firearms, and pass omnibus child firearm safety legislation.

Cook, Philip (1990). The Effect of Gun Availability on Violent Crime Patterns. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1981; and in Federal Regulation of Firearms (A Report prepared by Congressional Research Service for the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee) USGPO, May 1982; and in Weiner, N.A., Zahn, M.A., and Sagi, R.J. eds., (1990) Violence: Patterns, Causes, Public Policy, San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Devore, Cynthia DiLaura, 1994. Kids and Guns. Abdo & Daughters.

Dougherty, D., Eden, J. Kemp, K. B., Metcalf, K., Rowe, K., G., Strobel, P., and Solarz, A. (1992). Adolescents' Health: A Journal of School Health, 62 (5): 167-1674.

Reports findings from assessment by the U. S. Congress' Office of Technology Assessment. Includes recommendations regarding adolescents' access to firearms in order to improve their social environments.

Duker, L. (1994). With assistance from Bhatiia, E., Doherty, D., Gill, L., and Taylor, C. Gun Dealers, USA (14).

This report poses questions and provides answers regarding state, county, and city licensed gun dealers. Contents include: 1) Where do adolescents who carry and use guns get them? 2) How many gun dealers are in my city, county or state? 3) Can I get the names, address and phone numbers of gun dealers in my city, county or state? 4) How many gun stores are in my city, county, or state? 5) How many guns do licensed gun dealers in my state, city or county sell and what types? 6) Does my state have any laws or regulations regarding gun dealers? 7) What are preemption laws? If my state has one, how will it affect public policy approaches to restricting children's and adolescents' access to firearm in my area? 8) Is my state government currently considering any additional legislative or regulatory restrictions on gun dealers? and 9) Is my local government currently considering any regulations regarding gun dealers? This report also provides state-by-state data on the geographical distribution, concentration and regulation of gun dealers.

Edelman, M. W. (1994). Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Crime and Criminal Justice, House Judiciary Committee. Hearing on the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Reform Act. (H.R. 3315).

The author requests that the Committee include prevention in the final crime bill, including funding for programs that offer youth safe and positive alternatives to the streets and develop restrictions on the private accessibility of non-sporting firearms. She discusses the incidence rate of gun murders and notes that one American child is killed with a gun every two hours, the equivalent of a class room of children every two days. She notes that there are five non-fatal gunshot injuries for every fatal one. Further, hundreds of

thousands of children are neither killed nor physically hurt but are still harmed by the pervasive violence around them.

Elliott, Delbert S. (1994). Youth Violence: An Overview. Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence, University of Colorado: Boulder, Colorado.

The problem with youth violence in the 1990's is its lethality which is caused by the increased use of handguns. Not much is known about why today's youth are carrying guns. It could be to show off, insure respect and acquiescence from others or for self defense. It may be a response to the perception that the public authorities cannot protect youth or maintain order in their neighborhoods. Dropouts, drug dealers, and those individuals with a prior record of violent behavior are more likely to own a gun than are other adolescents. The vast majority of guns used in crimes are obtained by theft or some other illegal way. There is little good research on the effectiveness of gun control policies. There is some evidence that restrictive handgun laws and mandatory sentences for firearm offenses work.

Fagan, Jeffrey. (forthcoming, 1995) What Do We Know About Gun Use Among Adolescents? Boulder, CO: Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence.

Based on the gang literature, homicide data, and his own research on youth violence, Fagan uses a nuclear deterrent strategy to describe the "ecology of danger" that pervades the lives of many young people who carry guns. The continuous sense of danger affects how young people think about events and effects of their decision-making and behavior. Cultural dynamics, influenced by the gun trade, have also popularized guns and made backing down from arguments and losing face difficult for kids. As a solution to these two dynamics, Fagan proposes interventions focused on individual behavior change and on building an ecology of safety.

Fingerhut, L. A., Ingram, D. D., & Feldman, J. J. (1992). Homicide Among Black Teenage Males in Metropolitan Counties: Comparison of Death Rates in Two Periods, 1983 Through 1985 and 1987 Through 1989. Journal of the American Association, 267 (22), 3054-3058. Also in Fingerhut, L.A., Ingram, D.D. and Feldman, J.J. Forum on Youth Violence in Minority Communities: Setting the Agenda for Prevention. (1991). Report of the working group on weapons and minority youth violence. Public Health Reports 106(3): 254-258.

Suggests priority areas for intervention at the community level, including developing community consensus on the use of and possession of weapons; modifying the environment to reduce opportunities for weapon-associated violence; requiring firearm safety course; banning the manufacture, sale, and importation of certain types of weapons; educating the community about the product liability litigation against gun manufacturer; and improving enforcement of laws against illegal gun trafficking. Also recommends priority areas for evaluation research.

Fingerhut, L.A., Ingram, D.D. and Feldman (J.J. (1992). Firearm and Nonfirearm Homicide Among Persons 15 through 19 Years of Age. Journal of the American Medical Association, 267 (22), 3048-3053.

The 1989 firearm homicide rate in metropolitan counties was nearly five times the rate in non-metropolitan counties. Firearm homicide rates were highest in core metropolitan counties, (27.7/100,000) compared to non-metropolitan counties (2.9/100,000). Firearm homicide rates were highest for black males and lowest for white females in all five urbanization strata for 1979 through 1989.

Fingerhut, L.A., Kleinman, J.C., Godfrey, E., and Rosenberg, H. (1991). Firearm Mortality Among Children, Youth, and Young Adults 1-34 Years of Age, Trends and Current Status: United States 1979-88. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, 39. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics.

Emphasizes racial and gender differences in homicide and suicide associated with firearms among males ages 15-34.

Heide, K. M. (1993). Weapons Used by Juveniles and Adults to Kill Parents. Behavioral Science and the Law, 11 (4), 397-406.

Henkoff, R. (1992). Kids Are Killing, Dying, Bleeding. Fortune, 126 (3). 62-69.

This article reports a non-experimental exploration of youth homicide, abuse and suicide. The author suggested that there are several things which can be done to reduce violence including: programs to help parents with parenting skills, programs that teach children how to manage anger nonviolently, and policies which increase gun control.

Howell, J.C. (1994). Recent Gang Research: Program and Policy Implications. Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 40 No. 4. Sage Publications: Newbury Park, CA.

The violent youth gang problem is growing. Gang members are committing more violent offenses, resulting in more serious injuries. Gang members are using more lethal weapons. It is unclear if the growth in urban violence is due to gangs, law-violating youth groups, or nongang youths. Further research is needed to determine what part the truly violent gangs play in the increase in urban violence.

Huizinga, David, et al. (1994). Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention: Washington, D.C.

There is a strong relationship between owning illegal guns and delinquency and drug use. Seventy-four percent of the illegal gun owners commit street crimes, 24 percent commit gun crimes, and 41 percent use drugs. Boys who own legal guns have much lower rates of delinquency and drug use and are even slightly less delinquent than non-owners of guns.



For legal gun owners, socialization appears to take place in the family. For illegal gun owners, it seems to take place "on the street."

Interdepartmental Working Group (1994). Violence: A Report to the President and Domestic Policy Council. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services: Washington, D.C.

The United States has never tried a comprehensive approach to preventing firearm injuries. Federal laws regulating firearms are piecemeal, under-enforced, and do not treat firearms as the dangerous consumer products they are. Rational public policy, well-executed science, and effective enforcement can help end this epidemic of gun violence.

Jones, M. A. & Krisberg, B. (1994). Images and Reality: Juvenile Crime, Youth Violence and Public Policy. San Francisco, CA: National Council in on Crime and Delinquency.

The most important factor concerning youth violence in general and juvenile homicide specifically over the last ten years is the availability of firearms. Teenage boys in all racial and ethnic groups are more likely to die from gunshot wounds than from all natural causes combined. Both the availability and increasing lethality of firearms contributes to this violence.

Kellerman, Arthur. (1993). Gun Ownership as a Risk Factor for Homicide in the Home. New England Journal of Medicine, Vol. 329, No. 15.

This study found that in King County, Washington, guns kept at home were involved in the death of a household member 185 times more often than in the death of a stranger. These deaths included suicides, homicides, and unintentional fatal shootings.

Kennedy, David M. (1994). Can We Keep Guns Away From Kids? Working Paper #94-05-12, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University: Cambridge, MA.

Market disruption approaches successfully utilized in fighting street drug markets may be useful in closing down illegal gun markets, particularly youth gun markets. These approaches were designed to interfere with street trafficking to the point that the drug trade was no longer able to survive. Police in Tampa, Florida disrupted a street crack operation. The disruption made it hard for buyers to find sellers as the police used heavy enforcement to keep the dealers moving around. The policy used community allies to report new dealing sites, made buyers feel vulnerable by publicizing reverse stings in which police posed as dealers and arrested buyers and police interfered with business by loitering around dealing sites. There is a trial in Boston currently underway to test the strategy regarding gun violence.

Some of the youth carry guns for self-protection. These youth might be more amenable to putting away the guns if they felt safer. Less ready availability might change the deadliness of the incidents. Gun strategies and fear-reduction strategies would reinforce

each other. A comprehensive strategy is needed to solve the gun, youth, and fear problem, including changes in the environment.

Kleck, G. (1991). Point Blank: Guns and Violence in America. New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Koop, C.E. and Lundberg, G.D. (1992) Violence in America: A Public Health Emergency. Journal of the American Medical Association. 267:3075-6.

Discusses the need for a public health/medical approach to the problem of violence. Compares the responsibilities associated with owning and using a firearm and those associated with owning and using a motor vehicle. Closes with recommendations for action.

Lacerva, V. (1990). Let Peace Begin With Us: The Problem of Violence in New Mexico. Santa Fe, NM: New Mexico, Department of Health.

Included in this report on violence in New Mexico are issues such as homicide, assault, suicide, drugs, violence and firearms.

Lawyers Committee on Violence. (1994). Gun Violence in New York City: Problems and Solutions. New York, NY: Lawyer's Committee on Violence, Inc.

To reduce the number of guns already in circulation, several alternatives were proposed. The authors argued that penalties for carrying firearms should include fines and jail time without probation. It was also suggested that landlords be required to prohibit firearms on the premises for any period of time, no matter how brief. The authors advocated increase enforcement of existing laws in all public places and suggested that metal detectors be installed in more areas to help accomplish this. Despite their popularity, the authors denounced the so called "Goods for Guns" program that offer incentives to people who trade in guns (e.g. money, sports tickets) because they create the impression that illegal gun ownership is acceptable. The authors proposed that legal burdens associated with gun-violence fall not only on the shooter of the gun, but also on the owner of the gun, the seller or supplier of the gun, the manufacturer of the gun, and the shooter's parents (if the shooter is a minor). The authors detailed accounts of court cases to support the legality of their different proposals.

Lee, R. K. & Sacks, J. J. (1990). Latchkey Children and Guns at Home. Journal of the American Medical Association, 264, 2210.

Lizotte, A.J., Tesoriero, J.M., Thornberry, T.P., Krohn, M.D., (1994). Patterns of Adolescent Firearms Ownership and Use. Justice Quarterly, Vol. 11 No. 1.

In the Rochester Youth Development Study, 10% of the 9th and 10th grade boys in Rochester public schools owned a firearm and 7.5 percent reported carrying them

regularly. Factors leading to sport gun ownership are different from those leading to protection gun ownership. Socialization into sport gun use originates from the family. Socialization into protective gun use comes from peer influences outside the home. Youth who used guns for protection have significantly higher levels of delinquent behavior than youth who own guns for sport.

Lofton, C, McDowall, D., Wierseman, B., Cottey, T. J. (1991) Effects of Restrictive Licensing of Handguns on Homicide and Suicide in the District of Columbia. *New England Journal of Medicine* 325(23):1615-1620.

This evaluation of District of Columbia Law banning the purchase, sale, transfer, of possession of handguns by civilians suggests that, on average, 47 deaths have been prevented each year since implementation of the law.

Louis Harris and Association, Inc. (1993). Prepared for the Harvard School of Public Health Under a Grant from the Joyce Foundation: A Survey of Experiences, Perceptions and Apprehensions About Guns Among Young People in America. New York, NY: Louis Harris and Associates, Inc. and LH Research, Inc.

Presents the results of two national opinion polls of adults' and children's attitudes toward and experiences with guns. The polls underscored the deep fears and concerns that millions of Americans have about gun violence and their desire to do something about the epidemic. The first poll revealed that 78% of adults believe that concerns over physical safety change the lives of today's children and 77% believe that the prevalence of guns endangers the lives of young people. The second poll showed that 59% of the 2,508 children surveyed in grades 6-12 said that they "could get a handgun if they wanted;" 35% fear their lives will be cut short by gun violence; and 15% had carried a handgun in the last month.

May, John P. (1995) Prior Nonfatal Firearm Injuries In Detainees of a Large Urban Jail. Presentation to Seventh National Conference on Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, Nashville, TN. For subsequent publication in the Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved; Vol 6, No. 3.

Detainees of large urban jails have many health risks including injuries related to violence and firearms. A survey of 582 randomly selected detainees entering the Cook County Department of Corrections during the summer of 1994 found that 51% had previously entered hospitals for violence-related injuries, and 26% survived prior gun shot wounds. Patterns of firearm injuries were different from patterns of violence affecting the general population. Factors common to those with prior firearm injuries included witnessing a shooting at an early age, tatoos, previous sexually transmitted diseases, easy access to a semiautomatic weapon, and prior incarceration. Development of multi-disciplinary strategies to reduce risks of violence would be appropriate.

McCarney, W. G. (1988). Crack Cocaine, Guns and Youth: An Extremely Lethal Mixture. Lay Panel

Magazine, 20 6-8.

McDowall, D. (1991). Firearm Availability and Homicide Rates In Detroit, 1951-1986. Social Forces, 69 (4) 1085-1101.

This study examined the relationship and influence between firearm availability and homicide rates in Detroit, Michigan. The question of whether firearm availability may increase the use of guns in crimes was also a focus.

In this study, gun density influenced homicides. The estimates indicated that changes in firearm availability altered the risk of homicide, but increases in gun density could not completely account for Detroit's high murder rate. Regression analysis was done using the Detroit homicide rate.

National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges (1994). Where We Stand: An Action Plan for Dealing with Violent Juvenile Crime. Reno, Nevada: Midby-Byron National Center for Judicial Education.

The National Council believes that the following actions should be implemented by state and local governments with financial, technical assistance and research efforts from the state and federal levels. They include: assuring that juvenile courts can hold violent juvenile offenders fully accountable for their crimes; providing adequate resources to the juvenile courts to conduct thorough assessments of juveniles; and, developing individualized dispositions for the juveniles. Others include renewing the commitment to rehabilitation of violent juvenile offenders consistent with public safety, and providing legislation with rational guidelines for the protection of public safety and individual rights under which state and local juvenile judges can transfer violent juveniles offenders to adult criminal courts.

Northrop, D., & Hamrick, K. (1990). Background paper prepared for the Forum on Youth Violence in Minority Communities: Setting the Agenda for Prevention. Atlanta, Georgia, December 10-12, 1990 Weapons and Minority Youth Violence. Newton, MA: Education Department Center.

This paper reviewed existing and potential strategies for reducing the misuse of weapons by American youth. The authors cited three issues that needed to be addressed if effective interventions were to be implemented in the area of weapons misuse by minority youth. The first issue was the inadequacy of research information on which to base firearms policy and practice. The authors recommended research priorities which included studies of the magnitude, characteristics, and cost of the morbidity and disability caused by firearms and other weapons, investigations as to the number, type, and distribution of firearms and other weapons in the U.S., epidemiological studies of risks of injuries associated with firearms possession, and evaluation of regulations and other interventions that had been attempted in the area of firearm injury prevention. Second, there was a need for more discussion of how local communities could play a role in the prevention of

firearm injuries in minority youth. Third, there were ethical and philosophical issues that needed to be resolved with respect to certain school-based interventions, such as the use of metal detectors, locker searches, and canine searches of properties were seen by some to conflict with students' civil liberties. The authors conclude that interventions which targeted the weapons themselves were more likely to produce immediate effects than socioeconomic factors. They believed, however, that long-term solutions must also address such factors as poverty and economic disparity.

Pacific Center for Violence Prevention. (1994). Preventing Youth Violence: Reducing Access to Firearms (Policy paper funded by The California Wellness Foundation). San Francisco, CA: Pacific Center for Violence Prevention.

The increasing rate of violent youth crime in the last ten years is parallel to a period of decreased allocation of resources for youth. Some experts see increased violence to be associated with this resource allocation for young people. The public health model states that decreasing handgun availability is the most effective means of decreasing firearm related injury and death. All assault weapons should be permanently banned. Communities should address local firearm issues, restrictions on ammunition availability, shifting the cost of firearm injury to manufacturers and placing firearms under a regulatory agency. There is a need to know more about non-fatal assaults which are estimated to occur 100 times more often than homicides. More money is spent on newspaper advertisements about gun control than on research about firearms and violence. The growth in the manufacturing of firearms can be attributed to protectionist legislation, lax or non-existent regulation, and minimal industry oversight.

Low prices, new designs and ready availability contribute to youth's possession of firearms. Two psycho-social factors which contribute to violence are the youth's incompetence (an inability to understand the nature of one's acts), and desensitization to the quality of one's acts through watching media.

Price, J. H. Desmond, S. M., & Smith, D. (1991). A Preliminary Investigation of Inner City Adolescents' Perceptions of Guns. Journal of School Health, 61 (6), 255-259.

The authors suggested that schools and health educators become more aware and involved in the prevention of gun violence.

Roth, Jeffrey A. (1994) Firearms and Violence. The National Institute of Justice Research in Brief. U.S. Department of Justice: Washington, D.C.

Most murders involve firearms and young minority men are at especially high risk of being murdered with a gun. Innovations in laws, law enforcement, public education, and technology all show promise of reducing gun murders by selectively making firearms less available to persons likely to use them in violence, less accessible in situations where violence is likely to occur, or less lethal. Evaluations are needed to test the effectiveness

of these innovations.

Ruttenberg, H. (1994) The Limited Promise of Public Health Methodologies to Prevent Youth Violence, The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 103:1885.

This article notes that although the public health approach successfully changed middle class smoking behavior, it did not seem to change lower class's smoking behavior. Thus, the public health approach may not change the violent behavior of lower class, either.

Although the public health approach may reduce the lethality of violence, there is a question as to whether this approach will reduce the incidence of violence. Rather, to prevent youth violence, we need a national will to improve the circumstances of children, youth, and young adults. This involves making fundamental changes in society.

Schetky, D. H. (1985). Children and Handguns: A Public Health Concern: American Journal of Diseases of Children.

Shapiro, J. P., & Burkey, B. M. (1993). Final Report on a Project Performed for the Gun Safety Institute by Child Guidance Center of Greater Cleveland Development of the Gun-Proneness Questionnaire: A Measure of Attitudes Toward Guns and Violence Among Urban Youth. Cleveland, OH: The Gun Safety Institute.

The authors developed and tested a gun proneness questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to be used to assess attitudes on gun possession so that a curriculum can be developed that effectively targets these attitudes.

Shapiro, J.P., Dorman, R.L., Burkey, B.M., Welker, C.J. ( undated). Attitudes Toward Guns and Violence in Third- through Twelfth-grade Youth. The Guidance Center: Cleveland, Ohio.

To decrease attraction towards guns and violence in young people, interventions should have an empirical basis if they are to address the psychosocial factors that do in fact determine violence-related attitudes in youth.

Handguns and hunting rifles appear not to have the same meanings associated with them for young people. Rifles seem to be mostly associated with hunting and this is only weakly associated with the disposition toward inter-human violence. Handguns, however, seem to be clearly associated with a willingness to hurt people. Prevention programs probably do not need to make a priority of discouraging youth's interest in rifles or hunting. Violence prone attitudes seem to increase between 5th and 6th grades and then stabilize. Prevention programs should be aimed at such ages.

Interventions need to directly address the psychosocial factors that determine whether youth are violence-prone or non-violent. Interventions need to identify, address, and change the attitudes, motives, and beliefs that are conducive to violent behavior. Youth

responding aggressively to shame, finding guns exciting, feeling comfortable with aggression, and believing that guns bring power and safety are most likely to engage in gun violence. Interventions that change these attitudes may reduce violent behavior and increase the safety of young people.

Sheley, J. F., & Wright, J. D. (1993). Gun Acquisition and Possession in Selected Juvenile Samples (NCJ 145326). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice. Also in Sheley, J. F., & Wright, J. D. (1992). Gun-related Violence In and Around Inner-City Schools. American Journal of Diseases of Children, 146 (6), 677-68.

This study focused on serious juvenile offenders and students from schools in high-risk areas and thus is not generalizable to the general population. The main reason given for owning or carrying a gun was self-protection. Eighty-three percent of inmates and students surveyed possessed guns. Fifty-five percent of inmates carried guns all or most of the time in the year or two before being incarcerated; 12 percent of students did so and another 23 percent carried guns now and then. The firearms of choice were high-quality, powerful revolvers, closely followed by automatic and semiautomatic handguns and then shotguns. Most of the youth surveyed thought it would be easy to acquire a gun. Most of the students said they would borrow a gun whereas most of the inmates said they would get one "off the streets." Drug use was moderately related to gun activity. The fundamental policy problem involves convincing youths that they can survive in their neighborhoods without being armed. The authors recommend that change must not be directed toward the individual, but toward the family, community, and society. The authors emphasize the structural factors that have cultivated a culture of violence as the important factors that must be dealt with, particularly in the social structure of inner cities.

Sloan, J. H., Kellerman, A.L., et al. (1988). Handgun Regulations, Crime, Assaults, and Homicide: A Tale of Two Cities. New England Journal of Medicine 319:1256.

The cities of Seattle, Washington, and Vancouver, British Columbia were studied over a seven year period to understand the relationship between firearm regulations and community rates of homicide. These two cities are similar demographically and are close to each other. The study suggests that a modest restriction of citizens' access to firearms is associated with lower rates of homicide. Decreased availability of handguns did not result in a direct shift to homicide by other means.

Smith, D. (1990). Caught in the Crossfire: A Report On Gun Violence in Our Nations Schools. Washington, DC: Center to Prevent Handgun Violence.

Smith, D., & Lautman, B. (1990). A Generation under the Gun: A Statistical Analysis of Youth Firearm Murder in America. Washington, DC: Center to Prevent Handgun Violence.

The authors' analysis of expository data provides the basis for recommendations for reducing the availability of guns, especially in the home. They also recommend

cooperation between parents, educators, lawmakers and law enforcement officials to educate about dangers, reduce the availability, and punish offenders quickly and severely.

Stephens, R. D. (1992). Congressional Testimony: Weapons in Schools. National School Safety Center.

The author stated that there was a need to make administrators aware of the significant increase in weapons that exists in schools.

Sugarman, Josh and Rand, Kirstan (1994) Cease Fire. Rolling Stone, Issue 677, 30-42.

A regulatory approach is suggested which requires that individuals dedicated to reducing firearms violence reassess their understanding of the issue and reorient the way it has been presented to the general public. Some of the steps include: 1) establish a long-term public education media campaign to change the public's perception of gun violence; 2) support new and ongoing research into firearms violence, causes and effects, and its economic costs; and, 3) recruit individuals and organizations not traditionally involved in the debate.

Treanor, W. W., & Bijlefeld, M. (1989). Kid & Guns: A Child Safety Scandal. Washington, DC: American Youth Work Center & Educational Fund to End Handgun Violence.

This booklet examines some of the issues surrounding the problem of firearm and child safety, including statistics about the nature and prevalence of the problem, and discussion of prevention issues.

The authors presented a number of suggestions to deal with the issue of children and guns: 1) family discussion of gun ownership, including reason for the presence of a gun in the house, removal of guns from homes with children, locking up unloaded guns out of the reach of children, and practicing emergency plans on what to do if an intruder enters the house; 2) involvement of students in this issue by organizing groups against firearms, having firearm awareness programs and organizing speakers to come to classes; 3) school encouragement of such students' organizations, including development of curricula for firearms education and violence prevention designed specifically for children and adolescents; 4) development of violence intervention programs by juvenile judges, social workers, police officers and others who work with at-risk youth; 5) direction of attention to the Surgeon General's 1981 report, calling for handgun regulation and safety campaigns, as well as to the American Academy of Pediatrics call for handgun control; 6) strict regulation of BB guns by the Consumer Product Safety Commission; 7) Provision of authority by Congress to either the Consumer Product Safety Commission or the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to regulate safety aspects of firearms; 8) study of the issue of children and guns by state health departments, and the recommendations of policies regarding education and safety; and 9) the integration of gun safety education into programs run by the national and local student organizations, developed independently of the National Rifle Association. The authors concluded with the hope that the next biannual report will discuss positive initiatives that have been taken in the fight to prevent childhood



death and injury due to firearm violence.

Tret, S. P., Winemute, G. J. and Beilienson, P. L. (1992). The Firearm Fatality Reporting System: A Proposal. Journal of the American Medical Association. 267(22): 3073-3074.

Webster, D. W., Gainer, P. S., & Champion, H. R. (1993). Weapon Carrying Among Inner-City Junior High School Students: Defensive Behavior vs. Aggressive Delinquency. American Journal of Public Health, 83 (11) 1604-1608.

This study estimates associations between beliefs and experiences hypothesized to be related to weapon carrying among youths. Among seventh grade males, forty-eight percent had carried knives, and twenty-three percent had carried guns. Forty-five of eighth grade males carried a knife, and forty-percent carried a gun. Key risk factors for knife carrying were being threatened with a knife, getting into fights, and disbelief that having a weapon increases the carrier's risk of injury. Gun carrying was associated with having been arrested, knowing more victims of violence, starting fights, and being willing to justify shooting someone.

Van Kammen, W., and Loeber, R., (1994) Delinquency, Drug Use and the Onset of Adolescent Drug Dealing. University of Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh, PA

Van Kammen and Loeber analyzed data from the Pittsburgh Youth Study (OJJDP's Causes and Correlates Study) which involves a longitudinal survey of 1st, 4th, and 7th grade boys who were randomly selected from the public schools in Pittsburgh. Follow-up interviews were conducted on 1,500 subjects, their teachers, and parents. This particular analysis involves data from six years of follow-up interviews on a sample of boys who were in the 7th grade at the beginning of the study.

The researchers found that the frequency of carrying a concealed weapon increased in the year concurrent with the initiation of drug selling. Among drug sellers, the rates for gun use steadily increased while the rates for other weapons decreased. This was even more significant among drug sellers who sold hard drugs (heroin, cocaine, and LSD). Almost 80% of those who sold hard drugs at age 18.8 were carrying a gun. Finally, of all the young men age 19 who carried a weapon, 64% were also involved in selling drugs. The authors concluded that a reduction in the number of juveniles selling drugs is likely to reduce the carrying of concealed weapons, particularly guns.

Zimring, F. E. (1985). Violence and Firearms Policy. In Curtis, L.A. (Editor), American Violence and Public Policy: An Update of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence,(pp. 133-152). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

This paper describes what is known about guns and gun violence, particularly since the Violence Commission's report of 1968. Policy implications are also discussed.

Using the last thirty years as a guide, the author argued that the future will bring a national handgun strategy composed of three parts: 1) federal restrictions on handgun transfers that amount to permissive licensing and registration; 2) wide variation in state and municipal handgun possession and transfer regulation; and 3) increasing federal law enforcement assistance to states and cities attempting to enforce more restrictive laws than the federal minimum.

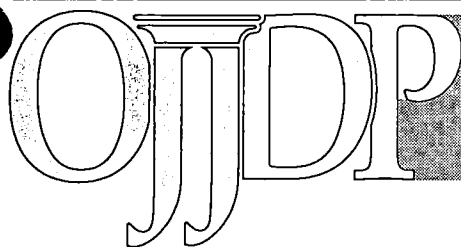
The most important element of future handgun policy is the social notion of appropriate crime countermeasures. Gun proponents will continue to have strength if the handgun continues to be viewed as necessary household defense. The author reviews the actions and beliefs of key opinion leadership groups. Women are most likely to be brought into the argument as those who need protection but are least likely to own a gun. If women's ownership of self-defense handguns increases dramatically, opinion for drastic reduction of handguns could not happen. Blacks are found to play a minimal role in the argument over guns; in the future this role would be pro-or anti-gun control. Older Americans are thought to be a great potential lobbying force in the gun debate, though consensus was not to be found. The large number of females among this population could contribute to anti-gun climate. Among the young, anti-gun sentiments must trickle down to working class and lower class youths before the young can provide a force in the potential arena.

Zimring, F. E., (1993). Research on Firearms. Health Affairs. Winter 1993. The People to People Health Foundation: Bethesda, MD

Research needed to formulate sound public policy is lacking in the area of firearm violence and control. This lack of research is due to the volatile nature of the topic and the political risks of endorsing gun control by the policy makers. Some of the research questions that need to be answered include: how much firearm use contributes to the death rate from violence; how successful particular gun control interventions can be; and to what extent the benefits of gun control are worth their cost to society. He suggests that public health professionals, in collaboration with social scientists and criminologists, can make a significant contribution to the research on firearm control.







## Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator

FACT SHEET #12 April 1994

# GANGS

James C. Howell, Ph.D.

[This fact sheet was prepared in conjunction with the author's review of the gang literature, as part of an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention assessment undertaken to assist OJJDP program planning in the gangs area.]

### What is a gang?

There is no accepted standard definition. State and local jurisdictions tend to develop their own. The following criteria have been widely used in research: 1) formal organization structure (not a syndicate), 2) identifiable leadership, 3) identified with a territory, 4) recurrent interaction, and 5) engaging in serious or violent behavior. These criteria are increasingly used to distinguish gangs from other law-violating youth groups and other collective youth groups. Unlike adult crime, most juvenile delinquency is committed in groups.

### How many gangs are there in America?

As there is no national reporting system, precise information is unavailable--only estimates based on irregular surveys. The most recent estimate--for 1991--is 4,881 gangs with 249,324 members, based on Curry's (1993) law enforcement survey.

### What proportion of serious and violent crime is attributable to gangs?

Relevant national data are unavailable. Curry's survey of police departments revealed that police records on gang incidents could not generate the necessary data to distinguish reported gang crimes from other youth crimes nationwide. Although law enforcement agencies he surveyed reported an estimated 239,324 gang members, they reported only an estimated 46,359 criminal gang incidents.

### Is gang violence growing?

Surveys over the past decade--primarily of law enforcement agencies--have been reporting gangs in more and more cities. The gang problem is also increasing from the standpoint of

more violent offenses, more serious injuries, and use of more lethal weapons. However, it is unclear whether the growth in urban youth violence should be attributed largely to gangs, "law-violating youth groups," or nongang youth: juveniles and young adults.

### Are gangs migrating to smaller cities?

Local police and the FBI have reported the migration of Los Angeles Crips and Bloods to as many as 45 western and midwestern cities. The migration of gangs is being studied by Maxson and Klein (1993). Their preliminary findings indicate considerable emergence of gangs in smaller cities. However, family migration and local gang genesis--not relocation--appear to be the predominate factors.

### Are gangs extensively involved in drug trafficking?

Little empirical research conducted over the last decade has documented organizational operation of drug trafficking networks by gangs. However, significant involvement of gang members has been demonstrated. Klein, Maxson and Cunningham's 1991 Los Angeles study examined the crack cocaine trade. They found that while many gang members were involved in crack distribution (some 25% of the instances), drug trafficking was not a primary gang activity. A few drug trafficking gangs, trafficking cliques within gangs, and gangs established specifically for drug distribution purposes have been identified.

### Can increased homicides and weapons use associated with drug trafficking be attributed to gangs?

Research to date has provided little support for these connections. Many of the inner-city homicides may be as a result of turf battles, not drug violence. Klein, Maxson, and Cunningham's 1991 Los Angeles study found that while gang members were involved in crack distribution in about 25% of the cases, the connection among street gangs, drugs, and homicide was weak and did not account for the

recent increase in Los Angeles homicides. Maxson, Klein and Cunningham (1993) conducted a similar analysis in two smaller cities outside Los Angeles. Gang members were involved in about 27% of arrests for cocaine sales, and about 12% of arrests connected to other drug sales. Firearms were involved in only 10% of the cases and violence was present in only 5% of the incidents. Block and Block's (1993) Chicago study of the City's four largest and most criminally active street gangs found only 8 of 285 gang-motivated homicides between 1987 and 1990 to be related to drugs. Approximately 90% of violent crimes involving youth gangs, including homicides, in the Boston area between 1984 and 1994 did not involve drug dealing or drug use.

#### **What proportion of juveniles are gang members?**

Nationwide data are lacking. A recent Denver study estimated 7% of inner-city, high risk, juveniles were gang members (Esbensen and Huizinga, 1993). Other studies have made similar estimates.

#### **Are gangs comprised entirely of juveniles?**

Gang members range from about 12- to 25-years-old. The peak age is around 17. In some cities, especially those only recently reporting gang problems, up to 90% of gang members are estimated to be juveniles. More established gang cities, like Chicago, report up to 74% of gang members are adults (Miller, 1982; Spergel, 1991).

#### **What do we know about the dynamics of gang membership?**

Studies of established gangs in chronic gang cities since the 1920's have documented long delinquent gang careers. Recent studies in emerging gang problem cities, like Denver (Esbensen and Huizinga) and Rochester (Thornberry, et al., 1993) have found that most juveniles stay in the gang for no more than a year. Their delinquency levels were much lower both before and after joining the gang.

#### **Is female gang membership increasing?**

Yes. In 1991, 27 cities reported female gangs. Curry estimated 7,205 female gang members in those 27 cities, which is less than 3% of his national estimate.

#### **Is the racial and ethnic composition of gangs changing?**

Until about the mid-1900's the majority of gangs in America were white, composed of various European backgrounds. By the 1970's, about four-fifths of gang members were either African American or Hispanic. Now, Asian gangs appear to be emerging rapidly. However, the ethnic composition (recently migrated) and social class position (lower levels) of gang members has remained rather constant (Miller, 1982; Spergel, 1991).

**Do gangs, once established in a city, tend to continue growing? Do chronic gang problem cities remain so?**

No. To some extent, gang problems are characterized by an ebb and flow pattern. Based on their Chicago study, Block and Block contend--as have many earlier studies since the 1920's--that street gang patterns reflect not only chronic social problems associated with race, social class, and immigration, but rapidly changing contemporary conditions related to the economy, weapon availability, drug markets, and the arrangement of street gang territories. Noting the mysterious decrease in youth gang violence in New York and Philadelphia in the 1970's, Walter Miller observed that "nationwide, the prevalence of gangs at any one time more closely resembles that of, say, influenza rather than blindness."

#### **Have gang problems increased in public schools?**

Yes. Although trend measures are unavailable, Bastian and Taylor's 1991 nationwide student survey documented significant gang presence in schools, beyond previous reports.

#### **What can be done to combat gangs?**

Prevention and intervention approaches to date generally have not been found to be particularly effective, in part, because of inadequate evaluations of interventions. America has seen a shift in strategies over the past 40 years: from social intervention approaches in the 1950's and 1960's to suppression strategies in the 1970's-1990's. Spergel (1990, 1991, 1992) and his colleagues conducted a nationwide assessment of approaches that have been aimed at youth gangs, both inside and outside the juvenile justice system. They found that in chronic gang problem cities, respondents believed *opportunities provision* was the most effective strategy, followed by *community organization* approaches. In emerging gang problem cities, community organization was perceived as most effective strategy. *Suppression* strategies were not reported to be particularly effective, except in conjunction with other approaches.

#### **What does the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention plan to do to combat gangs?**


OJJDP is planning to channel its gang-related activities into a comprehensive program, made possible by an increased appropriation under Part D of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974, as amended. Information on the Office's Comprehensive Gang Program may be found in the Office's Program Plan for Fiscal Year 1994.

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This fact sheet was primarily based on a paper by the author, entitled "Recent Gang Research: Program and Research Implications," in publication (*Crime and Delinquency*). The paper and a list of the sources cited in this fact sheet are available from OJJDP's Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse. Telephone: 800-638-8736.



# Research Summary



## ang Suppression and Intervention: Community Models

Research Summary

A Publication of the  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

# Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

**Research and Program Development Division** develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

**Training and Technical Assistance Division** provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

**Special Emphasis Division** provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

**State Relations and Assistance Division** supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

**Information Dissemination and Planning Unit** informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit's activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

**Concentration of Federal Efforts Program** promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

**Missing and Exploited Children Program** seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 43 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

OJJDP provides leadership, direction, and resources to the juvenile justice community to help prevent and control delinquency throughout the country.



# Gang Suppression and Intervention: Community Models

## **Research Summary**

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Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention**

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Points of view or opinions expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of OJJDP or the U.S. Department of Justice.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

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# Foreword

Youth gangs and the problems associated with them were once thought to concern a relatively small number of major metropolitan areas whose gang troubles go back to the days of *West Side Story*.

No longer. As the challenge posed by gangs extends to a greater number of cities and to communities of more modest proportions, the need for comprehensive community efforts to address emerging and chronic gang problems intensifies.

Dr. Irving Spergel and his colleagues at the University of Chicago have conducted the first comprehensive national survey of organized agency and community group responses to gang problems in the United States. Their study is the only national assessment of efforts to combat gangs.

Dr. Spergel and his study team developed a comprehensive gang prevention and intervention model based on their national assessment. Its components are presented in this Summary. Implementation manuals were also developed.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is funding a multi-site demonstration of the Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gang Prevention, Intervention, and Suppression Program. The program uses the model developed by Dr. Spergel and his colleagues. An independent evaluation will also be funded. OJJDP's National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program is establishing a National Gang Assessment Resource Center and will provide technical assistance and training services to program sites across the country.

These models are recommended as effective policies, practices, and strategies for communities to combat gangs. We believe you will find them useful in your efforts to address the youth gang problem.

**John J. Wilson**

*Acting Administrator*

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention



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## Introduction

In its model development stage, the National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program prepared a set of policies and practices for the design and mobilization of community efforts by police, prosecutors, judges, probation and parole officers, corrections officers, schools, employers, community-based agencies, and a range of grassroots organizations. Prototype development is the second of four stages (Assessment, Prototype Development, Technical Assistance, and Testing) of a research and development process conducted in cooperation with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice, to create promising approaches for the reduction of the youth gang problem.

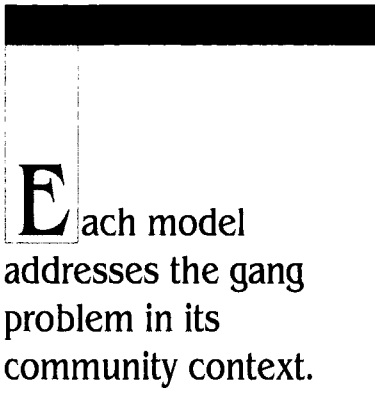
The framework for the policies and procedures recommended in each of the 12 models is based upon 2 types of gang problems: chronic and emerging. Differential strategies of suppression and intervention consist of suppression, community mobilization, social intervention, social opportunities, organization change and development, and distinctive institutional missions. Issues of primary prevention are not addressed in these documents, which emphasize secondary prevention. A forthcoming report, *Preventing Involvement in Youth Gang Crime*, more fully addresses prevention issues.

A community with a chronic gang problem is characterized by a persistent, often acute pattern of gang violence and crime (including drug trafficking) beginning before the 1980's. A community with an emerging gang problem is associated with a pattern of gang crime that is less organized or virulent and more recent. The models focus on youth gang members ages 12 to 24. The models are concerned with policies and programs that address primarily gang-motivated crime in terms of juvenile and young adult commitment to gang violence, status, and turf and, secondarily, evolving gang-related problems of drug trafficking and more organized crime.

The authors propose that the lack of social opportunities available to a population and the degree of social disorganization present in a community largely account for its youth gang problem. Other contributing factors include institutional racism and deficiencies in social policy. The authors believe that the nature of a particular population's exposure to these structural conditions at the community level determines the character and prevalence of its youth gang problem.

Each model addresses the youth gang problem in terms of its community context and distinctive organizational missions. These become the basis for assessment of the youth gang problem, for selection of appropriate combinations of strategies and programs targeted to particular categories of youth gang members. In each model, the authors recommend an approach that mobilizes community interest and concern. The approach should:

- Neither exaggerate nor deny the problem's scope and seriousness.
- Develop consensus among key figures in the approach.
- Target both younger and older gang members who may be ready to give up gang crime activities.



Each model addresses the gang problem in its community context.

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**A** gang problem must be recognized before it can be addressed.

However, no one can be sure that the policies and practices proposed to reduce the youth gang crime problem are effective until they are tested.

## **General community design**

These general and specific models for youth gang suppression and intervention assume that the problem of youth gangs and related criminal behavior, including extreme violence and drug trafficking, is mainly a function of two interacting conditions: poverty and social disorganization. Other significant or contributing factors include institutional racism, cultural misadaptation, deficiencies in social policy, and the availability of criminal opportunities. While many causes of the problem are generated by forces outside communities experiencing gang crime, much can be done to reduce the problem through mobilization of a network of local organizations and citizens and of resources at the city, State, and national levels. While we know a great deal about the problem, we have no sure-fire policies and programs, and our models need to be rigorously tested.

Specific policies and procedures must be designed to achieve the intermediate goals of suppression and intervention and the ultimate goal of reducing youth gang problem. Certain action areas must be addressed in implementing the key operational strategies of community mobilization, provision of opportunities, social intervention, suppression, and organizational change and development. These areas are problem assessment, development of youth gang policy, managing the collaborative process, creation of program goals and objectives, programming, coordination and community participation, youth accountability, staffing, training, research evaluation, and funding priorities.

**Assessing the problem.** The presence of a youth gang problem must be recognized before anything meaningful can be done to address it. Identification of manifest and underlying factors contributing to the problem is also important. Those with responsibility for addressing the problem—representatives of criminal justice and community agencies, grassroots organizations, schools, churches, local businesses, even gangs—should participate in describing its nature and causes and recommending appropriate solutions. Consensus must be developed on the definition of the youth gang problem—particularly by decisionmakers of key agencies, community organizations, and government units.

**Organization and policy development.** Communities must effectively organize to combat the youth gang problem. In cities with chronic youth gang activity, this means establishing local councils or statutory commissions (possibly by State statute) to set policy, and to coordinate programs resulting from such policy. Each council or commission should establish special committees on law enforcement, education, employment, and rehabilitation. A full range of strategies—prevention, intervention, and suppression—must be planned, but they must be appropriately ordered and prioritized. In cities with an emerging problem, less formal or inclusive structural arrangements may be required, but special emphasis must be given to efforts by schools and youth agencies to



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reach out to certain high-risk youth and their families through a variety of prevention and early intervention programs.


Policies of deterrence, prevention, or rehabilitation in themselves are insufficient to confront youth gang problems. Operational strategies and methods of carrying them out must be systematically integrated, inasmuch as the youth gang problem has different but interrelated elements. The gang problem is organic, particularly in communities with chronic gang activities. It affects different sectors of a population, such as older and younger gang members, their families, victims, and innocent bystanders in different but reciprocal and interrelated or systemic terms. It may not be realistic to deal only with preadolescents if adolescent and young adult gang members exercise great influence. It may be necessary not only to protect normal, conforming youth but to socialize disruptive youth gang members.

**Managing the collaborative process.** The community process for dealing with the gang problem goes through various stages before sustained program development and positive impact can occur. The first stage includes denial, initial organizing, and policymaking and the second stage, goal and problem displacement, and sometimes community conflict. The further community mobilization proceeds, the more likely there will be a positive outcome. In the critical third stage, charges of ineffective programs, institutional racism, and corruption may be made. Moral leadership must arise and agency programs develop accountability to make sure the right programs are launched and the right youth are targeted for suppression, opportunities, and services.

**Goals and objectives.** Longer term comprehensive strategies, including remedial education, training, and jobs as well as short-term suppression and outreach services for targeted youth, must be provided. A balance should be established between strategies that focus on individual or family change and those that emphasize system change and development or the provision of additional resources, such as the creation of a local youth conservation corps. Long-term sustained efforts that target the most vulnerable and hardcore youth gang members are required.

**Relevant programming.** Rationales for services, tactics, or procedures have to be systematically articulated and implemented. At present, we possess only rudimentary knowledge about programs or activities deemed to be effective. Some of these promising approaches include:

- Targeting, arresting, and incarcerating gang leaders and repeat violent gang offenders.
- Referring fringe members and their parents to youth services for counseling and guidance.
- Providing preventive services for youth who are clearly at risk.
- Crisis intervention or mediation of gang fights.
- Patrols of community "hot spots."



**T**he gang problem affects different sectors in reciprocal terms.

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**T**he less internal control a youth exercises over his behavior, the more social control must be exerted.

- Close supervision of gang offenders by criminal justice and community-based agencies.
- Remedial education for targeted youth gang members, especially in middle school. Job orientation, training, placement, and mentoring for older youth gang members.
- Safe zones around schools.
- Vertical prosecution, close supervision, and enhanced sentences for hardcore youth gang members. (Vertical or “hardcore” prosecution puts the same prosecutor in charge of all aspects of a case from charging to sentencing.)

**Coordination and community participation.** A mobilized community is the most promising way to deal with the gang problem. The development of informed, consistent relations and procedures among and within organizations results in greater social control and social support and more effective targeting of the problem. Criminal justice agencies, community-based agencies, and local grassroots organizations must be involved in policy development and program implementation. Involvement of diverse neighborhood groups in gang neighborhoods is essential to a viable approach. Local leadership must be recruited and developed if later racial and class conflicts are to be avoided or minimized in the programs that are launched.

**Youth accountability.** Youth gang members must be held accountable for their criminal acts, but they also must be provided with opportunities to change or control this behavior. The less internal control a youth exercises over his own behavior, the more social control must be exerted to demonstrate that some behaviors are not acceptable. For some gang members, secure confinement will be necessary. For others, graduated degrees of community-based supervision, ranging from continuous sight or electronic supervision to total self-supervision, will be appropriate. It is important that youth understand that they will face consequences if they do not follow program rules or reasonable expectations.

**Staffing.** Youth gang suppression and intervention efforts require a thorough understanding of the complexity of gang activity in the context of local community life. The policymaker, administrator, or street-level worker should avoid recognizing or using the gang or gang processes as primary instruments or mechanisms for controlling or resolving a gang problem because that approach can contribute to gang cohesion and strengthen gang influence. The gang worker must clearly articulate values and practices that demonstrate that gang recruitment, intergroup conflict, and other forms of criminal behavior are unacceptable and will be punished. With those values expressed and operative, it is still possible for the agency or community worker to collaborate with youth gang members, neighbors, parents, and criminal justice and community-based agency representatives to deal effectively with gang crises and control various kinds of criminal behavior. This approach recognizes the existence of youth gangs, but rejects their legitimacy.

**Staff training.** Training should focus on the development of improved strategies of suppression and intervention in emerging and chronic gang problems.

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In emerging gang problem situations, greater attention to the specifics of gang identification and understanding the basis for gang dynamics is required. The limits of a simple, exclusive suppression strategy must be recognized. In cities with chronic problems, greater attention to cross-agency and community group collaboration is necessary, with special concern for developing remedial education, training, job development, and support services for youth gang members.


**Research and evaluation.** Relatively little policy- or program-relevant research is available to determine which strategies and practices lower crime rates among youth gang members. This study has hypothesized that the interrelated application of strategies of community mobilization and provision for social opportunities, combined to a lesser degree with suppression, organizational development, and social intervention, will lead to such a reduction, particularly of violence. One might further hypothesize that a complex, innovative, and interrelated agency and grassroots approach that gives due attention to policies and practices of rehabilitation and suppression will be more effective than a simple, specific agency-oriented approach, such as social intervention, that focuses either on suppression or rehabilitation. Furthermore, one could anticipate that broad-scale preventive approaches, such as exposing all youth in a gang milieu to anti-gang programs, will be less effective than defining and targeting a high-risk youth population and applying appropriate deterrent and rehabilitative procedures.

**Funding priorities.** While there is no clear way to determine which policies and procedures will work, we do know something about strategies and programs that do not work. Therefore, it is incumbent on funding agencies concerned with the reduction of gang delinquency and crime to avoid simple or isolated programs of recreation, nondirective counseling, street work, or massive arrest and incarceration. Based on available research, theory, and experience, community mobilization strategies and programs should be accorded the highest funding priority.

## Community mobilization

Success in the implementation of the prototype depends primarily on the effectiveness of community mobilization. Community mobilization is a process of consciousness raising that addresses the concerns and long-term interests of those most affected by the youth gang problem. It calls for objective identification of the problem's dimensions and the will and commitment of the community to act. The process depends on cooperation and collaboration of key groups and activists as well as appropriate use of gang crises by community and agency leaders to generate pressures that can enhance awareness of and improve responsiveness to the gang problem.

Failures or delays in community mobilization occur primarily because agencies and local community organizations seek to protect or enhance their particular agency or group interests, which may or may not be directly related to the gang problem. Issues of organizational turf and interpersonal or interagency rivalry and conflict may prevent discussion of common goals and objectives and the means for collaborative endeavors. Failures of community mobilization may also occur because of insensitivity to distinctive community racial, ethnic, or



**B**road-scale approaches to prevention are less effective than targeting high-risk youth.

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**G**ang members often fall between the cracks of social service programs and police sweeps.

class interests. Leaders of the mobilization process may insufficiently recognize and understand distinctive African-American, Latino, or Asian local community concerns and interests about gangs in the particular communities.

The community mobilization process can move forward only when a group of leaders committed to the resolution of the problems, develops a set of close relationships, relevant goals, and action plans based on mutual trust and agreement on the definition of the problem and what needs to be done. The plan that evolves must not only be supported by key political and economic forces in the local and broader community, but also meet at least partially the survival and developmental needs of existing and evolving agency programs and community groups.

The essence of the community mobilization process is to reinvigorate or reorganize community structures so that community energies and resources are developed to address the youth gang problem, and these resources are integrated and targeted on the gang problem. Youth gang members often fall between the cracks of social services, social opportunity programs, and police sweeps. Not only do criminal acts of individuals and groups add to the problems of youth gangs, but inappropriate responses by agencies and community groups fuel them.

## **Police**

The fundamental purpose of law enforcement is protecting the community from criminal activities. Protection is achieved through a combination of suppression and preventive activities. The police need to address emerging and chronic youth gang problems distinctively. Police organizational arrangements to deal with the youth gang problem should vary depending on the scope and seriousness of the problem and available departmental resources.

In communities confronted by emerging youth gangs, the police department may not necessarily organize a specialized gang unit but instead establish a gang detail or designate one or more officers as gang specialists. Other possibilities include assigning a crime analysis officer to identify chronic or serious juvenile gang offenders and requiring patrol officers in areas of high gang activity to focus their attention on these youth.

In some jurisdictions, community relations, narcotics, and juvenile divisions may take on specialized functions to deal with gangs. Generally, in larger communities where the gang problem is more serious and sophisticated, a specialized gang unit should be established. In some very large cities, specialized gang units may also be decentralized and placed in areas of need. In all cases, common definitions of the youth gang problem and ways to deal with it should characterize police policy and procedures.

Common definitions should be used as a basis for targeting selected gangs and gang members and for systematic measurement of the scope and seriousness of the problem. A youth gang (as a segment of a street gang) should be defined as a group ranging in age from 12 to 24, of variable size and organization, engaged

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in violent behavior, and characterized by communal or symbolic and often economic considerations, such as drug trafficking, burglary, robbery, and auto theft. A targeted gang member should be any youth who has a prior gang arrest. Special attention should be paid to leaders and to hardcore, repeat, and violent gang offenders. A gang incident or event should be an illegal act, especially a violent act, that arises out of gang motivation, interest, or circumstances, as distinct from an act committed by a youth who is a member of a gang.

The police department should adopt an approach that combines suppression of youth gang criminal acts through aggressive enforcement of laws, with community mobilization involving a broad cross-section of the community in combating the problem. Development of social intervention activities, while secondary, should be pursued. Useful interventions might include referring juveniles prone to gangs to youth service agencies, counseling such youth in collaboration with school guidance programs, and assisting community-based agencies in targeting youth gang members for job development.

The role of the police department in controlling and reducing gang crime should include investigation, intelligence, suppression, community relations, and training. Of special importance is investigation of gang crimes to obtain information and evidence useful in the prosecution of youth involved in gang crimes; maintaining standardized, updated information on gangs, gang members, and gang incidents; concentrating surveillance on gang leaders and other hardcore members; targeting special locations, particularly selected schools, for special patrol; prevention and control of those circumstances in which youth gang crises are likely to arise; training criminal justice and community-based agency staff and local citizens in gang recognition and appropriate intervention procedures; and assessment of the effectiveness of police policies and procedures in relation to youth gang crime.

The top administrator of the police department must be involved in determining gang policy and should insist on the officers' consistent and complete implementation of orders and procedures. The exercise of community leadership and a recognition of the scope of the gang problem will help elected leaders, agencies, and groups in the community deal with it openly and adequately. Where gang problems are emerging, administrators should not minimize the scope of the problem to protect the good name of the community but should call attention to incidents of gang crime. In contexts where gang problems have become chronic, the administrator should withstand pressures to simply increase the level of suppression and support the development of a comprehensive community approach targeted both to youth prone to gangs as well as other gang members.

Finally, special training is necessary for police officers assigned to deal with gang crimes. Knowledge from diverse fields must be integrated into the law enforcement mission. General information is required regarding such topics as the causes of gangs, their identification and nature, and the roles police should play with each type of agency or community group in addressing the problem. Police strategies and programs should be evaluated on a regular basis. Assessments should use measures of law enforcement outcome, internal organization, and community relations.



**T**he police should combine suppression of gang crime with community mobilization.

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**P**rosecutors should pinpoint serious gang cases immediately after the police make arrests.

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## Prosecution

The prosecutor has a key responsibility to bring serious juvenile gang offenders to justice, protect the community, and serve the community's best interests. Jurisdictions with serious or chronic gang crime should develop a vertical prosecution approach to gangs in which a prosecutor follows a case from start to finish. This ensures that gang offenders or suspects will be targeted for investigation and prosecution to the fullest extent of the law. Although the prosecutor should focus on suppression, attention must be given to other strategies such as community mobilization and improved coordination of agency services to youth gang members.

In jurisdictions with emerging or chronic gang-related problems, the prosecutor should concentrate on case selection and data management; collection and presentation of evidence; development of appropriate testimony; victim/witness protection; bail and detention recommendations; appropriate court disposition and sentencing decisions; and interagency collaboration and community mobilization with respect to gang crime control and prevention activities.

Prosecutors should pinpoint and control serious gang cases immediately after the police make arrests. Close working relationships between prosecutors and police and probation or parole are required. A screening process based on specific criteria and on an adequate information system to track cases is essential. Hardcore juvenile gang offenders should be targeted, tracked from juvenile to adult court, and appropriately prosecuted.

Prosecutors, usually with the aid of special gang investigators, should collect proper evidence to develop a viable gang case. Decisions on the correct charge and, if necessary, the collection of additional evidence, will reinforce the case. Guidelines should be developed that are acceptable to prosecutors and police regarding the selection of cases and determination of charges. Such policy and procedures should be made public.

The following procedures are recommended in preparing testimony and protecting victims and witnesses. Pretrial testimony should be videotaped when appropriate to avoid the problem of the victim or witness recanting or forgetting various aspects of past testimony at trial. A program should be developed to protect victims or witnesses at their residences; help can be provided in relocating them to a safe place. The prosecutor should take action as necessary, through use of police surveillance to prevent intimidation of witnesses before or during trial and inside or outside the courtroom, and by prosecuting gang intimidators, particularly those already on probation or parole. Testimony by a gang member, whether a witness for the prosecution or defense, should be carefully scrutinized for reliability. This is to counter manipulation of the justice system by gang members who may seek to avoid legal processes and settle gang conflicts on the street. The prosecutor should encourage use of witnesses such as police qualified by formal training or advanced education.

The prosecutor may serve the best interests of society through various bail, trial, and sentencing procedures. For example, the community, the gang offender, and the witness can be protected by convincing the court of the necessity of high

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bail for the adult gang offender or suspect and detention for the juvenile gang offender, especially when there is strong evidence of the likelihood of witness intimidation or retaliatory acts of violence. Nevertheless, it is important, particularly during trial proceedings, to clearly determine, based on adequate evidence, that the suspect is indeed a gang member and that the offense was gang motivated. The prosecutor should be cautious when making reference to a defendant's gang membership since such reference will prejudice the jury.

When defendants are found guilty, it may not always be in society's interest to incarcerate them for a very long period. The prosecutor's sentencing recommendation to the court should be based on the probation officer's presentence investigation as well as the possibility that strict supervision in the community and appropriate programming through remedial education and job placement may have longer term social benefits for both the community and the youthful offender than a prison sentence.

The prosecutor, particularly in chronic problem contexts, should become a key organizer and administrator of an interagency justice system or communitywide task force established to deal with the gang problem swiftly and forcefully. He should understand the scope and seriousness of the problem in the jurisdiction's communities and also encourage development of a variety of community-based strategies, including counseling, education, job training, youth employment, and citizen partnership in community gang prevention and control programs. Sensitivity to the need for a balanced approach in addressing the youth gang problem should be kept in mind in formulating legislation.

It is essential that the gang prosecutor receive specialized gang training which provides a thorough understanding of the nature and scope of the gang problem in different types of local communities, the genesis and control of the problem, and the application of relevant laws and prosecutorial procedures. A variety of experienced and knowledgeable teachers should be used, including police, academics, and community agency personnel. It is important to assess systematically the role of specialized or vertical gang prosecution and determine whether it is more cost effective than ordinary prosecution in reducing gang crime.

## Courts

The goals of the court should be first, that youth gang members receive a fair hearing; second, in the event a court petition is sustained, that court orders create conditions to rehabilitate the youth gang members, whether they are sent to a correctional institution or remain in the community; and third, that both the community and the offenders be protected from further violence and crime. The court should ordinarily incarcerate convicted or adjudicated, serious delinquent youth gang offenders, particularly gang leaders and hardcore members who engage in such violent gang activity as drive-by shootings and significant drug trafficking. However, peripheral or younger gang members who are adjudicated for minor gang-motivated crimes should receive short sentences, preferably supervision in the community with a community service requirement. Moreover, the judges' decisions should be conditioned by their understanding of the scope and seriousness of the gang problem in various communities in the court

**S**trict supervision may have longer term social benefits than a prison sentence.

**J**udges should weigh the evidence that identifies the youth as a gang member and the crime as gang motivated.

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district, whether the problem is emerging or chronic, and the community resources available to deal with individual gang problems.

A key problem the court faces is the lack of resources to carry out its varied justice system functions. The court needs to improve its capacity to access and provide gang-related information, for example, through a computerized data system containing gang-related data. This would facilitate judicial decision-making and transmittal of court information such as probation stipulations to police. The courts may require additional probation and service staff to supervise youth gang members adequately and to help them make social adjustments in the community. The court should provide probation officers with sanction authority that allows them to place youth gang members in detention for short periods under specified conditions.

Of special concern is the need of the juvenile court to understand the scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem and to deal with juvenile gang offenders in the juvenile court rather than transferring them to adult court. The juvenile court judge should observe rigid standards in making a transfer decision since such a decision signifies a loss of status for a class of youth that should be specially protected and deemed amenable to juvenile rehabilitation.

Adult and juvenile court judges should be especially concerned about the quality of evidence that identifies the youth before the court as a gang member and the crime as gang motivated. The judge needs to be knowledgeable about the different levels of proof required to establish the validity of these terms and to be careful not to accept hearsay evidence. The judge should make sure that the jury understands that the offense has clearly grown out of gang motivation or specific gang-related circumstances. The conspiratorial actions of the suspect must also be carefully assessed, even if the suspect was not present or directly involved in the gang crime.

In sentencing a gang member, the judge should consider, in addition to social and criminal history, the youth's position in the gang, record of gang membership and criminality, and the history and reputation of the gang itself, particularly the degree of its involvement in emerging or chronic gang problems. Gang membership and gang offenses tend to be limited in duration. Most youth gang members are committed to gangs for a relatively short period of time, usually between the ages of 14 and 18 years. Of primary importance in the judge's sentencing decision is the weight given to specific factors that can help the youth develop social competence and at the same time protect the community from further depredations.

If the judge places the youth gang member on probation, special arrangements should exist that guarantee an appropriate level of supervision, community restitution on behalf of the victim, and the delivery of appropriate services. Regular court review, whereby juvenile gang members appear in court and their compliance with court orders is reviewed, is desirable, usually monthly or bi-monthly. This review might involve checks on school attendance, grades, and conduct. If the judge decides to sentence a youth gang member to a correctional institution, the judge must take care that the youth is placed in a protected and secure environment, reducing gang-related opportunities and providing viable



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competency-building activities as an alternative to the gang lifestyle. Gang members who do not receive appropriate remedial education, vocational training, and social skill development services, whether in the institution or in the community, are likely to return to gang affiliation and related criminal behavior.


Judges should be visible members of community and interagency gang task forces. They can facilitate interagency communication, assist in resolving interagency differences, and provide guidance on constitutional issues in regard to measures proposed by criminal justice and community-based agencies. Judges should be advocates in the community and the legislature for meaningful measures for suppression and rehabilitation of gang members. On the other hand, given the limited knowledge of many judges about the nature, scope, and complexity of youth gang activities in particular communities in their jurisdictions, it is imperative that judges undertake field observation and training, especially in respect to the bases for community programs for gang members and differential sentencing approaches.

The development of juvenile court codes and policies may demand legislative attention. Because of the distinctive nature of the gang problem, the juvenile gang offender possibly should constitute a special category in juvenile law such as that of a minor requiring close supervision. The court should determine whether a processing decision, such as automatically waiving juvenile suspects who are gang members to adult court, is constitutional. Finally, differential sentencing decisions for youth gang members of similar backgrounds should be evaluated as to their effectiveness in reducing recidivism.

## Probation

Oversized caseloads, sometimes in excess of 200 per officer, seriously limit the probation department's ability to carry out its primary goals of protecting the community and diverting youth gang members from further crime. Moreover, a lack of resources has forced many probation departments to focus on surveillance of dangerous felony youth gang offenders. This prevents the court and probation from carrying out their rehabilitative function and contributes to the neglect of less delinquent youth gang members. While a few probation departments have established special units and programs to deal with gang offenders, most departments, even in jurisdictions with chronic gang problems, have as yet no special approaches or services for gang probationers.

The objectives of probation should be first, to assist the court in its sentencing decision (that is, to provide detailed information on the youth gang member, along with recommendations on possible sanctions and rehabilitative options); second, to enforce effectively the orders of the court and the laws of the State with special regard for limiting the criminal activity of youth gang members; third, to help criminal justice and community agencies as well as grassroots groups coordinate information and develop efforts to control and prevent gang behavior; and fourth, to broker and create special school and employment opportunities for youth gang probationers to meet their social development needs.



**J**udges should be advocates for the suppression and rehabilitation of gang members.

**S**pecial preventive, early intervention, and intensive supervision programs need to be established for different types of gang offenders.

In areas with emerging or chronic gang problems, probation officers should give primary consideration to the risks of controlling probationers' behavior, if they remain in the community. A risk/needs assessment should be conducted for youth gang probationers in terms of their social and especially gang circumstances to construe the level of supervision and the intensity of services necessary for probationers and their families. The range of supervisory possibilities for youth include regular field supervision, intensive supervision, house arrest, curfew, electronic monitoring, and mandatory substance abuse testing.

In contexts with emerging problems, gang-affiliated probationers are likely to range from 11 to 17 and should probably be supervised as part of the regular juvenile probation caseload. Probation officers should use a service brokerage approach heavily dependent on local community resources and assistance. A local community-based youth-serving agency or a school can be enlisted to help with these functions and activities. Probation officers should also emphasize close supervision, particularly for leaders and relatively hardcore or committed youth gang members.

The probation approach should be more complex in cities with chronic gang problems. Special preventive, early intervention, and intensive supervision programs need to be established for different types of gang offenders. The probation officer should help organize and participate in programs at schools where youth who may have been arrested are beginning to participate in gangs. Early intervention programs should be directed to first- or second-time, court-adjudicated gang offenders, mainly those ages 12 to 15. Again, minor gang-affiliated offenders, from 11 to 17 years old, should probably be supervised on the regular probation caseload. An intensive probation gang program should be directed to the more serious gang offender primarily between 15 and 24 years of age with a history of high levels of gang-related criminality and violence. To maintain the integrity of intensive supervision, caseloads should be limited to between 30 and 40 probationers.

A variety of strategies in addition to suppression needs to be implemented by the probation department. Probation officers should provide youth gang probationers and their parents with social assistance in crisis situations, making sure that counseling services are accessible to both. Probation assistance needs to focus on task-centered objectives for the probationer, such as improving school performance, procuring employment, and avoiding criminal gang situations. Of particular importance also are community mobilization efforts to motivate community-based agencies and grassroots organizations to provide more attention and services to youth gang members as well as to better coordinate programs for these youth across agencies. New organizational arrangements may be required to carry out the above strategies, including vertical case management, flexible work shifts, contacts with probationers on the streets and in their homes, decentralized probation offices, and outreach suppression efforts such as ride-alongs with the police.

Where chronic gang problems exist, consideration should be given to the development of special alternative schools for juveniles on probation in cooperation with the school system and community-based youth agencies. These alternative schools could serve as bases for a comprehensive case management approach in

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which probationers receive intensive remedial education under close supervision. Cooperation will be necessary with agencies that provide mental health, drug treatment, parent counseling, and apprenticeship civilian conservation corps type programs. In order to minimize stigmatization, youth should be transferred back to regular school programs after 6 to 12 months.

The chief probation officer needs to pay attention to training of officers, especially in areas with an emerging gang problem where resources are limited and special units are not likely to be established. Outside expertise should be brought in to educate personnel in such gang-related topics as gang-member drug use and trafficking, the influence of street and prison gangs, search and seizure procedures, gang-related social investigation and supervision skills, effective case planning, crisis intervention and mediation skills, handling gang-related information in court, and community mobilization techniques.

Finally, gang probation processes and outcomes need to be evaluated. The content of probation officer case reports, especially presentence investigations, should be analyzed on a regular basis. The extent to which probation officers are enforcing special conditions ordered for gang probationers should be assessed. The effectiveness of services for different types of youth gang members should be evaluated. Long-term outcomes should be determined including recidivism rates, particularly for different types of probation and for the more serious youth gang offenders.

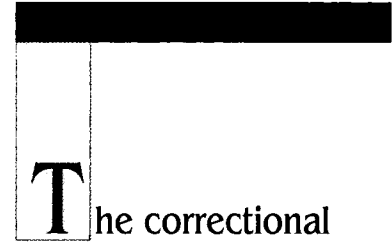
## Corrections

Youth gang problems have grown more serious in correctional settings, including detention centers, jails, correctional institutions, and prisons. In some institutions, gang problems are just emerging. In chronic problem settings, youth gangs are responsible for high levels of contraband activity, including drug distribution, violence against staff and inmates, and the regulation of crime between the correctional setting and the community.

The correctional institution is especially vulnerable to internal disruption by gang members, who make heavy demands on the resources of the facilities to which they are confined. Because of serious crowding in prisons, the lack of organizational resources, and the use of a limited number of strategies, the gang problem in institutions has intensified in recent years.

Four conflicting goals of the correctional mission as they pertain to youth gang inmates must be resolved:

- Stable control of institutional operations.
- Separation of gang offenders from the community.
- Care and development of the physical, social, and mental well-being of inmates during their stay in the institution.
- Preparation of gang inmates for noncriminal behavior upon their reentry into the community.



**T**he correctional institution is especially vulnerable to internal disruption by gang members.

**T**he more serious the problem, the more formal the policies should be.

Stable control of operations requires preventing and controlling youth gang violence; weakening gang organization and solidarity; reducing the ability of youth gangs to participate in crimes that transcend the boundaries of the institution into the community; and helping gang-member inmates learn correctional social values and behaviors as they prepare for their return to the community. Essential to achieving these goals are an accurate assessment of the gang problem in the institutional setting, particularly whether it is emerging or chronic, and the development of an intelligence system to identify ongoing gang activities. This knowledge should enhance the institution's ability to anticipate, prevent, and control problems proactively rather than rely on defensive or reactive modes of suppression and intervention.

Of special importance is the development of gang policies that differentiate gang and nongang behaviors and their seriousness for particular correctional programs. The more serious the problem, the more formal and specific the policies should be. Policies should define those gang behaviors that are inappropriate for work, educational, and training programs, and visitation and communication privileges. Furthermore, policies that specify distinctions between gang and nongang behavior must be fair. They should meet legal requirements for nondiscriminatory and humane treatment of inmates.

A community mobilization strategy requires that a network of program relationships be established with outside organizations and groups to support and reinforce the work of the institution as well as that of community agencies and groups in the control and rehabilitation of youth gang members.

The correctional institution and the community should be viewed as a contiguous environment. A key function of community networking, especially with the police, should be to share intelligence on a continuing basis about related and sometimes interdependent gang problems in the correctional facility and the community. This could include collaborative case assessment and planning by correctional and police officers. To the extent possible, in particular institutions, inmates should participate in the legitimate development of a productive corrections environment.

The correctional authority's opportunities provision and social intervention strategies should emphasize programs and services of remedial education, training, and jobs, both during the gang member's incarceration and subsequent transition back to the community. Differential programming for gang members will be required, depending on age, capacity, interest, and nature of commitment to gang values. Crisis intervention, counseling, values reeducation, and other services should also be available to assist gang inmates with a range of personal, social, and correctional adaptation problems, including housing, medical, legal, school, and work, as well as relationships with other gang and nongang peers.

Preventive suppression and intervention that anticipates problems should be given priority. This may include frequent and irregularly scheduled inspections of gang member living areas or cells; enhanced supervision of places with high potential for gang problems; housing gang members separately from nongang inmates; dispersal of problem gang members among several correctional facilities; and isolating or transferring gang leaders to other facilities.

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Gang suppression in correctional settings should encourage the creation of a social climate conducive to conventional behaviors, values, and patterns of thinking. The acceptance by inmates of the moral legitimacy of suppression procedures can be fostered through a comprehensive, well-articulated set of policies based on an appropriate mix of opportunities provision, organizational development, social intervention, and community mobilization strategies. In other words, measures of suppression should not only be fair but part of a comprehensive program that contributes to normative and conventional learning by gang members.

Corrections staff should be provided with training that enables them to recognize gang patterns and understand and develop skills in suppression and intervention methods, including how to deal with gang crises. Staff, including security, administration, treatment, and other personnel should receive gang awareness and crisis simulated practice training. Staff need to become knowledgeable of and sensitive to the variety of cultural differences among gang inmates. Recruitment of a racially and ethnically diverse staff is essential. Extensive research should be conducted into the nature of the gang problem in particular correctional institutions. This requires an evaluation of different approaches and of those conditions of correctional housing, staffing, and specific programming that produce effective results in contexts where gang problems are chronic or emerging.

## Parole

Parole supervision of youth gang members is more complicated than supervision of nongang youth because of the pressures of gang solidarity and coercion exerted on the youth. Paroled youth gang members may come under severe pressure to become reinvolved with gangs. Youth gangs provide support for and access to criminal means that gang parolees need to survive, inasmuch as most are resource poor upon release from the correctional institution. The pressures to return to gang violence and criminal behavior are particularly strong in communities with chronic gang problems.

Parole agencies have two interrelated responsibilities in the supervision of youth paroled from correctional institutions. The primary one is to monitor the behavior of paroled youth to ensure that they meet conditions of their parole. The other is to assist in the development of access to a set of community-based opportunities and services to meet the educational, occupational, social, and residential needs of gang parolees. They require a high degree of surveillance or restriction but also support, since they may naturally tend to reassociate with former criminal gang peers.

Parole agencies usually have to depend on the assistance of community agencies and groups for education, employment, job development, and surveillance to carry out its suppression and intervention mission. It is therefore important that parole officers establish collaborative relationships with appropriate personnel in the justice system, community-based agencies, and grassroots organizations in their particular jurisdictions. Regular as well as crisis meetings with

**P**arole supervision of youth gang members is more complicated than supervision of nongang youth.

**M**entors can enhance the self-esteem of parolees.

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police should be required to examine the progress of youth gang members and collectively deal with the gang-related problems they create.

Many communities lack the rehabilitative resources needed by parolees, such as educational, job training, and placement opportunities, mental health and drug treatment, and community residential facilities. A resource provision strategy may be necessary to mitigate some of these deficits in local community resources. They include provision of departmental funds to community agencies to establish specialized programs for parolees, such as residential placements and group homes; or contracting with private homes on behalf of youth gang parolees.

The community must mobilize community-based agencies and businesses to obtain meaningful jobs for youth gang members. Cities with chronic gang problems should use community job development agencies or create a job resource unit within parole that focuses on the needs of youth gang parolees. Cooperatively funded initiatives with certain businesses or industries to train and employ gang parolees should also be established.

A combined social opportunities and social intervention strategy should make use of volunteer mentors who can assist as tutors or supportive mentors to remind youth gang members of what they are supposed to do. Neighborhood mentors can offer one-on-one technical assistance to youth. Through personalized involvement, mentors can enhance the self-esteem of parolees and exert pressure on them to pursue learning, job training, work objectives, and parole obligations.

Nevertheless, suppression must be the key underlying strategy of the parole officer. The degree of supervision should depend on the level of risk the youth gang parolee represents to the safety of the community. The risk assessment will be conditioned by the orders of the parole authority, including the length of time the youth is to remain in parole status and the restrictive conditions mandated. Of special use may be gradual release programs in which furloughs are arranged under supervision of the parole officer prior to official release from the correctional institution. During such release, prospective parolees should be expected to locate housing, interview for jobs, and seek admission to special training and educational programs. Reorientation to family and community responsibilities should also be facilitated.

Some gang members from communities with chronic gang problems may benefit by moving to other communities. This is useful for those who wish to avoid reinvolvement in the gang or who would experience intense pressures from their old gang peers or problems from opposing gang members. These youth require special residential placement, supervision, and support. However, placement in a new community may be a problematic solution if gang problems are present. In this situation, the parole officer should be prepared to help community agencies recognize the problem and react appropriately to it.

A step-down program may be useful in providing gang parolees with supervised group-home or community residential facilities and a continuum of program services and constraints, ranging from around-the-clock institutional to self-

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supervision. Initially, the program should provide program youth with structure and controls for as much of their day as possible to prevent them from becoming reacquainted with former criminal gang associates and engaging in criminal gang activity. The program should involve serious gang offenders in intensive socialization and skill development activities.

Training for the parole officer with youth gang members should involve the development of information about gang behavior and community resources, and also understanding about how to work in gang neighborhoods. Staff have to learn how to recognize and deal with a variety of problems, including lack of agency program resources, community agency hostility, institutional racism, and the politics of the gang-related problems. Joint training with other justice system and community-based agency personnel should be developed to foster mutual understanding and interagency relationships.


Systematic and regular evaluation of parole programs is required to determine whether youth gang members continue to commit offenses, especially gang-related offenses, after release from corrections. Such evaluation should be useful in identifying the successful elements of a parole program directed to gang members. Adequate information about special gang parolee programs and their results can also be used to maintain political support and defend gang parole programs against attack when some parolees get into serious trouble.

## Schools

Gang problems in schools often originate in the streets. Students who are gang members bring with them destructive gang attitudes and behaviors. They claim the school as their turf; they deface the school with graffiti; and they exert control through intimidation and assault on other students. The school, however, may bear some responsibility. Most gang members are bored with and feel inadequate in class. Consequently, they drop of school out as soon as possible. They develop poor learning skills and experience academic and social failure at school from an early age. They have little identification with teachers or staff, whom they may distrust and dislike intensely.

The school's approach to addressing gang-related problems requires recognition of this existence. Its extent and seriousness must be openly and systematically assessed. If the disruptive behavior is gang motivated, the school needs to identify the youth and gangs involved, and if they hang out in or outside the school, the school staff, parents, the community, and the justice system need to reach a consensus about the nature and scope of the problem that affects the school. The problem can be assessed as emerging when a few youth are involved and only minor gang-related activities occur within the school or immediately outside. The problem should be regarded as chronic when gang violence and gang-motivated crime are serious and sustained and affect classroom activities.

While there are limits to what the schools can do in regard to basic family and community factors that significantly contribute to the youth gang problem, there is much that schools can do in conjunction with community agencies and



**S**tudents who are gang members claim the school as their turf.

**G**ang-prone youth should be introduced at an early age to the world of work, education, and responsibility.

groups. A special school community council should be formed to focus on the problem. A team of local school administrators and agency personnel should create a pattern of coordinated security, learning opportunities, and service arrangements directed to gang members and youth prone to gangs. In communities and schools with chronic gang problems, the school should form a broad coalition with criminal justice and community-based agencies, grassroots organizations, churches, business, and citizen groups. Hardcore gang members and youth less involved in gangs should be identified and appropriately targeted for special remedial education, support services, and supervision.

The objectives of the school's approach to the problem should be delivery of a flexible curriculum targeted to youth gang members who are not doing well in their classes. Such youth should receive enriched programs so that they are provided with basic academic and work-related problem-solving tools. Gang-prone and gang-member youth should be introduced at an early age to the world of work, education, and community responsibility. For older youth gang members, job apprentice and remedial educational objectives have to be adequately linked to career development.

In their efforts to enhance the academic and vocational achievement of youth gang members, teachers should not emphasize performance standards to the exclusion of the nature and quality of the learning process. The gang member's achievement in class or on a work project should be advertised and rewarded. The teacher's positive, personalized relationship with youth gang members is important and can serve to reduce violence and disruptive acts. Support staff, including social workers, coaches, tutors, psychologists, security personnel, community agency professionals, parents, and even community residents can supplement the teacher's efforts. The school principal's leadership is critical to the development of a school-community support system that combines extra social support with social controls for members of youth gangs while protecting nongang youth and maintaining the academic integrity of the school's program.

There are at least three components to a school's effective control or suppression strategy:

- The development of a school gang code, with guidelines specifying an appropriate response by teachers and staff to different kinds of gang behavior, including a mechanism for dealing with serious gang delinquency.
- The application of these rules and regulations within a context of positive relationships and open communication by school personnel with parents, community agencies, and students.
- A clear distinction between gang- and nongang-related activity so as not to exaggerate the scope of the problem.

The school needs to involve parents of gang and nongang youth in the school's concerns and activities in respect to the gang problem. As many parents as possible should be engaged in parent-group meetings, street patrols, monitoring student activities in and out of school to detect and prevent gang activities, and assisting teachers and staff to carry out class and field trip activities. The school



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should develop parenting and gang awareness classes. Parents who have successfully dealt with children who have become involved in gangs may be especially useful in various gang-prevention and control activities, including visiting and counseling parents whose children are currently causing gang problems in school.

The school should establish close relationships with outside organizations and agencies that have knowledge about the problem and can provide services to deal with it. Police, probation, and youth agencies have valuable information about youth gangs and how to deal with them. The school can be used as a community base or center for a whole range of protective, preventive, and remedial health, education, training, and employment services for students and their parents, including focus on the needs of youth gang members. In any case, the school must not simply act as a host to other organizations. It must exercise leadership in rearranging its own structure and providing activities to address the youth gang problem.

Special training opportunities should be provided to school administrators, teachers, and staff to increase their knowledge of gangs and community resources in regard to the problem. Individual and group counseling skills, especially for handling gang crisis situations, should be developed. A key concern of training should be the development of ways to enhance both self-esteem and self-discipline of youth gang members. Gathering and sharing information on gangs are extremely important tasks in the development of an information system to identify, track, investigate, suppress, and assist gang members. Nevertheless, these records can be abused if they serve to exclude gang members from school, subject them to harassment, or violate student rights and privileges. Appropriate procedures for sharing school information with other agencies should be carefully worked out.

School officials should conduct periodic evaluation to determine who is being classified as a gang member and for what behaviors; what services or special treatment such students receive; and what benefits and costs result from the special programs established. Benefits should include improvement in academic achievement by youth gang members and nonmembers, reduction of gang and nongang delinquent behavior, and success in keeping students, especially those who belong to gangs, in school.

## **Youth employment**

No significant national policies or programs have been established to deal specifically with the employment problems of inner-city gang or gang-prone youth. Available reports suggest these youth have the highest rates for dropping out of or failing school and the least appropriate employment skills and work attitudes. They are responsible for the highest rates of serious criminal and violent behavior. They have not only resisted training and rehabilitation, but have also been consistently ignored or excluded from available special education, training, and work programs. Much street activity, including an increasing proportion of gang activity, may serve as a form of self-employment that fills part of the vacuum

**A** key concern of training should be the development of ways to enhance the self-esteem and self-discipline of youth gang members.

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**T**he goal of an employment program for gang members must be the development of entry-level jobs that lead to career development.

created by depressed levels of unemployment and underemployment, particularly among African-American and Latino youth.

Social, economic, job development, and training programs for low-income and socially marginal youth, including youth gang members, need to be developed and expanded. Employment, education, criminal justice, and community-based youth agencies must become interrelated components of an approach that attempts to integrate gang members into society, particularly in communities with chronic gang problems. The goal of an employment program for gang members that results in a reduction of gang crime must be the development of entry-level jobs that lead to career development. There are two critical points in the youth gang member's development that should be addressed: (1) during the early teen years just prior to the time when the youth develops a serious commitment to gang life; and (2) during the late adolescent period, when the youth no longer sees the benefits of hanging out with the gang and recognizes the related risks of long-term imprisonment, injury, and death.

A new employment or related social service institution is required, especially in communities with chronic gang problems, to provide adequate links between schools and jobs and to establish specific steps by which marginal youth, especially those from gangs, can enter the legitimate job market. This institution should target gang members through a program that incorporates job opportunities, social control, and support. The program would require not only job development, remedial education, social services, and supervision, including the involvement of criminal justice agencies, but also monitoring of gang members by community-based groups to ensure their social development and rehabilitation, and to protect the community.

The new institution should have three components: (1) a program for older dropouts and other socially disadvantaged youth ages 16 to 24, (2) a program for marginal gang members ages 15 to 18 who are still at school, and (3) a program for hardcore gang members 14 to 16 years old who are early dropouts. Referrals would come primarily from criminal justice authorities, particularly probation and parole. The priority program in communities with chronic gang problems should focus on dropouts ages 16 to 24 and include remedial education, training, job placement, or employment and career development in close cooperation with business and industry. The priority program in communities in which gang problems are emerging should focus on marginal gang members ages 15 to 18 and would require a less complex set of component programs. In any case, each program should be of sufficient length and focus to meet the interests and needs of the particular category of youth.

A major concern of the new program should be the creation of a job bank. A job development specialist should be hired to obtain commitments from both private and public employers to employ graduates and others who have gone through the program. A key proposition to be tested should be that youth gang members can relinquish their roles in gangs to become hard-working, loyal, and productive workers. A job bank should draw from a variety of occupations. Success will be largely dependent on placing the youth in the "right" job at the right point in his development of appropriate work attitudes and skills. Appropriate work shifts and transportation arrangements should be developed.

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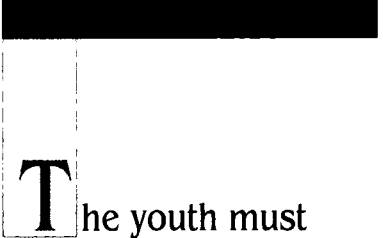
An important consideration in preparing the gang member for entry into a job is work acclimation. The youth gang members may like the idea of a job but not necessarily understand what holding a job means. The youth must learn not to take on the job inappropriate attitudes and skills learned on the streets and in correctional institutions. He or she needs to develop a belief that a legitimate job can be rewarding. After the gang member develops an interest and attitudinal readiness for a job through both observation and didactic experiences, he or she needs to develop academic and vocational problem-solving skills. Assessment of the educational needs of each youth is important for the creation of appropriate group and individualized remedial skills programs. Each youth must also learn to fill out application forms and interview properly for a job.

The youth needs to enter the job market and establish a work record. Many youth gang members in their first legitimate job experience create problems, are fired, or quit at the slightest pretext. It is at this time that followup and supportive services may be especially important. The youth must be persuaded that a career ladder exists and that it is possible to move through a series of legitimate jobs and training experiences which will ultimately result in successful employment that is more rewarding than life with a street gang.

A series of social supports and controls should be established for the youth gang member in this career development process, particularly in the community with chronic gang-related problems. Employers and supervisory personnel should be oriented to the needs of the youth. Mentors, whether volunteer or paid, relatives, close friends, and neighbors should be involved in the training and work-support process. Probation and parole officers should be continually engaged in close supervision of the gang member as he or she faces obstacles to adapting to the work situation. Only under the most extreme circumstances, such as commission of a felony, should the youth be considered for termination from the program.

Employment services for serious gang offenders, as part of a comprehensive suppression and intervention program, will be very costly, particularly in terms of the variety of skilled staff and the intensity of services required. Teachers or remedial education specialists, job trainers, employment placement specialists, and advocates will need to have advanced training in their own specialties and an ability to relate to and understand how to provide services to aggressive, easily frustrated gang members. The roles of professionals and paraprofessionals, including those who come from the neighborhood and even former gang members, will have to be carefully developed and their interrelationships specified. Different kinds of organizations, including schools, employers, criminal justice and community-based agencies, community groups, and residents, must assume varying and complementary responsibilities depending on local community resources, the nature of the gang program, and the purpose and scope of the particular program component.

Of special importance should be a formative evaluation during the initial phase of the development of these innovative gang-oriented employment programs. Evaluators must help administrators of the programs articulate objectives and assess the relationship of specific program activities and processes to program purposes. From the start, careful documentation should be required for



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organizational and interorganizational procedures, program problems and changes, and whether youth continue in their criminal gang patterns. Long-term evaluation of program processes and gang-member employment and recidivism patterns should be considered.

## Community-based youth agency

An essential component of a broad-scale approach to the youth gang problem is a local community-based youth agency (CBYA) to provide a continuum of services to gang and gang-prone youth. Proposed is a six-fold mission for those youth agencies intending to serve youth gang members: socialization, education, family support, training and employment, social control, and community mobilization and agency coordination. This mission must target and serve different types of youth gang members, their families, and their communities in different ways. This variation is largely related to degrees of poverty and social and personal disorganization, particularly as represented in communities with emerging and chronic gang problems.

The CBYA program should target a different mix of youth in these communities. Relatively more youth prone to gangs should be targeted in communities with emerging problems; relatively more committed and adjudicated gang members should be targeted in localities with chronic gang problems to reflect the wider scope and more serious nature of the problem. The CBYA needs to assist and supplement services and approaches of key institutions, such as family, school, employment, and criminal justice agencies. To achieve a reduction in the gang problem, the CBYA must therefore not only work directly with gang members but assist in strengthening primary social institutions and increase local community capacity to address its youth gang problem.

**Socialization.** Of primary importance in contexts with emerging gang problems is the ability of the CBYA worker to reach out to youth on the street not yet involved in existing agency programs. Such youth often constitute a recruiting pool for gang membership. Special efforts should also be made to change the style and content of existing programs to meet the interests and needs of ethnic, racial, and cultural groups new to the community. In the course of many of these activities, it is important for the CBYA worker not to become an inadvertent focus for binding a loosely knit youth group into a cohesive criminal gang. The CBYA worker should be skilled in helping gang-prone youth or youth gang members learn conflict resolution skills, especially those that contribute to a reduction of intergroup conflict. Team sports and social activities may be important, especially when they involve parents and local residents as role models and agents of social control, but also when they facilitate relationships that allow the CBYA worker to address gang members' more difficult problems of social development and control.

**Education.** The major networking and social intervention objectives of administrators and teachers working with gang-prone youth ages 12 to 16 should be to meet the educational and social needs of these vulnerable yet troublesome youth. Their primary task should be to help youth improve their performance at school and at the same time curb or limit their actual or potentially disruptive

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gang-related behavior. The CBYA worker should join the school team, supplementing the teachers' activities both in and outside the school. If older youth gang members are quitting school, the CBYA should work directly with school administrators to establish alternative school programs and special skill and general equivalency diploma (GED) centers. CBYA workers should collaborate with teachers, parents, and community volunteers teaching and supervising these youth.

**Family support.** Parents of youth gang members are often burdened with their own personal, social, and economic problems. These parents are often very difficult to reach and counsel effectively. A persistent long-term outreach support effort by the CBYA in cooperation with other agencies must be initiated when appropriate. The CBYA worker can aid parents of gang members by having them meet together to share problems of parenting and supervising their gang offspring. These groups can also become mutual-aid or crisis-intervention groups when gang conflict threatens or flares up. Youth gang members must be assisted if they need to leave, at least temporarily, disorganized family situations. The CBYA worker should work closely with the child welfare agency and the court as well as the youth and his family when this process is undertaken.

**Training and employment.** The CBYA worker can assist schools, community organizations, and employers to prepare youth for employment at the CBYA facility. The CBYA should help with referral and support services if programs such as introduction to the world of work and training programs already exist in the community. In some cases, the CBYA can develop small entrepreneurial operations, employing gang members, preferably in collaboration with established businesses. Collaboration with schools in the development of job banks and apprenticeship opportunities may also be necessary. Of special importance is the focus on those gang members in greatest need of basic academic and vocational problem-solving skills and job development services.

**Social control.** The CBYA must learn to accept and take on new roles of deterrence, supervision, and suppression in helping youth gang members and those prone to gangs. In this process, key links with police, probation and parole, and the courts must be developed. Youth gang members and their families should come to view the CBYA worker not only as a helping agent but as a possible link to authoritative or criminal justice agencies that will not hesitate to report gang-related behavior and help with certain activities such as surveillance or patrol. The agency's supervisory or deterrent role should be based on the traditional socialization function of the CBYA to help the individual mature and develop socially within the framework of the conventional values of the neighborhood and a democratic society.

**Community mobilization and agency coordination.** The CBYA in some communities may be ideally situated to observe and articulate the problems and needs of the community, especially those of its youth gang members. The CBYA should then attempt to rally other agencies and community groups to action, especially if the agency has a track record of working with youth gangs and can demonstrate credibility with diverse parts of the community. It may act as a moderating force where others might be inclined to overreact to gang members and their crimes of violence. In communities in which gang

**P**arents of gang members are often burdened with their own problems.

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**G**rassroots

organizations should be concerned with the gang problem.

problems are emerging, CBYA's should attempt, particularly in conjunction with schools, to mobilize community efforts to deal with the problem. In communities with chronic gang problems, the role of the CBYA should probably be relatively more closely linked to criminal justice agencies, particularly probation.

CBYA's should be staffed by mature individuals—professionals and neighborhood residents—who are strongly motivated to serve and have the capacity and skills to work with gang members and with community group and organizational representatives. Training efforts should focus not only on work with youth gang members but on the integration of CBYA services with those of other agencies, especially criminal justice and grassroots organizations. The broad-scale approach of the CBYA to the youth gang problem should be tested in two stages: in the earlier period to ensure that specific objectives, services, and processes are properly developed; and in the later outcome stage to determine whether specific strategies and programs do indeed lead to a lowering of the gang crime rate.

## **Grassroots organizations**

The grassroots organization is a traditional American response to a range of problems that affect the local community's welfare and development. Such associations or organizations are based on citizen concern and can be used not only to mobilize local energy and resources but to compel outside interest and concern, usually by government. In most cases these organizations closely identify with a specific population. They emphasize local citizen participation. Grassroots organizations can play a significant role in the control of gang crime. These organizations include block clubs, neighborhood improvement associations, tenant organizations, parents or mothers groups, citizen patrols, local business, fraternal and other civic organizations, churches and church-sponsored groups, social agencies, political organizations and activists, and multifunctional community organizations.

Grassroots organizations should be concerned, directly or indirectly, with the gang problem in their communities, often the tip of a more complex set of serious local concerns. The local organization serves to connect the individual citizen, family, and even gang members with the norms, values, and resources of the larger society. The grassroots organization should pursue a variety of strategies toward stimulating and integrating citizen and community efforts to resolve the gang problem. Specifically, the key strategies should be a mix of community mobilization, organizational development, and suppression.

Community mobilization may be viewed as a strategy uniquely fitted to the interests and capacities of the grassroots organization. A key objective should be to develop clear and reliable information about the gang problem. The organization has to be aggressive in its efforts to gather data, interpret the problem, and determine what should be done. While the organization should conduct or participate in a series of community meetings to assess and plan programs to deal with the problem in collaborative interagency terms, it must also take

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proactive leadership in influencing certain key authorities to see the moral and political necessity of addressing the problem with meaningful and programmatic policy.

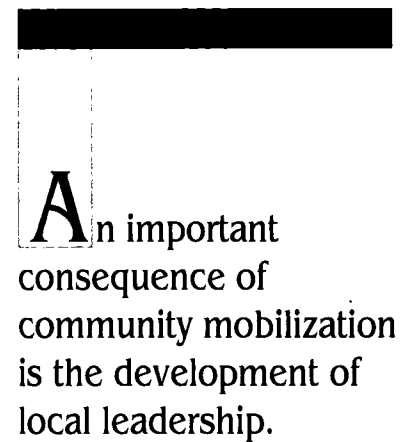
While the grassroots organization may contribute to collaborative programs, it may also need to challenge public and nonprofit agencies over issues of racism, agency corruption, staff incompetence, and lack of resources, which contribute to the failure to resolve the gang problem. Some of the tactics of these organizations can arouse citizen and agency feelings and reactions. They may cut through citizen apathy and agency routine. Most important they can be useful in stimulating community participation and the development of constructive policies and programs to deal with specific gang situations.

A variety of mechanisms, techniques, and direct actions are available to the grassroots organization to affect change in established organizational policy and programs, and to hold the organization accountable for performance of mandated or agreed-upon functions. The community organization should facilitate the development of interagency task forces, coordinating councils, and advisory committees containing a range of criminal justice and community-based agencies as well as citizen groups. The special mission of the grassroots organization should be to use these broader community councils to educate and persuade agencies to actively, intelligently, and beneficially resolve the problem on behalf of the local community. The grassroots organization will need to monitor and test continually the value of agency programs that result from these communitywide, interagency associations.

One important consequence of community mobilization and special local organizational arrangements to address the youth gang problem should be the development of local citizen leadership. A variety of organizing and management skills can be learned, such as how to efficiently marshal pickets or persuade local legislators to vote for or against a particular gang-related measure, how to conduct meetings or interagency negotiations, and how to develop cooperative community group and agency agreements in regard to gang programs.

The neighborhood organization is in a uniquely advantageous position to mobilize formal authority as well as direct local citizen or street-level controls over youth gang members. Because of its contacts with official agents of control, particularly police and other justice system representatives, and its knowledge of community, the neighborhood or local grassroots organization should be especially effective in targeting and controlling particular gangs and youth gang members. While local citizens should sometimes be mobilized for direct defensive and offensive activities against gangs, these efforts should be planned and carried out in cooperation with established or official authorities; for example, in collaboration with the local police, probation, or community-based youth agencies. Local parents, residents, and former youth gang members, collectively or individually, are useful in persuading and counseling gang members to cease their violent activities.

The needs for training of staff and volunteers in grassroots, gang-related projects can be extensive depending on the particular tasks required. Special workshop and short-term training conferences should be directed to such issues



**A**n important consequence of community mobilization is the development of local leadership.

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**A** primary research consideration is the measurement of the community's capacity to mobilize.

as the genesis of specific community gang problems and the extent to which particular community conditions contribute to the problem. Techniques for working with gang members, their parents, and community agencies addressing the problem should be developed.

To determine the effectiveness of grassroots projects dealing with the youth gang problem, the numbers of people who participate in such projects and the extent to which community actions are associated with a decline or change in the character of the problem need to be assessed. Although a full-scale evaluation of the grassroots organization's contribution to the control of gang crime is probably not possible without a variety of community comparisons and careful research controls, valuable insights for planning future community gang-control programs can be obtained by documenting their organization and effectiveness in reducing gang crime. A primary research consideration is the measurement of the community's capacity to mobilize itself and construct a mechanism to address the problem.



- Researchers
- Planners
- Policymakers



More detailed information about this study and issues surrounding youth gangs is available through the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

The full 195-page report *Gang Suppression and Intervention: An Assessment* discusses in detail the study's findings and its design and research methodologies. The full report is useful for conducting further research, making planning decisions, or drafting policy.

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# Gang Suppression and Intervention: Problem and Response

## Research Summary

Research  
Summary

A Publication of the  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

# Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

**Research and Program Development Division** develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

**Training and Technical Assistance Division** provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

**Special Emphasis Division** provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

**State Relations and Assistance Division** supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

**Information Dissemination and Planning Unit** informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit's activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

**Concentration of Federal Efforts Program** promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

**Missing and Exploited Children Program** seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 43 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

OJJDP provides leadership, direction, and resources to the juvenile justice community to help prevent and control delinquency throughout the country.



# **Gang Suppression and Intervention: Problem and Response**

## **Research Summary**

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Points of view or opinions expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of OJJDP or the U.S. Department of Justice.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

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# Foreword

Youth gangs and the problems associated with them were once thought to concern a relatively small number of major metropolitan areas whose gang troubles go back to the days of *West Side Story*.

No longer. As the challenge posed by gangs extends to a greater number of cities and to communities of more modest proportions, the need for comprehensive community efforts to address emerging and chronic gang problems intensifies.

Dr. Irving Spergel and his colleagues at the University of Chicago have conducted the first comprehensive national survey of organized agency and community group responses to gang problems in the United States. Their study is the only national assessment of efforts to combat gangs.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is funding a multi-site demonstration of the Comprehensive Community-Wide Approach to Gang Prevention, Intervention, and Suppression Program. The program uses the model developed by Dr. Spergel and his colleagues. An independent evaluation will also be funded. OJJDP's National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program is establishing a National Gang Assessment Resource Center and will provide technical assistance and training services to program sites across the country.

This Summary presents the results of the study team's assessment of youth gang problems and responses across the United States. It demonstrates the need for effective gang suppression and intervention programs. We believe this assessment will help local juvenile justice and law enforcement agencies achieve these goals.

**John J. Wilson**

*Acting Administrator*

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention



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# ● Preface

This summary integrates the findings of seven data collection and research phases conducted in the initial assessment of the National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program. The three primary reports are:

1. *Gang Suppression and Intervention: An Assessment.*
2. *Survey of Youth Gang Problems and Programs in 45 Cities and 6 Sites.*
3. *Community and Institutional Responses to the Youth Gang Problem: Case Studies Based on Field Visits and Other Materials.*

In view of the complexity of the youth gang problem, to prepare more effectively for prototype development, technical assistance and training, and implementation, four additional reports were developed:

4. *Report of the Law Enforcement Youth Gang Symposium.*
5. *Law Enforcement Definitional Conference — Transcript.*
6. *The Youth Gang Problem: Perceptions of Former Youth Gang Influentials. Transcripts of Two Symposia.*
7. *Client Evaluation of Youth Gang Services.*

The purpose of the initial assessment is to determine the scope of the youth gang problem, to review the response, and to examine promising approaches for combating the gang problem.

For availability/ordering information for the reports listed above, as well as other youth gang reports and products, contact the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse at 800-638-8736.





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## Scope of the problem

Because research has been limited and because researchers have no real consensus on the definition of a gang or gang incident, the scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem are not reliably known. Law enforcement and media reports suggest that criminal youth gangs are active in nearly every State, including Alaska and Hawaii, as well as in Puerto Rico and other territories. Youth gangs exist in large, mid-size, and small communities and in suburban areas. They may be present in one city but absent or less active in another seemingly similar community. Gangs operate in city, county, State, and Federal detention and corrections facilities. They operate in the vicinity of many schools, generally carrying out their activities near rather than within schools.

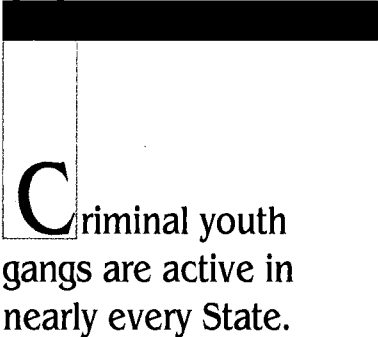
Youth gangs and gang incidents are defined in different ways in different communities. Researchers who conducted a survey of 45 cities and 6 sites found that the most frequently mentioned elements of a definition include certain group or organizational characteristics, such as symbols and a range of criminal activities, particularly violence and drug use and sales. Of 35 discrete cities and jurisdictions with organized programs to combat emerging and chronic gang problems, law enforcement officials estimated that the United States has some 1,439 gangs and 120,636 gang members. African Americans (54.6 percent) and Hispanics (32.6 percent), mainly Mexican Americans, were the major racial/ethnic groups in the gang populations reported by law enforcement officials.

Two-thirds of the law enforcement respondents in our survey perceived gangs as affiliated across neighborhoods, cities, or States. They stated that 75 percent of youth gang members had prior police records and that 11.3 percent of FBI index crimes in their jurisdictions were committed by youth gang members. However, the gang problem is not limited to juveniles; adults were reported to be involved in 45.6 percent of youth gang incidents.

Although gang members with arrest records were responsible for a disproportionate amount of violent crime, the proportion of total violent crime committed by gang members is still estimated to be fairly low. However, statistics on violent crimes committed by gang members depended in large measure on the local definitions of gang incidents.

Key aspects of youth gang behavior are its prevalence in violent crimes, such as homicide and aggravated assault, and its concentration in certain types of neighborhoods. Gang homicides, using a broad and inclusive definition, such as that used in Los Angeles, have ranged between 25 and 30 percent of all of the city's homicides in recent years. In a city with a more restrictive definition of gang incidents, such as Chicago, the average is about 10 percent.

The close relationship of gangs, violence, and a significant crime problem are most evident, however, when the criminal records of youth gang members are compared with those youths who are not in gangs. Youth gang membership is associated with significantly higher levels of delinquency and index crimes. The rate of violent offenses for gang members is three times as high as for nongang delinquents. Even gang members without delinquency records have higher adjusted frequencies of hidden delinquency than do nongang youth with



**C**riminal youth gangs are active in nearly every State.

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**G**angs have different types of members: core members, fringe members, and "wannabees."

delinquent records. Gang membership appears to prolong the extent and seriousness of criminal careers.

Recent evidence shows that a growing proportion of gang youth use and sell drugs. Currently, some youth gangs (more cliques within gangs or former gang members) are heavily engaged in street sales of drugs, and are involved in some mid-level drug distribution. However, the growth of drug dealing by gang and former gang members is insufficient to account for the greatly increased sale and use of drugs in many inner-city communities.

Although individual gang members may be involved in violent activities that are related to drug use or sale, the existence of a causal relationship between gang-related violence and drug use and sale is unclear. Tough competition for drug markets may increase the likelihood of gang conflict, but most gang homicides still appear to grow out of traditional turf wars.

Law enforcement officials who view drug trafficking to be a primary purpose of the gangs said in the survey that trafficking is more characteristic of black than Hispanic gangs. When drug dealing is regarded as a primary purpose of the youth gang, a higher percentage of index crime in the community is attributed to gangs. Gangs that are affiliated across neighborhoods, cities, or States were also viewed as more likely to be connected with adult criminal organizations.

Such gangs are regarded as likely to be engaged in both street and higher level drug trafficking, such as transporting drugs across jurisdictions. Nevertheless, it is likely that drug selling or trafficking opportunities have more to do with the development of a serious criminal youth gang problem, than the presence of youth gangs has a significant influence on the general drug problem.

## **Characteristics of gang structure**

Although gangs appear to be more highly structured than delinquent groups, they may still be regarded as loosely organized. Some gangs base their membership on age and others on geographic area, such as neighborhoods. Some gangs are part of larger structures and alliances known as "nations." Estimates of gang size range from four or five members to thousands in a gang or gang conglomerate. Analysts often disagree on the size of gangs, in part because their studies are conducted at different times and different locations.

Gangs have different types of members: core members—including gang leaders, associates or regulars, peripheral or fringe members, and "wannabees" or recruits. The core may be regarded as an inner clique that determines the basic nature and level of gang activity. The extent to which gang members maintain long-term roles and specific positions is not clear. For example, some members join for a short period. A youth may switch membership from one gang to another for various reasons. In general, core members are more involved in delinquent or criminal activities than fringe members.

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In recent decades, the age range of gang members appears to have expanded, particularly at the upper end. Members remain in gangs longer to pursue economic gain through increasingly serious criminal acts. Extreme gang violence is concentrated in the older teen and young adult age range. The average age of the arrested gang offender is 17 or 18. The average age of the gang homicide offender is 19 or 20 and the victim a year or two older, at least in cities with large, chronic gang problems.

The evidence is overwhelming that males are almost exclusively responsible for gang-related crime, particularly violent offenses. About 5 percent or fewer of reported gang crime appears to be committed by females. Male gang members are estimated to outnumber females by 20 to 1; however, half or more of the youth or street gangs may have female auxiliaries or affiliates. Some gangs are composed of both genders, but a very small number are unaffiliated female gangs.

Females are likely to join gangs at a younger age and leave earlier. Female involvement in gangs is less substantial than male involvement; young women's criminal behavior is related—directly or indirectly—to that of the dominant male pattern. Contrary to myth, female gang members are more likely to play a positive role, tempering the behavior of male gang members rather than inciting male gang members to violent or criminal activity.

Gang socialization processes vary by age, context, and situation, including access to alternative roles. Reasons for joining gangs include a need or wish for recognition, status, safety or security, power, excitement, and new experience. Youth raised under conditions of social deprivation are particularly drawn to gangs. Many youth view joining a gang as normal and respectable, even when the consequence is a series of delinquent and violent acts. Gang affiliation may constitute part of an expected socialization process in certain communities when they are viewed as embodying such values as honor, loyalty, and fellowship. The gang is seen as an extension of the family and as contributing to the development of the clan. For some youth, joining a gang may result from a process of rational calculation in which the objectives are the achievement of security or gaining financial benefits. For some youth, gangs may provide sanction, contacts, and experience that will lead to adult criminal pursuits.

## **Social contexts**

Rapid urban population change, community disintegration, increasing poverty (relative and absolute), and social isolation contribute to institutional failures and the consequent development of youth gangs. The interplay of social disorganization and lack of access to legitimate resources, in particular, figure in the development of seriously deviant groups. Families, schools, politics, organized crime, and prisons impact gang patterns.

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**G**ang socialization varies by age, context, and situation.

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**G**ang membership may be traditional among certain inner-city families.

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## **Family**

Family disorganization, such as single-parent families or conflict between parents, does not as such predict gang membership. A variety of other variables must accompany a weak family structure to produce a gang problem youth, including aggressive need dispositions at critical social development stages and the availability of a peer group that does not fully support family and school. Thus, although youth gang membership may not be explicitly acceptable, it may be traditional among certain inner-city families. The extent to which some families condone or implicitly approve participation in the gang may be a contributing factor, particularly if the youth contributes to the family financially.

## **Schools**

A youth gang member is likely to be a youth who has done poorly in school and has little identification with school staff. He does not like school and uses school more for gang-related than academic or social learning purposes. Few schools directly address gang-related problems or factors that precipitate gang membership. By and large, gang violence does not erupt in schools, although gang recruitment and especially planning of gang activities may occur on school grounds and may be carried out after school is dismissed.

Not all schools in areas of low-income or even high gang crime are touched by gang development or gang crime. Some schools—perhaps because of stronger leadership and more stable and concerned learning environments—do a better job of sustaining student interest and achievement. Consequently, these schools have lower rates of gang problems.

## **Politics**

A symbiotic relationship develops between politicians and gangs in certain low-income communities, particularly those in the process of considerable demographic or political change. Political aspirants who have a weak base of support and who are short of manpower sometimes call on youth gang members to perform a variety of tasks needed to compete in local politics. These tasks include obtaining signatures on petitions, putting up or tearing down election posters, browbeating voters, and getting voters out to the polling place.

Gangs are used by a variety of organizations at times of urban or organizational disorder to try to control disruption or the outbreak of a riot, and thus to stabilize volatile community situations. Gangs and gang members have received income, acceptance, status, and occasionally a limited degree of influence for their services.

## **Organized crime**

Violent and criminal subcultures probably became more integrated in the 1980's than they were in the 1950's or 1960's, as newer minority groups entered organized crime. Greater competition among nascent criminal organizations, the relative increase in numbers of older youth and adults in gangs, and

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the expanded street-level drug market probably further contributed to the integration of violence and criminal gain activity.

Several observers suggest a close relationship between youth gang members and adults involved in organized crime. Adult criminals may follow the street reputations of youngsters and gradually draw young gang members into criminal networks. Many youth gangs and cliques within gangs may become subunits of organized crime for purposes of drug distribution, car theft, extortion, and burglary.

## Prisons

Prison gangs and street gangs are interdependent. The prison or training school may be regarded both as facilitating and responding to gang problems. In most States, prison gangs are outgrowths of street gangs, but evidence indicates that gangs formed in prison may emigrate to the streets. Incarceration, although generally a short-term response to a specific crime, has led to increased gang cohesion and membership recruitment in many institutions, and it may indirectly worsen the problem in the streets. Development of gangs in prisons is attributed in part to certain officials who give recognition to gangs as organizations and who try to work with them to maintain institutional control.

## Emerging and chronic gang problems

Visits to various cities experiencing youth gang problems and to intervention programs that show promise enabled researchers to delineate more sharply some differences between emerging and chronic youth gang problems. The beginnings of youth gang problems, particularly since 1980, seem to have certain similarities in different cities.

Youth are observed congregating (hanging out) at certain locations within low-income communities. These small and amorphous groups have lines of membership that are unclear. Distinctive features of the traditional youth gang—gang names, colors, signs, symbols, graffiti, turf, and particular criminal patterns, such as intimidation, gang assaults, and drive-by shootings are not well developed. The distinction between an ad hoc delinquent group and a better organized youth gang is not easily made at this time.

With the passage of time, sometimes a brief period, characteristic youth gang behavior surfaces. Youth gangs clash. They commit property crime, especially vandalism and graffiti, in and around schools and at hangouts. Burglary, car theft, and narcotics use become more clearly associated with particular individuals or cliques. Tensions between increasingly organized youth groups result in stepped-up recruitment of members.

Assaults are more frequent at shopping and recreation centers, sporting events, and other spots favored by youth. Some of the violence results in stabbings, shootings, and homicides. Fear and concern permeate certain sectors of the community and the media pay greater attention. The youth gang problem

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**P**rison gangs and street gangs are interdependent.

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**M**ost new gangs are not franchises.

crystallizes as it assumes crisis proportions and as police, politicians, schools, and other agencies and community groups take more action.

Leaders in cities with emerging gang problem cities may assert at first that the problem is imported from outside, from gangs in other cities. Indeed, gang leaders have arrest records in other cities. However, it is usually clear that most new youth gangs are not franchises nor developed as part of a calculated expansion for status or economic gain purposes.

Instead, the emigration of gangs to communities that had been free of them appears to result from the movement of low-income families out of inner cities into communities with improved housing, employment opportunities, and a better life for their children. Youth in these families may have been gang members or prone to gang membership. As newcomers, these youth may seek the status and the protection of gang membership in the new community, often at school, in part because indigenous youth often are hostile to newcomers.

Some community leaders in these cities argue that local youth with or without the presence of outsiders were ready to participate in gangs because of deteriorating family, school, social, and economic conditions. A later stage in the emergence of youth gangs is the development of a serious drug trade problem, often involving crack cocaine. A gang's involvement usually occurs within 2 or 3 years after a city discovers that it has a youth gang problem. Traditional youth gang patterns become muted or almost disappear. The relationship of youth gang members to drug trafficking and other more organized criminal activities grows more difficult to detect.

The situation may be even more complex in cities with chronic problems, such as violence, turf protection, gang symbols, and recruitment. In cities where gangs are established, cycles of organized gang activity, including retaliatory killings, are followed by periods of relative tranquility as older, more serious offenders are imprisoned. In time, the offenders return to their gangs and some resume patterns of gang violence or they may stimulate the development of new gangs and recruit younger gang members. Succeeding generations of youth create different patterns of gang-related deviance. For instance, drug use, vandalism, and satanism may become popular.

But in due course, youth absorbed in these activities may shift and integrate into traditional forms of youth gang violence. Drug trafficking and other adult criminal patterns are most readily developed in areas of chronic poverty and in minority ghettos or enclaves. The adult criminal systems in these areas serve to reinforce youth gang patterns, probably more indirectly than directly. Youth gangs serve as a basis for recruitment and even a potential infrastructure for the development of adult criminal enterprises.

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## Strategic responses

Five basic strategies have evolved in dealing with youth gangs: (1) neighborhood mobilization; (2) social intervention, especially youth outreach and work with street gangs; (3) provision for social and economic opportunities, such as special school and job programs; (4) gang suppression and incarceration; (5) and an organizational development strategy, such as police gang and specialized probation units. Since these strategies are often mixed, it is useful to incorporate them into two general organizational approaches: a traditional, limited bureaucratic or unidimensional professional approach and an evolving rational, comprehensive, community-centered approach.

The neighborhood mobilization approach to the delinquent group or gang, which evolved in the 1920's and 1930's, was an early attempt to bind together local citizens, social institutions, and the criminal justice system together in a variety of informal, and later, formal ways. Neighborhood adults and youth agencies often worked to socialize youth in general and did not specifically target delinquent or gang youth. These efforts led to the development of the social intervention approach—a more sophisticated outreach to street gangs in the 1940's and 1950's.

Adherents of this approach viewed youth gangs as a relatively normal phenomena in socially deprived communities, and believed that youth gang members could be redirected through social intervention steps, such as counseling, recreation, group work, and social service referrals. A variety of research evaluations indicate that this approach as such does not reduce delinquent activity and that it in fact may contribute to increased cohesion and criminalization of the gang.

An opportunities provision approach developed in the 1960's, but did not specifically target the youth gang problem. Great concern with rising rates of delinquency, unemployment, and school failure of inner-city youth in the late 1950's led to a series of large scale resource infusions and in the 1960's to innovative programs designed to change institutional structures and reduce poverty. Although programs such as Head Start and Job Corps appeared to have had a positive effect on reducing delinquency, it is not clear to what extent these programs addressed the youth gang problem. In fact, evidence indicated a rise in the scope and seriousness of the gang problem in several cities in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

A new strategy, suppression, appears to have emerged in the 1970's and 1980's and remains prevalent today. The dominance of a suppression strategy can be related to several factors: the decline of local community and youth outreach efforts, at least with respect to the youth gang problem; the insufficiency of opportunity provision approaches to target or modify gang structures; the changing structure of a labor market that can no longer adequately absorb unskilled and poorly educated older youth gang members; and the consequent increased criminalization and sophistication of youth gangs.

These factors have resulted in the reliance on a law enforcement-dominated suppression approach. Youth gangs are increasingly viewed as dangerous and

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**T**he mission of prosecutors is conviction of gang offenders.

evil, a collecting place for sociopaths that most social institutions could not rehabilitate. Community protection has become a key goal. Vigorous law enforcement was required. Gang members, especially leaders and serious offenders, are increasingly arrested, prosecuted, and removed from the community to serve long prison sentences.

## **Institutional responses**

### **Police**

Law enforcement agencies have pursued an increasingly sophisticated suppression approach to youth gangs, including surveillance, stakeouts, aggressive patrol and arrest, followup investigations, intelligence gathering, coupled with some prevention and community relations activities. Police have created complex data and information systems and improved coordination among law enforcement.

However, no systematic evaluation of varied police approaches has been conducted. Although it is possible that relying solely on suppression may stop gang violence in smaller cities or those with emerging gang problems (usually accompanied by an increase in gang-related drug trafficking), researchers have discovered little evidence that relying primarily on suppression has reduced the gang problem in large cities such as Los Angeles.

Some police departments have developed community-oriented strategies, with considerable attention to community collaboration, social intervention, and even opportunity enhancement. Some police officers assigned to the gang problem have directly provided counseling, job development and referral, and tutoring, and have engaged in extensive community relations and development activities. In some cities where these more complex approaches have been tried, some evidence shows a decline in the youth gang problem. But again, it is not clear whether the decline was due to changed police strategies or alternate but unrelated structural changes in the community environment, such as more legitimate jobs becoming available or greater access to income producing drug trafficking.

### **Prosecution**

The primary mission of prosecutors is successful prosecution, conviction, and incarceration of gang offenders. Prosecutors have focused on serious gang offenders in vertical prosecution arrangements in which a single prosecutor follows a case through from start to finish. As a result, the rate of conviction and incarceration has increased. Researchers argue that the gang prosecutor's approach has become more specialized and somewhat more community oriented with an increased understanding of gang norms and behaviors and the community factors that influence them.

At the same time, the vertical prosecution approach can be broadened to include preventive and social intervention strategies, particularly for younger offenders.



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These may include community development activities and social service referrals. Constitutional questions need to be resolved as State law and gang prosecutors increasingly define gangs as criminal organizations, putting gang members at special risk of arrest and enhanced sentencing.

## **Judiciary**

The court has directed little attention to special approaches for dealing with juvenile or youth gang offenders. Instead, the judiciary emphasized a get-tough strategy, and more often removal of the serious juvenile gang offender from the jurisdiction of the juvenile and family court. However, some judges try to use the court as a basis for a community-oriented approach in which a variety of community, school, family, and justice system organizations concentrate efforts to address the special needs of the youth gang member. Although many judges pursue a broad social rehabilitation or protective approach with respect to abused and neglected children and minor offenders, little consideration is given to adapting such an approach for juvenile gang offenders.

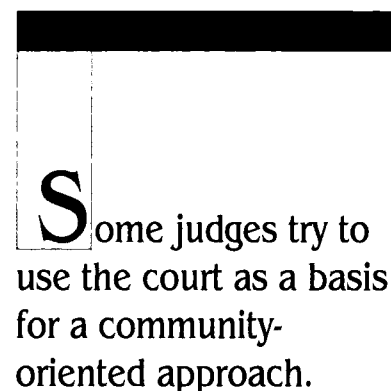
## **Probation/parole**

Most probation departments and parole units have not given special attention to the gang problem, particularly through special units and procedural arrangements. However, innovative approaches have been developed, for example, in Los Angeles, San Jose, San Diego, and Orange County in California. The specialized programs emphasize suppression in collaboration with law enforcement, and to a lesser extent close coordination with community-based youth service agencies. These programs may involve vertical case management and intensive supervision.

A few probation and parole units have experimented with combinations of individual and group counseling, remedial education and alternative school arrangements, employment training, job placement, and residential care. An integrated outreach crisis intervention youth service program combined efforts with a discrete probation unit and a variety of community groups associated with a reduction of the youth gang problem in Philadelphia in the 1970's and 1980's. The Gang Violence Reduction Program of East Los Angeles, part of the California Youth Authority, uses former gang members and a strong community involvement strategy, which was also reported to be successful.

## **Corrections**

Traditional suppression still predominates in most prisons, including swift reaction to and forceful prevention of gang activities via special lockup arrangements, and the movement of gang leaders from one prison or prison system to another. A comprehensive community-based approach is more likely to be developed in a youth correctional institution. This approach provides for close coordination with a variety of law enforcement and community-based agencies, better communication between correctional officers, and inmates.



**S**ome judges try to use the court as a basis for a community-oriented approach.

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**S**chools may be the best resource for gang prevention.

It increases institutional social opportunities for positive inmate development and change, including employment training and work programs. Evidence for the beginning of a more comprehensive and promising long-term approach exists in some of the programs of the California Youth Authority and in the Ethan Allen School for Boys in the Division of Corrections, Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services.

## **Schools**

Public schools, especially middle schools, are potentially the best community resource for the prevention of and early intervention into youth gang problems. The peak recruitment period for gang members is probably between 5th and 8th grade, when youth are doing poorly in class and are in danger of dropping out. Most schools, overwhelmed by other concerns, tend to ignore or deny the problem.

When circumstances force schools to recognize the presence of youth gang problems in and around schools, their first reaction is to beef up police, school security. Probation and youth service agencies may be invited to develop gang prevention programs in the schools. Otherwise school programs receive little restructuring, including the targeting of high-risk gang youth for special supervision and remedial education.

Sometimes probation officers have established in schools special outreach programs that involve parent education, family counseling, and referral. Special antigang curriculums for children in the early elementary grades are usually taught by representatives of outside agencies. Although evidence suggests that these curricular efforts are successful in changing attitudes of youth about gangs, it is not clear that behavior of youth who are already gang members is also changed. A variety of school antidrug programs, with some attention to gang issues, is being tested in California, Oregon, and elsewhere.

## **Community organizations**

Ad hoc, sometimes ephemeral local community efforts have developed in recent years to deal specifically with the youth gang problem. Some of these efforts are variations of more general citizen crime control and prevention programs. Whether limited citizen participation can be effective is questionable where the risks of intimidation by gang members are high.

Nevertheless, a variety of proactive and militant local citizen groups have formed to deal with the problem, sometimes with the aid and supervision of the local police. Such groups patrol streets, supervise social events, and monitor students in school buildings. Some of the groups have taken on a vigilante character and do not shrink from interrupting drug deals, holding offenders until the police are called, and even shooting at gang members on occasion.

In an earlier period, some resident groups attempted to mediate gang disputes when youth gang activity was a little less lethal and criminalized because of the involvement of fewer adults and the absence of drug trafficking. Mothers'

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groups were active in preventing gang conflict in Philadelphia. A number of cities have similar groups somewhat analogous to the Mothers Against Drunk Driving.

Their members provide mutual support for parents whose children are victims of gang violence. They lecture in the schools, advocate stricter gun control, and pressure police and other agencies to focus greater attention on the gang problem. Although it is doubtful that such groups alone can make a decisive difference, evidence—in Philadelphia and East Los Angeles—indicates that local community groups can make a positive difference. To do so, they require close coordination with schools, police, churches, and youth agencies.

## Employment

Although evidence indicates that gang youth prefer decent paying jobs to gang life, training and employment programs have not adequately targeted gang youth. Most policymakers and practitioners familiar with the problem believe that part-time and full-time jobs would be effective in pulling youth away from gangs and socializing them to conventional careers. However, youth gang members generally lack the vocational skills and appropriate social attitudes and habits to hold jobs.

A variety of social support, remedial education, and supervision strategies appear to be required to make job and training programs directed to gang youth successful. Some local projects, combining business and public sector interests and resources, have been promising. Examples include the San Jose Youth Conservation Corps experiment closely connected with the Juvenile Court, and a somewhat similar project recently initiated in Dane County, Wisconsin.

A long running program in El Monte, California, involved police and the Boys' Club, along with business and industry in extensive job development and placement efforts directed to gang youth and their families. These projects involve intensive efforts to prepare and sustain gang youth on the job. Recent U.S. Labor Department efforts to create comprehensive community-based job training and placement programs targeted to a variety of socially deprived youth, including gang youth, may also prove to be promising.

## Policies and procedures

A survey covering 45 cities and 6 sites, mainly correctional institutions with organized programs, examined policies and procedures employed by agencies and community groups to deal with the youth gang problem. The 254 experienced and knowledgeable policymakers and administrators contacted included police, prosecutors, judges, probation, parole, corrections officers, school personnel, youth agency and social service staff, grassroots representatives, and community planners.

A variety of criminal justice and community-based organizations currently respond to the youth gang problem; nevertheless, law enforcement is still the

**E**vidence indicates that gang youth would prefer decent paying jobs to gang life.

**L**aw enforcement is the dominant response to the youth gang problem.

dominant response. The structure of the police response differs from that of other agencies. Police departments are usually larger in size and can allocate more resources to the problem. An explicit, formal, and increasingly specialized approach tends to characterize law enforcement programs, including specially organized gang units, written policies, special training, and increasingly sophisticated data collection systems.

However, police are less likely to have interdepartmental or external program advisory structures than other agencies; still, the police tend to participate extensively in communitywide coordinating or task force efforts. In those jurisdictions where promising approaches exist, organizations have special policy and training arrangements that addressed the gang problem.

Internal agency arrangements across units, related to policies, procedures, and coordinating mechanisms, are reasonably well interrelated. However, a negative relationship exists between the presence of a special gang unit or program in an agency and the external advisory program structures for that unit or program.

Possibly when an organization has made a special commitment to dealing with the youth gang problem, it does not want anyone from outside of the agency examining its policies and procedures or advising what they should be. However, this attitude may prevent effective outcomes, as indicated below.

In general, the presence of special programs, units, policies, and activities directed to the youth gang problem is associated (statistically) with a worsening gang problem. Agencies are especially responsive, when gangs infiltrate neighborhoods or cities, and when youth gangs are perceived to be affiliated with adult criminal organizations. Generally, no specific policy or program arrangements appear to be related to a decrease in the youth gang problem over time, with one exception.

Survey data indicate that a significant relationship exists between a lowering of the gang problem and the presence of an external advisory structure (but not internal agency coordination mechanisms or interagency task force or communitywide coordination arrangements). The existence of such structures was significantly correlated with a variety of indicators of a reduced youth gang problem.

The indicators include lower numbers of gangs and fewer gang members, smaller gang size, lower percent of gang incidents involving adults, and lower percent of gang members in the community with police records. However, an external program advisory structure is not associated with a reduction in the more serious or criminal aspects of the gang problem, including reduced presence of outside gangs, adult involvement in youth gangs, or drug trafficking.

Analysts are not certain how to interpret this single set of statistically significant findings. Possibly the presence of an external program advisory group causes a high degree of participation and accountability in the formation and implementation of community and interagency antigang programs. Internal coordination

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within agency or communitywide coordination may not signify as strong a commitment to community mobilization as programs that are held accountable for their performance.

## Promising approaches

Participants from 14 cities or jurisdictions at a recent law enforcement conference were asked to describe their involvement with other agencies or community groups to address gang activity and to assess the results of these efforts. Two principal approaches to gang intervention were evident in the discussions: suppression and cooperation with community-based support programs.


## Suppression

A strong targeted law enforcement presence was seen as essential to the department's mission of stemming violence. Targeting high-incidence areas and deploying the same officers to those areas for an extended period of time was considered essential. Effective suppression was based on gathering and organizing intelligence information on youth gangs and their members. Law enforcement officers were specifically trained and experienced to recognize gang problems in particular parts of the city. The police also were able to communicate with gang members in a positive way. Several departments worked closely with vertical prosecution units in their county district attorney's office.

Police departments ensured that judges were aware of the gang affiliations of defendants before sentencing. These efforts resulted in large numbers of gang members being imprisoned. In at least three cities, targeted suppression, in combination with other justice and community interventions, caused a reduction in gang violence. One large city department described its policy on gangs as follows: Three units are spread throughout the city and are in operation 7 days a week. Each unit has tactical and crime specialist officers.

The tactical officers, in uniform or plain clothes, are given directed missions on a day-to-day basis. The gang crime specialists do more investigative followup of crimes. They write gang histories and prepare cases for trial. A monthly report is prepared based on statistics on type of crime, location of crime and district of occurrence. The gang crime unit works closely to assist the district commander with information on gangs and to supplement the commander's personnel in a given situation.

The gang unit uses the central records division to determine whether a person arrested is on probation or parole. If so, the proper authority is notified. The unit notifies the corrections department when a leader or core gang member is being set up. In turn, the prison authorities are expected to notify the gang unit when a high ranking gang member returns to the community or a potential gang problem may occur with that person's release.



**S**trong, targeted law enforcement is needed to stem violence.

**B**oth suppression and social intervention programs are needed to stop gang violence.

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## Support programs

A variety of community-based programs were thought to diminish the hold of gangs on their members or to lessen the chance that young people would join a gang. The police in some cities were directly involved in these efforts. These included:

- In-school antigang education programs that alert grade school youth to the consequences of gang membership and encourage their participation in positive alternative activities.
- Social agency crisis intervention teams to mediate disagreements between gangs. These teams work closely with police or probation officers to identify potential trouble spots, prevent gang retaliations, or resolve gang problems without violence.
- Alternative education programs to teach young people basic skills, which they may not have mastered while in school, and to prepare them for a GED or, where possible, higher education.
- Vocational training and job placement for gang members supported their efforts to hold jobs.
- Pairing of gang members with local businessmen (some of whom belonged to gangs at one time). These businessmen provide support and guidance as well as a positive role model to the gang member to channel energies into positive activities.
- Parent education classes and other programs that promote the family as a strong unit capable of providing young people with emotional support and supervision as well as clothing, food, and shelter.
- Instruction to school personnel, community residents, agency staff members, as well as criminal justice personnel and others on gang activities and their impact, signs and symbols, and the way to counter gang influence.

Although none of these approaches has been systematically evaluated, participants argued that both suppression and social intervention programs were needed to stop gang violence, draw members away from the gang, and provide them with alternatives to gangs. The age of gang members, degree of gang organization, and commitment to criminal activities should determine the appropriate mix of these strategies. Busing children to schools out of neighborhoods that had gang structures and traditions partially mitigated the problem, but this tactic could also spread the gang problem.

Gang cohesion generally was reduced and children were less committed to gangs. Participants felt that gangs were not the responsibility of one or two community institutions. All social institutions and community groups—police, courts, corrections, social service agencies, schools, parents, citizens—must work in concert to combat the rise and spread of gangs in their communities. The Philadelphia representative stressed the importance of total community involvement by all key actors in successful efforts to deal with the gang problem.

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## Effectiveness of intervention

This survey of 254 respondents in 45 communities and 6 sites described which strategies they believe hold the most promise in reducing the youth gang problem. The survey empirically elaborated the historical development of these five basic strategies into their current practice. It identified the components of these strategies across the agencies and community groups contacted.

They included, for example, grassroots participation and interagency networking as key to community mobilization; focus on individual youth behavioral and value change in social intervention; special focus on improved education, employment training, and job placement efforts targeted to gang youth in the opportunities provision strategy; arrest, incarceration, and close monitoring and supervision as characteristic of suppression across criminal justice agencies; and the presence of special gang units and programs as typical of an organizational development strategy.

Agencies in each of the cities employed these strategies in various combinations. A classification of primary strategies indicated that suppression was most frequently employed (44.0 percent), followed by social intervention (31.5 percent), organizational development (10.9 percent), community organization (8.9 percent), and opportunities provision (4.8 percent). Prosecutors and judges were most committed to the use of a suppression strategy.

Social agencies and grassroots organizations were most committed to the use of social intervention strategies. Chronic gang problem cities emphasized a broad range of approaches, combining community organization and suppression with social intervention strategies. Emerging gang problem cities were divided in their approaches; some focused primarily on community organization and organizational development, while others focused on suppression.

Based on cross-sectional survey data, analysts attempted to determine whether different strategies, policies, structures, and procedures lead to a perceived (and actual) reduction in gang crime. Only 23.1 percent of the police and 10.4 percent of nonpolice respondents believed that there had been an improvement in their communities' gang situation between 1980 and 1987. In only 17 of 45 cities or jurisdictions was there evidence of any level of improvement in the gang situation. In an independent external validity check of perceptions of improved gang problem situations, these perceptions were found to be associated with significantly fewer numbers of gangs, gang members, size of gangs, and a decline in the percent of total index crime attributed to youth gangs.

Analysts reported a lower incidence of serious gang crime, including drug selling. No evidence suggested that improvement was necessarily more likely to occur in large or small, chronic or emerging gang problem cities. Researchers found that no special policy or procedural development was associated with any of the perceived characteristics of an improved gang situation, with the exception of the presence of an external advisory group to a program.

On the other hand, respondents' ratings of how effective their agency or local interagency or task force efforts had been were far higher than their ratings of

**S**ocial agencies and grassroots groups are most committed to social intervention.

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**O**ver 40 percent of respondents see their agencies as very effective in dealing with gangs.

an improved gang problem situation. More than 40 percent of respondents saw their agencies as very effective in dealing with youth gangs.

Nevertheless, the three perceptual ratings—improved situation, agency effectiveness, and interagency effectiveness—were significantly intercorrelated. Consequently, a general effectiveness score was constructed and used as a basis for ranking cities on whether or not the gang problem had been successfully addressed. These rankings became a major basis for the selection of cities and institutions for field visits to inquire about which programs and approaches might be promising and could serve as models for other cities and institutions.

## **Aggregate analysis**

At this point, the analysis shifted from a mainly individual respondent level to an aggregate, or citywide respondent aggregated, level analysis. Survey personnel were particularly interested in whether approaches dealing with the problem might be more effective in one type of city than in another. First, they had to make sure that they had classified the cities reasonably well. In a series of discriminant analyses, they determined systematically that chronic problem cities were larger and characterized by greater proportions of Hispanic gang members. Emerging gang problem cities were more likely to be smaller and had higher proportions of black gang members.

Respondents in the smaller cities were more closely interconnected in networks of interagency and community group relationships. Programs in chronic problem cities were more likely to be characterized by social intervention and opportunity provision as primary strategies. Programs in emerging cities were more likely to exhibit community organization as a primary strategy.

The final step in the search for promising approaches was to construct causal models using multiple regression analyses. First, in chronic gang problem cities, survey personnel used the variable of a perceived improved gang situation as the dependent or outcome measure—probably the most valid of the three component measures of general effectiveness. As a result, they found in a probit regression analysis that the interaction of the strategies of community organization and opportunities provision was the single strongest predictor. It accounted for 40.2 percent of the variation in the dependent variable, perceived improvement in the gang situation.

The second significant predictor was the proportion of local respondents networking with each other in a city to address the youth gang problem. Together, these two predictors or independent variables accounted for almost 60 percent of the variance. Survey personnel were unable, however, using this procedure, to find variables or factors that predicted success in the emerging gang problem cities.

They turned next to use of the general effectiveness score as the dependent variable for measure of success. For the chronic gang problem cities, they achieved an extremely potent set of predictors. The two primary strategies



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of intervention—community organization and opportunities provision—combined with a consensus on the definition of gang incident in a community, accounted for 69 percent of the variance. The fourth variable that entered the regression equation was the proportion of agencies with an external advisory group.

Together, these four variables accounted for 82 percent of the variance in the general effectiveness score in chronic gang problem cities. The model for predicting general effectiveness in emerging gang problem cities was not as robust. Only community organization as a primary strategy contributed to an explanation of 31 percent of the variance in the outcome variable.

This survey of 45 cities and 6 sites concluded with the recommendation that future policy and research emphasize the testing of strategies of opportunities provision, particularly improved educational, training, and job opportunities, for gang members and gang-prone youth. Strategies of suppression and social intervention were common to all of the cities in the survey, and the survey team viewed them as essential for dealing with the youth gang problem effectively. However, success was more likely when community organization and opportunities provision strategies were also present and emphasized.

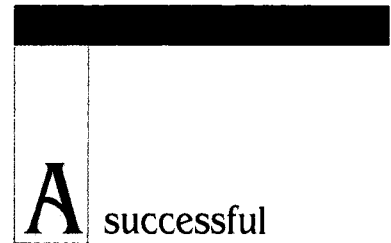
## Recommended responses

Field visits to five city or county jurisdictions and one correctional institution suggested certain common elements associated with reducing the youth gang problem for significant periods of time. These elements included clear and forthright, if not early, recognition of a youth gang problem. Proactive leadership by representatives of significant criminal justice and community-based agencies helped mobilize political and community interests. This mobilization created both formal and informal networks of criminal justice and other personnel involved with the problem.

Additionally, those in principal roles developed a consensus on a definition of the problem (e.g., gang, gang incident), specific targets of agency and inter-agency effort, and on reciprocal interrelated strategies. Operationally this meant, especially in chronic gang problem areas, that a multi-disciplinary approach evolved. As a result, strategies of suppression, social intervention, organizational development, and especially social opportunities were mobilized in some collective fashion on a community basis.

Finally, it appeared that a successful approach had to be guided, not only by concern for safeguarding the community against youth gang depredations, but for providing support and supervision to present and potential gang members in a way that contributed to their personal development.

In contacts with agencies and community organizations—mainly during field visits—a brief survey of youth gang members and former members sought to determine what services they received, how helpful these services were in reducing gang crime, and under what conditions members left the gang. This was a quick survey of a small, nonrandom availability sample of programs and



**A** successful approach safeguards the community while supporting present and potential gang members.

**N**o relationship was found between receiving services and leaving the gang.

youth (n=124). A variety of selection factors may have affected the results, however. Thus caution needs to be exercised in use of these findings. Their main value is as a basis for developing hypotheses for more systematic testing later.

Almost half the respondents (47.6 percent) declared they were former gang members; 29.8 percent of the respondents said they presently were gang members; 16.9 percent of the respondents said they had never been gang members. About a fifth of the respondents were female. The majority were Hispanic (66.1 percent), mainly Mexican-American, and 29.1 percent of the respondents were black.

For all respondents the most commonly reported service or activity provided by the particular program was recreation and sports. This set of activities was also declared as most helpful of all the 22 options listed. The second most helpful service reported was job placement. Hispanics reported receiving fewer services than blacks but rated helpfulness of service higher. However, there was more difference by program site than by race or ethnicity.

When differences among groups were examined, a significantly larger proportion of blacks than Hispanics were found to be former gang members; although in fact, blacks were slightly younger (19.7 years) than Hispanics (20.5 years). Blacks were more likely to report leaving the gang because of arrests and fear of violence; Hispanics were more likely to report leaving the gang for reasons of drug use and drug dealing.

No relationship was found between receiving services, helpfulness of services, and leaving the gang. In a logistic regression analysis the most important variable explaining why a youth left the gang, after controlling for race or ethnicity, site, and other factors, is simply getting older. Other important reasons checked off were "being arrested" and "tired of violence." However, age was the only variable that entered the regression equation, accounting for 23 percent of variance.

## **Gang leaders' perspectives**

Analysts thought it important to assess the problems of gangs and how to deal with them based on the views of those who had experienced gang life and who had succeeded in surviving and moving beyond this involvement to productive and legitimate careers.

Two conferences were conducted involving a small number of adults in their twenties and thirties who had been major figures in violent and criminal youth gangs in Hispanic (mainly Puerto Rican) and African-American low-income areas of Chicago. The symposia addressed a variety of questions including views about leaving the gang, gang control and prevention policies and programs, and what needed to be done to strengthen these efforts. Opinions as to the nature of the youth gang problem and what was required to deal with it seemed to differ between the black and Hispanic communities.

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Youth gang membership seemed to be more total and continuous in the black than in the Hispanic community. Although gang membership seemed to be more culturally defined in the Hispanic barrio community, it was nonetheless considered to be a part of growing up. Seemingly, Hispanics had earlier points and more manageable ways to leave the gang. In the black community, youth gang membership, although not necessarily more violent, was a critical and pervasive element of survival. The youth gang seemed to supplement a more basic institutional void in the black ghetto, providing essential controls and opportunities that were not so substantially lacking in the Hispanic low-income communities.


Drug use and drug selling appeared to be prevalent in both gang communities. However, these activities were practiced more as a means of psychological escape and economic survival for the black gang member as compared with recreation, and even transition out of the gang for the Hispanics. Nevertheless, drug trafficking was an important way of earning money to survive for both gang and nongang youth and adults in both black and Hispanic low-income communities.

Several factors motivated youth to leave the gang: (1) growing up and getting smarter, (2) fear of injury for oneself and others, (3) a prison experience, (4) a girl friend or marriage, (5) a job, (6) drug dealing, (7) concern for youth and community welfare, (8) interest in politics, (9) religious experience, and (10) the assistance and interest of a helping adult. Opportunities for leaving the youth gang for legitimate life styles seemed to be more available to Hispanic gang youth. On the other hand, the gang seemed to continue to provide discipline and support, as well as economic, social and political resources that could not be obtained readily through other institutions by older black gang youth and adults.

In some cases, the transition out of the youth gang was accompanied by a complete break with gang peers or leaving the neighborhood. In most cases, it meant simply desisting from gang violence and criminality, but not restricting relationships with former gang buddies. A stronger tie to the gang culture, even for former gang leaders, existed in the black community because of the power and influence the gang still represented relative to other local institutions. Nevertheless, for both African-American and Hispanic (Puerto Rican) young adults in the two symposia, the youth gang was regarded as more negative than positive.

Ways of dealing with the youth gang problem or of preventing youth from joining gangs were viewed somewhat differently by the two groups. For the former Hispanic gang influentials, improved services and especially more positive attitudes and practices by agency personnel, especially the police, were judged important.

Although some of these views were echoed by the African-American group, a more substantial community and societal effort was believed necessary. A massive infusion, not only of economic, but of spiritual and intellectual resources was thought to be needed. Equitable or fair treatment of minority groups, especially male youth by the larger, dominant community, increased opportunities, better local citizen and parental discipline or social control, and stronger



**F**or most, leaving the youth gang merely meant not participating in violence and crime.

**A** comprehensive approach should be adopted in chronic gang problem cities.

mobilization of local community groups and agencies were seen as important by both groups.

## **Policy and program recommendations**

Based on this extensive assessment process, the following recommendations were made.

1. **Definition.** The definition of a youth gang should be restricted to youth groups engaged in serious violence and crime, and whose primary purpose for existence is symbolic or communal rather than economic gain. Organizations existing for drug trafficking or criminal gain as such should not be considered youth gangs, although distinctions are not easy to determine. A gang incident should be any illegal act that arises out of gang motivation, gang function, or gang-related circumstances, in which the sole fact of being a gang member should not be sufficient to label the event as a gang incident. A youth should not be labelled a gang member unless sufficient and reliable evidence exists. Appropriate procedures, especially by schools, police, and courts, should be required to maintain the confidentiality of gang member records. Records should be frequently updated and purged about 3 years from the date of the entry of the individual's last gang-related incident.


2. **Targeting gang youth.** Youth who give clear indication of gang involvement should be the primary targets of comprehensive gang control and early intervention programs. Analysts assume that a small number of youth can be targeted for special remedial education and supervisory attention. The tendency to identify youth-at-risk without clear criteria and reliable evidence of potential gang membership should be avoided.

3. **Chronic cities.** A special comprehensive approach should be adopted in chronic gang problem cities. Leadership of such an effort should be assigned to an official agency, such as probation or a special unit in the mayor's office. All criminal justice agencies, including police, probation, parole, judiciary, prosecution, and corrections should be associated with the new authority, supported by key voluntary agencies, schools, business and industry, and local community groups. Multiple strategies including social intervention and suppression, but with emphasis on social opportunities and community mobilization, should guide the development of program activities and the roles of various personnel. Although priority should be given to remedial education and employment training programs for juveniles and adolescent gang members, older youth gang adolescents should also be targeted. Employment training and a job development structure should be established as part of the authority concerned with needs of these older youth. The youth gang problem, as it affects older and younger youth, needs to be attacked in an organic fashion, reflecting the interrelationship and interdependence of younger and older youth in the gang.

4. **Emerging cities.** In emerging, and in some instances chronic, gang problem cities or contexts, a local educational administrative unit based within the school should take responsibility for the development of special early

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intervention programs. This unit should collaborate closely with law enforcement, family or juvenile court, as well as social agencies and community groups, to target youth gang members at an early stage of development of the problem. These programs should be directed to social education and social control of gang youth. Special attention should be given to youth who between 11 and 15 years of age are beginning to take on gang roles and are already engaged in law-violating behaviors. Moreover, efforts should be made to improve the academic performance and social adjustment of such youth and to provide them and their parents with outreach counseling, referral, and opportunity provision programs. General antigang crime curricula, crisis intervention, and school-community advisory groups should be established directly by the special school unit for the development and implementation of early, school-based, gang control programs.



**E**arly intervention programs should be directed toward social education and social control of gang youth.



- Researchers
- Planners
- Policymakers



More detailed information about this study and issues surrounding youth gangs is available through the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

The full 195-page report *Gang Suppression and Intervention: An Assessment* discusses in detail the study's findings and its design and research methodologies. The full report is useful for conducting further research, making planning decisions, or drafting policy.

For your copy of the full report, complete and return the order form below with your payment. A companion research summary *Gang Suppression and Intervention: Community Models* is also available.

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Research Summary

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# National Institute of Justice

R e s e a r c h   i n   B r i e f

Jeremy Travis, Director

February 1995

## Issues and Findings

**Discussed in this Brief:** An NIJ-sponsored nationwide survey of local prosecutors' approaches to gang prosecution, a review of the State legislation targeted at street gang activity, and case studies of prosecution efforts at four sites.

**Key issues:** The presence of gangs is becoming more widespread, and gang-related violence and gang drug trafficking are increasing. Most research on gangs has been about their formation and reasons for individual participation, while little research has looked at community and criminal justice responses. This study examined prosecutors' perceptions of gang-related crime, local definitions of gangs, criminal statutes used against street gangs, Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Acts, and problems dealing with gang cases.

**Key findings:** The study found that more than 80 percent of prosecutors acknowledged gangs were a problem in their jurisdiction and said they were vigorously pursuing prosecution of gang crimes. Ultimately, however, prosecutors believed that early intervention with children and youths and more effective services designed to strengthen families were necessary to prevent gang violence and crime. Additional findings include:

Definitions of "gang" and gang-related crime varied widely from State to State and were established either by State statutes or operationally by police departments, prosecutors, and administrators of

*continued on page 2*

## Prosecuting Gangs: A National Assessment

by Claire Johnson, Barbara Webster, and Edward Connors

Street gangs have been part of America's urban landscape for most of the country's history and a subject of research since at least the 1920's. But most street gangs in the first third of the century were small groups involved in delinquent acts or relatively minor crimes, primarily fights with other gangs. As the year 2000 approaches, there are many more different types of street gangs. Individual members, gang cliques, or entire gang organizations traffic in drugs; commit shootings, assaults, robbery, extortion, and other felonies; and terrorize neighborhoods. The most ambitious gang members have spread out from their home jurisdictions to other cities and States. An increasing number are supported by the sale of crack cocaine, heroin, and other illegal drugs, and they have easy access to more firepower than the average patrol officer. Further, in many impoverished and transitional neighborhoods, children are born into or must contend with second- and third-generation street gangs.

Until recently, research on gangs centered on exploring reasons for gang formation and participation, with a related emphasis on public policy that deters vulnerable youths from joining gangs. But the destruction and fear generated by today's street gangs have elevated the importance of research on effective com-

munity and criminal justice responses to them. Communities overwhelmed by violent gangs must have relief from the terror before revitalization, initiatives to strengthen families, school improvements, and other desired interventions can succeed. Prosecutors throughout the country are striving to help give communities breathing room by building strong cases that remove violent gang members from the streets. It is only in the last few years, however, that federally sponsored research has begun to look at the gang problem from the prosecutors' perspective and to explore the strategies they use.

### NIJ research on gangs and gang prosecution

The legal options available to prosecutors to combat gangs vary considerably, as do the strategies they employ and the policy choices they make. To learn more about gang prosecution at the local level, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) sponsored a National Assessment on Gang Prosecution, which was conducted by the Institute for Law and Justice.<sup>1</sup> This project, like other NIJ-supported national assessments in the past few years, was designed to obtain baseline information in a subject area in which comparatively little research had been done. It was one of six NIJ projects on gangs initiated in FY 1992; they included studies on gangs and migration

## Issues and Findings

*continued*

gang prevention and intervention programs.

⊙ Gangs formed on the basis of race or ethnic origin were the most prevalent gang types in both large and small jurisdictions. Drug trafficking was the most frequently reported crime among all gang types except Asian and hate (e.g., "skinheads") gangs.

⊙ Prosecutors favored vertical prosecution of gang members and believed that a small group of gang prosecutors using this approach may be the more effective strategy.

⊙ Prosecutors in 36 States used existing criminal codes to proceed against street gangs, while in 14 States they worked under recently enacted new code provisions on street gangs.

⊙ Prosecutors cited problems in prosecuting juveniles (a large percentage of gang members) because State juvenile codes were not designed for the serious violence that characterizes street gang crime, and gang statutes generally do not cover juveniles.

⊙ Prosecutors identified many areas for new legislation; they included driveby shootings; greater accessibility of juvenile records, and brandishing a weapon.

⊙ Victim and witness cooperation and protection was reported to be a particular major issue because in gang crime, today's victim may become tomorrow's perpetrator seeking revenge. Effective State and local programs require special efforts to build trust and address victims' needs for protection.

**Target audience:** Prosecutors, researchers, judges, State and local legislators, corrections officers, victim advocates, and policymakers.

patterns, drug sales, criminal behavior, law enforcement anti-gang measures, and gangs in correctional facilities.

The study on gang prosecution had three main components: a national survey of a representative sample of local prosecutors; an examination of State laws and proposed legislation specifically targeted at street gang activity; and detailed case studies of gang prosecution efforts at four sites. The study addressed the following key issues:

- Prosecutors' perceptions of gang-related crime.
- Local definitions of gang-related crime.
- Extent of gang-related crime.
- Organizational arrangements to deal with gang-related crime.
- Criminal statutes used against street gangs.
- Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Acts.
- Prosecution strategies and tactics.
- Problems in dealing with gang cases.
- Recommendations for dealing with street gangs.

**Study methodology.** A survey instrument covering the topics above was mailed to 368 State prosecutors' offices. All 175 counties with populations greater than 250,000 were included in the sample group. The other 193 prosecutors' offices were randomly selected from counties with from 50,000 to 250,000 residents. Eighty percent (140) of the prosecutors in large jurisdictions responded, with 84 percent (118 respondents) reporting gang problems in their jurisdictions; and 83 percent (160) of the small jurisdictions responded, with 46

percent (74 respondents) reporting gang problems. The analysis is based on the 192 completed surveys in which prosecutors reported having gang problems.

In addition to the survey, four site visits were made to examine how local prosecutors confront street gangs in different cities and States. The purpose was to compare the details of these prosecutors' operations with the more general findings of the national survey and the legislative review. The sites included two jurisdictions in States with gang legislation and two in States without gang legislation, which are identified below:

- Multnomah County (Portland), Oregon (no specific gang legislation).
- Suffolk County (Boston), Massachusetts (no specific gang legislation).
- Oklahoma County (Oklahoma City), Oklahoma (State gang legislation).
- Riverside County, California (Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention Act).

**Defining gang and gang-related crime.** "Gang" is not a historic legal term; that is, in the absence of statutory definition, gang is not a term of fixed legal meaning. For that reason, every State that has enacted a gang statute has undertaken to define gang, and these statutory definitions are similar. They state how many persons (usually a minimum of three) must be involved, what type of general activity they engage in, and the kinds of crimes involved. The type of activity is sometimes described in a separate definition of "pattern of criminal gang activity." In addition, many police departments have operational definitions of gang and gang-related crime to guide investigators, intelligence and crime analysts, and law enforcement officers. Gang prevention and intervention programs have also developed working definitions of gang.

Finally, distinctions are often made according to the level of commitment to a gang, for example, “hardcore member,” “affiliate,” and “wannabe.”

One survey question asked prosecutors how their offices defined gang-related crime and offered two response alternatives: (1) any crime committed by a gang member, or (2) only a crime committed by a gang member that is related to a gang activity. The first option addressed gang members as individuals, the second, gangs as organizations. The distinction could produce substantial differences in data reported.<sup>2</sup>

### Survey findings

The survey results show that 44 percent of prosecutors in large jurisdictions classified any crime committed by a gang member as a gang-related crime, whether or not the outcome of the crime benefited the gang. However, another 44 percent of large jurisdiction prosecutors defined a gang crime as only a crime committed by a gang member for the benefit of the gang. In some large jurisdictions, only crimes committed by a targeted gang leader or crimes of violence were treated as gang-related, an even more narrowly focused approach.

Although prosecutors in large jurisdictions were almost evenly divided in their definitions of gang-related crime between these two alternatives, only 27 percent of small jurisdiction prosecutors classified as gang related any crime committed by a gang member. Most small jurisdictions (59 percent) used the narrower definition. Prosecutors regarded street gangs as distinct from more sophisticated organized crime groups, but they seemed less interested than police in definitional issues. With some important exceptions,

prosecutors charged gang members and affiliates under State drug, homicide, assault, and other criminal laws far more often than they did under conspiracy, Racketeering Influenced Criminal Organizations (RICO), or specialized street gang laws. Unless they operated their own computerized gang data bases or employed their own gang investigators, prosecutors relied on police to track the number of gangs, gang sets, and gang members in their communities.

**Gang-related violence.** Extreme violence has become an integral element of the gang subculture. Seventy-eight percent of prosecutors in both large and small jurisdictions reported increases in gang-related violence from 1990 to 1993. According to prosecutors in large jurisdictions, more than 70 percent of all types of gangs found in their communities were involved in violent crimes. In 1991 the average number of gang-related homicides prosecuted was 8.9 in large jurisdictions and 1.75 in small jurisdictions; and the largest number of gang homicides prosecuted by a single office was 99 in Los Angeles County, California.

To gauge the effect of violent gang crime on caseloads, the survey asked for the number of gang-related homicides, driveby shootings, and violent crimes prosecuted per month in 1991.

Prosecutors in large jurisdictions handled an average of 15.1 gang-related violent crimes per month, compared to 3.3 in small jurisdictions. Further, in large jurisdictions, more than one-fifth of prosecutors handled an average of over 30 gang-related violent crimes per month (see exhibit 1).

**Types of gangs and gang activity.** The survey asked prosecutors to indicate the types of gangs operating within their jurisdictions; whether or not members of those gangs were involved in drugs and/or in committing violent crimes; and the types of drugs involved for gangs identified as drug traffickers.

With regard to types of gangs, the researchers sought to provide respondents with understandable choices on the survey questionnaire. Since historically most street gangs were formed—and continue to attract members—along racial or ethnic lines, the questionnaire gave respondents the following choices (Note: the questionnaire did not ask for distinctions in the cultural heritage of Hispanic or Asian gang members):

- Locally based, African-American gangs.
- Gangs based in the Los Angeles area (e.g., Crips, Bloods).

**Exhibit 1: Gang-Related Violent Crimes Prosecuted in 1991 (n=146)**

Number of Gang-Related Violent Crime Cases Prosecuted Per Month	Large Jurisdictions n=87	Small Jurisdictions n=59
0	6.9%	23.7%
1	17.2%	32.2%
2-5	26.3%	35.7%
6-10	13.7%	8.5%
11-20	9.2%	0.0%
21-30	4.5%	0.0%
More than 30	21.3%	0.0%

- Gangs with origins in the Caribbean (e.g., Jamaican, Dominican Republic).
- Hispanic gangs.
- Asian gangs.
- Motorcycle gangs.

- Hate gangs (e.g., KKK, Aryan Nation).
- Other.

Among respondents who indicated they had gang problems, 83 percent in large jurisdictions and 60 percent in small jurisdictions reported the pres-

ence of local African-American gangs (i.e., gangs that originated in that jurisdiction as distinguished from Crips or Bloods from California) (see exhibit 2). The second most prevalent gang types in large jurisdictions were Hispanic gangs (reported by 64 percent of prosecutors), followed closely by motorcycle gangs

**Exhibit 2: Types of Gangs and Their Crimes**

Types of Gangs	Gangs in Large Jurisdictions (n=118)				Gangs in Small Jurisdictions (n=74)			
	Operate Here	Commit Violent Crimes	Engage in Drug Trafficking	Use These Types of Drugs	Operate Here	Commit Violent Crimes	Engage in Drug Trafficking	Use These Types of Drugs
Locally based, African-American gangs	83.1%	93.9%	93.9%	98.9% Cocaine 27.2% Heroin 54.3% Marijuana 9.8% Other	60.3%	84.1%	84.1%	97.3% Cocaine 21.6% Heroin 64.9% Marijuana 16.2% Other
Motorcycle gangs	61.9%	71.2%	90.4%	59.1% Cocaine 25.8% Heroin 57.6% Marijuana 72.7% Other	49.3%	61.6%	86.1%	74.2% Cocaine 19.4% Heroin 74.2% Marijuana 51.6% Other
Hispanic gangs	63.6%	97.3%	88.0%	89.4% Cocaine 48.5% Heroin 66.7% Marijuana 24.2% Other	42.5%	83.9%	80.6%	84.0% Cocaine 28.0% Heroin 92.0% Marijuana 20.0% Other
Hate gangs (e.g., KKK, Aryan Nation)	52.5%	74.2%	9.7%	33.3% Cocaine 16.7% Heroin 66.7% Marijuana 33.3% Other	23.3%	58.8%	29.4%	80.0% Cocaine 0.0% Heroin 60.0% Marijuana 20.0% Other
Asian gangs	51.7%	91.8%	45.9%	82.1% Cocaine 64.3% Heroin 32.1% Marijuana 14.3% Other	13.7%	90.0%	40.0%	75.0% Cocaine 50.0% Heroin 0.0% Marijuana 25.0% Other
Gangs based in the Los Angeles area (e.g., Crips, Bloods)	50.0%	89.8%	91.5%	98.1% Cocaine 22.2% Heroin 51.8% Marijuana 13.0% Other	41.1%	76.7%	96.7%	100.0% Cocaine 13.8% Heroin 55.2% Marijuana 20.7% Other
Gangs with origins in the Caribbean (e.g., Jamaican, Dominican Republic)	43.2%	78.4%	100.0%	96.1% Cocaine 3.9% Heroin 7.8% Marijuana 5.9% Other	16.4%	66.7%	100.0%	100.0% Cocaine 25.0% Heroin 66.7% Marijuana 33.3% Other
Other (specify)	28.8%	76.5%	41.0%	78.6% Cocaine 7.1% Heroin 50.0% Marijuana 14.3% Other	34.2%	72.0%	36.0%	88.9% Cocaine 22.2% Heroin 66.7% Marijuana 22.2% Other

62 percent). Similarly, 49 percent of small jurisdiction prosecutors indicated that motorcycle gangs were present, followed by approximately 43 percent reporting Hispanic gangs. Approximately 88 percent of large and 81 percent of small jurisdiction prosecutors reported that the Hispanic gangs in their communities trafficked in drugs. Similarly, 90 percent of motorcycle gangs in large and 86 percent in small jurisdictions were reported to be involved in sales of drugs, including methamphetamines, cocaine, marijuana, and heroin.

The notoriety of the Crips and Bloods, two dominant gangs of the Los Angeles area, has led to a spread of their “colors” (manner of dress) and violent lifestyles to other cities. In large jurisdictions, 50 percent of prosecutors reported the presence of Crips and Bloods, with 90 percent involved in violent crime and 92 percent involved in drug trafficking. Somewhat fewer small jurisdictions reported Crips and Bloods (41 percent), but when present, they were reported to have similarly high rates of involvement in violent crime (77 percent) and drug trafficking (97 percent). However, the survey data did not reveal whether local Crips and Bloods had any continuing connection with Los Angeles Crips and Bloods. The site studies indicated that the names and colors often persisted long after the cessation of any real Los Angeles connection.

Asian and hate gangs were more frequently reported to be involved in violent crime than in drug trafficking. The presence of Asian gangs was reported by prosecutors in 52 percent of large but only in 14 percent of small jurisdictions. More than 90 percent of Asian gangs were associated with violent crimes, but only 46 percent (40

percent in small jurisdictions) were said to be involved in drug trafficking. Hate gangs, including skinheads and other groups, had the lowest reported involvement in drug trafficking in all jurisdictions, but they were characterized as violent by 74 percent of large jurisdiction prosecutors and 59 percent of respondents in small jurisdictions.

Caribbean-based gangs were reported in 43 percent of large and 16 percent of small jurisdictions, and they were virtually always reported to be involved in drug trafficking. This pattern was similar in small jurisdictions. These gangs dealt mainly in cocaine (more than 95 percent).

### Prosecution strategies and tactics

**Specialized gang units.** Specialized gang units are common in police departments of cities with established, as well as emerging, gang problems,<sup>3</sup> but are less common in prosecutors’ offices. Where they are established, prosecutors’ gang units generally use a vertical prosecution process, whereby one attorney (or a small group of attorneys knowledgeable about gangs) is designated to handle a case from its inception. This method is distinguished from other arrangements in which several different attorneys handle each case, depending on the stage of processing. Many of the prosecutors responding to the survey favored vertical prosecution by a specialized gang unit, particularly when coordinated with gang units of local law enforcement agencies.

The survey results indicate that 30 percent of prosecutors in large jurisdictions (5 percent in small) have formed gang units using vertical prosecution to focus on gang members.

In large counties, these units were usually staffed by two to four full-time attorneys. Los Angeles County had the largest gang unit with 48 full-time attorneys. Almost 40 percent of large and 62 percent of small counties assigned gang cases to attorneys on the basis of caseload.

In California, several jurisdictions surveyed combined vertical with proactive prosecution. The San Diego County, California, district attorney’s office reported operations of a gang prosecution unit that has served as a national model for this approach.<sup>4</sup> One San Diego assistant district attorney explained that “[w]hereas reactive prosecution tends to be more a response to a past chain of events (i.e., a crime occurring and police investigation being completed), ‘proactive’ implies an attempt to stop the crime from occurring or at least to participate in the initial investigation.”<sup>5</sup>

In Riverside County, California, one of the case study sites, the district attorney’s office has also taken a proactive approach. It operates an on-call program with 10 prosecutors, including gang prosecutors who handle murder cases. On these most serious crimes, the district attorney’s office does not wait for cases to make their way through the system. Instead, gang prosecutors go out on the street with police to interview victims and witnesses and talk to gang members.

**Victim/witness cooperation and protection.** Prosecutors must often take extraordinary measures to protect witnesses in gang cases before, during, and after trial. They consistently stressed the importance of being able to offer protection immediately to ensure cooperation. In the survey,

prosecutors in large and small jurisdictions (89 and 74 percent respectively) agreed that one of their most significant problems was obtaining the cooperation of victims and witnesses. Reluctance of victims and witnesses to cooperate was seen to be based on at least three factors:

- Fear, both because of direct threats of retaliation and because of gang dominance of a neighborhood.
- A neighborhood culture that discouraged being a “snitch.”
- Involvement of the victim or witness in gang activity. (Gang cases are often characterized by the rotating status of victim, witness, and defendant.)

Other problems cited include intimidation of victims and witnesses (a moderate or major problem for 81 percent of large and 68 percent of small jurisdictions), and victim and witness credibility (a moderate or major problem for 77 percent of large and 69 percent of small jurisdictions). A lack of resources for victim/witness protection was also considered a moderate or major problem by 74 percent of large and 66 percent of small jurisdiction prosecutors (see exhibits 3 and 4).

Because of these concerns, the need for special victim and witness protection efforts and programs is particularly important. Many prosecutors’ offices reported encouraging the police to videotape all statements by witnesses to gang-related crimes in the event that these witnesses recant at trial, suffer a “loss of memory,” or are killed. Others were paying increased attention to cases involving nonpolice witnesses to reverse a traditional neglect of these cases. Part of the battle here involves overcoming witnesses’ distrust of the criminal justice system and their perceptions of the system as indifferent, inefficient, or a “revolving door.”

Prosecutors’ offices in which victim advocates work in tandem with investigators also reported considerable success with gang-related cases. The Suffolk County, Massachusetts, prosecutor’s gang task force has a victim advocate and an investigator who both spend their time dealing directly with victims and witnesses in gang cases. The victim advocate regards this job as a significantly different kind of advocacy. The clients are primarily young adults ages 17 through 23. Handling these cases requires extensive personal contact; notices and

telephone calls are not enough. The victim advocate prepares witnesses for trial, reviews grand jury testimony with them, and reviews the district attorney’s questions. Since many witnesses in gang cases do not have telephones, the advocate often goes to their homes to remind them of court dates and, if necessary, wakes them up and transports them to court. Because of close and consistent contact with victims and witnesses, the victim advocate also effectively serves as a fact finder for the gang prosecutors.

The Multnomah County victim-witness advocate also emphasizes that personal contact is very important to success in this work. An aggressive victim-advocate program, one that contacts the victim and witnesses immediately and develops and maintains their cooperation, can be one of the most significant factors in successful prosecutions. The Multnomah County advocate tries to build trust with the clients and keep them informed of the progress of the case. The advocate makes a point to be available by voice mail 24 hours a day. The gang unit lawyers also willingly go out on the street and visit witnesses with the advocate.

**Exhibit 3: Prosecution Problems in Large Jurisdictions (n=118)**

Problem	Not a Problem	Minor Problem	Moderate Problem	Major Problem
Obtaining cooperation of victims and witnesses	2.6 %	8.8 %	27.2 %	61.4 %
Intimidation of victims and witnesses	1.8 %	17.0 %	30.4 %	50.8 %
Lack of appropriate sanctions for juvenile gang members who commit crimes	9.7 %	22.2 %	21.2 %	46.9 %
Lack of early intervention for youth at risk of gang involvement	9.7 %	11.5 %	32.8 %	46.0 %
Lack of resources for witness protection	6.1 %	20.2 %	31.6 %	42.1 %
Victim and witness credibility	6.2 %	16.8 %	46.9 %	30.1 %
Inadequate police preparation of crime reports	33.3 %	41.2 %	20.2 %	5.3 %



### Adequacy of criminal law

Street gangs are a social and political concern because of the crimes that their members commit. Gang members may have different motivations for their crimes than other criminals, but the crimes are proscribed by existing criminal law. Largely because of this, only a few legislatures have defined new substantive criminal offenses in response to rising gang activity.

In addition to defining basic criminal offenses—crimes against persons, property, and public order—State criminal codes set forth standards for criminal responsibility and define inchoate crimes. Those who aid and abet the commission of crimes, even though they do not directly participate in the criminal acts themselves, can also be held criminally responsible. Inchoate crimes such as attempt and conspiracy are punishable even though the crime itself is not completed. Conspiracy law also enables prosecutors to reach criminal conspirators who are not at the scene of the crime itself. All these factors mean that traditional criminal law can reach most gang crime.

Existing laws in most jurisdictions also may allow more options for prosecut-

ing than statutes specifically aimed at gang members and crimes. In Los Angeles, for instance: “. . . if it is established that a person is a gang member (e.g., through affiliation, clothing, witness testimony), the policy is to seek the maximum penalty. Pursuit of the maximum penalty is guided by the beliefs that gang members commit a greater variety of crimes than non-gang members; gang members commit crimes over a longer period of time than non-gang members; gang members are more violent than non-gang members. . . . In some States, conviction for a gang-related crime limits the range of possible sentences . . . .”<sup>6</sup>

One example of this type of option is an Oklahoma State gang statute. Oklahoma County prosecutors reported that, in practice, the statute has not been very useful. By its terms, the statute is limited to contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Its sanctions are relatively light, and it requires proving a series of elements in addition to proving an underlying predicate crime. Oklahoma County has thus proceeded against gang members under the ordinary provisions of the Oklahoma criminal code and has had great success.

**RICO.** In its more than 20 years of existence, the Federal RICO statute has emerged as one of law enforcement’s most effective tools for combating organized criminal activity. As one researcher has observed, “Because of the unique properties of its net-using predicate crimes, including many State crimes, when proved as part of an ongoing enterprise—RICO has been often used as the prosecutorial weapon which can snag heretofore insulated high-ranking criminal group members, and deliver heavy sentences beyond the scope of the penalties of the individual crimes themselves.”<sup>7</sup>

However, with some exceptions, criminal street gangs are much less sophisticated and hierarchical than traditional organized crime groups. Although 31 States have a RICO statute,<sup>8</sup> only 17 percent of large county prosecutors and less than 10 percent in small counties have ever used it against gang members. Thirty-six percent of prosecutors in both large and small counties reported that they did use State drug kingpin statutes against gang members. State conspiracy laws were used by 37 percent of large jurisdictions and 26 percent of small jurisdictions. Prosecutors also

**Exhibit 4: Prosecution Problems in Small Jurisdictions (n=74)**

Problem	Not a Problem	Minor Problem	Moderate Problem	Major Problem
Obtaining cooperation of victims and witnesses	10.1 %	15.9 %	30.4 %	43.5 %
Intimidation of victims and witnesses	13.2 %	19.2 %	25.0 %	42.6 %
Lack of appropriate sanctions for juvenile gang members who commit crimes	2.9 %	27.5 %	37.7 %	31.9 %
Lack of early intervention for youth at risk of gang involvement	15.7 %	18.6 %	34.3 %	31.4 %
Lack of resources for witness protection	7.1 %	27.1 %	37.2 %	28.6 %
Victim and witness credibility	1.4 %	30.0 %	41.4 %	27.2 %
Inadequate police preparation of crime reports	34.8 %	39.2 %	13.0 %	13.0 %

used habitual criminal acts, and criminal responsibility, narcotics, malicious harassment, and driveby shooting statutes.

**STEP Acts.** Street Terrorism Enforcement and Prevention (STEP) Acts, based on the RICO model, use a series of predicate crimes as the basis for sentence enhancements and provide for civil forfeiture of a street gang's assets and the proceeds of its criminal activities. Some States have added driveby shooting statutes. STEP Acts can be valuable because they turn specific intent crimes like attempted murder or aggravated assault into general intent crimes. These statutes are of particular interest for two reasons. First, they undertake to deal with street gangs in a comprehensive fashion at one place in the State code. Second, they attempt to address the constitutional issues likely to be raised in the prosecution of street gang cases.

Five States (California, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Illinois) have enacted STEP Acts. California's STEP Act is the prototype because it links three definitions: "criminal street gang," "pattern of criminal gang activity," and "participation in a criminal street gang." A pattern of criminal gang activity in California means commission of one or more of seven predicate offenses on two or more separate occasions. A "criminal street gang" is an ongoing group that has as one of its primary activities the commission of one or more of these predicate crimes, plus "a common name or common identifying sign or symbol whose members individually or collectively engage in a pattern of criminal gang activity." "Participation in a criminal street gang" is a separate offense, carefully defined to guard against un-

constitutional infringement of the rights of free association and free speech.<sup>9</sup>

Riverside County, California, "steps" both street gangs and gang members by bringing them within the parameters of the STEP Act. It guides the compilation of intelligence pertaining to a particular gang, laying the foundation for identification of the gang and its members. The street gang unit of the City of Riverside police department compiles three related notebooks on a targeted gang. The first notebook contains copies of all incident, arrest, investigative, supplemental, and field interrogation reports pertaining to the gang. The second notebook contains the personal records of gang members and affiliates, including pictures, prints, rap sheets, and copies of any reports in which their names appear. The third consists of pictures of gang members, individually and together, showing their colors, tattoos, signs, and other indicia of street gang affiliation. The notebook also includes pictures of gang graffiti, with places and dates carefully recorded.

Riverside police officers also serve certain gang members with written notices, developed by the prosecutor, which state that a specific gang is considered a criminal street gang under the STEP Act and that participation in the gang can subject an individual to a sentence of 1 to 3 years. The carefully preserved record of notification destroys any claim that a defendant did not know of the street gang's criminal activity, knowledge being one of the bases for STEP Act prosecution. In addition, prosecutors reported that the notice itself has had an inhibiting effect on many gang members.

**Gang legislation.** There are two different approaches to gang legislation. One is to adopt a gang statute like California's STEP Act. The other is to amend existing criminal codes to add gang offenses. These approaches are not radically different. Instead of defining several new criminal offenses involving gangs, street terrorism acts specifically incorporate several parts of existing criminal codes by reference. Then they enhance penalties or create civil remedies, or both, for gang-related criminal activity.

Only 14 States have enacted new code provisions on street gangs. For the most part, these statutes have enhanced sanctions for crimes committed while participating in street gang activity, but they have not created many new substantive criminal offenses. Prosecutors in the other 36 States said they proceed against street gangs under existing provisions of their criminal codes. However, some States have legislated specifically on two typical gang offenses, random shootings and defacing property with graffiti, which have not always been adequately addressed by State criminal codes.

**Special statutes.** The survey of prosecutors asked what other criminal statutes prosecutors were using to combat gangs and received a variety of answers. They included habitual criminal acts, criminal responsibility provisions (i.e., aiding and abetting, or accomplice provisions), narcotics laws, malicious harassment, driveby shooting statutes, and others. When asked what they would like to see addressed by any new legislation, prosecutors mentioned a wide range of possibilities, including the following:

Driveby shootings.

- Witness protection programs.
- Recruitment of gang members.
- Rural gang prevention laws.
- Lowering age on juvenile offenses.
- Vehicle forfeiture.
- Brandishing a weapon.
- Continuing criminal enterprise.
- Loitering.
- Greater accessibility of juvenile records.
- Automatic adult/juvenile certification for gang-related crimes.
- Pointing weapon from vehicle.

**Adjudication.** Once cases reach the courts, prosecutors are often frustrated with several factors that hamper the prosecution of gang members. Though it appears that sentencing enhancements might lessen the recycling of gang members through the criminal justice system, the State's resources must be considered in pursuing such enhancements. Gang members, especially juveniles, sometimes pass through the system without serving any sentence. Problems that have always existed within the juvenile justice system make gang prosecution especially difficult because so many gang members today are juveniles. Prosecutors expressed frustration with the effectiveness of the juvenile justice system in handling juveniles involved in gang crimes. Where criminal justice officials contend with a shortage of detention facilities, juveniles—even those with prior convictions—may receive only intensive probation for a felony charge. In such a situation, sentencing

enhancements and stricter penalties will have little effect on the gang problem.

State juvenile codes were not designed for the serious violence that characterizes contemporary street gang crime, and the gang statutes almost completely overlook juveniles. Often, the prosecutorial response to this difficulty is to seek transfer of serious juvenile offenders into adult court and correctional systems. But such transfers may be very difficult to obtain because of strong traditions favoring adjudication and treatment of juveniles within the juvenile court and corrections systems.

In Suffolk County, Massachusetts, the courts are very resistant to the transfer of juveniles. In one 5-month period in 1993, the juvenile prosecutor asked for nine transfers but obtained only one. The Commonwealth can and sometimes has appealed the juvenile court's retention of jurisdiction. Oklahoma County, however, reacts differently to juveniles who commit serious and violent crimes. Oklahoma juvenile law does not give juveniles the same wall of protection found in many other States. Juveniles aged 16 and 17 accused of violent crimes enumerated in the statute are tried as adults rather than juveniles. The burden is on the juveniles to demonstrate why they should not be certified for trial as an adult. This procedure is referred to as "reverse cert."<sup>10</sup>

In Multnomah County, Oregon, a change of policy with regard to juvenile prosecution has significantly altered the ratio of violent juvenile cases certified from the juvenile to the adult court system. By pursuing certification on all gun cases and all violent gang-related crimes, the office has persuaded the juvenile court of the seriousness of these offenses and the necessity of transfer.

**Conclusions**

The results of the national assessment on gang prosecution belie the common belief that cities have refused to recognize the presence of gangs. More than 80 percent of prosecutors responding from large cities acknowledged gangs in their jurisdictions. Prosecutors agreed that the presence of gangs has become more widespread, that the amount of gang-related violence has been increasing, and that violence and drugs have become paramount problems with regard to gang crime. Many observed that drug traffickers who were not affiliated with gangs were more like independent entrepreneurs, loosely aligned with one another through interdependent distribution of drugs. In contrast, street gangs were more organized as units to conduct business in drugs. Further, urban gangs were often seen as more dangerous, having access to more powerful weapons, and more prone to violence.

Prosecutors favored vertical prosecution of gang members. However, in many cases, this may mean vertical prosecution by a small group of gang specialists, rather than by a single prosecutor. The true advantage of a specialized gang unit is not necessarily in vertical prosecution of every case, but in having a small number of lawyers filter related cases. As prosecutors come to know gangs and gang members in their jurisdictions, they can see connections (such as retribution, territorial feuds) between what at first glance seem to be random or unrelated criminal incidents.

In the adjudication of cases, prosecutors reported they consider victim and witness cooperation and protection a major issue. In intergang violence, perpetrator, victim, and witness play

interchangeable and revolving roles. The likelihood of intimidation for pressing charges or agreeing to testify is always a factor in gang cases and should be among the first problems addressed by law enforcement and prosecutors. Today's victims or witnesses become tomorrow's perpetrators as they seek revenge against either an individual or a gang, or seek to regain lost face or lost territory. Furthermore, the high visibility of gang violence creates an intimidating atmosphere that keeps non-gang witnesses from coming forward.

Moreover, few State and local witness and victim protection programs are geared specifically toward victims and witnesses of gang crime. Strong victim and witness advocacy programs have been extremely valuable in attacking these problems. Ordinary victim-witness programs have not sufficed for gang cases. Gang members do not want or seek the help of police and prosecutors. They try to take care of their problems themselves, and people who live in gang-dominated neighborhoods fear the gangs. Personal contacts, special efforts to build trust, and attention to witnesses' need for protection are essential. Advocates must also help find witnesses, persuade them to testify, and support them in other ways. If special programs are not in place, jurisdictions must exercise other possible options, such as requests to the U.S. Attorney's Office to put witnesses in the Federal protection program, requests to obtain court protective orders prohibiting release of witnesses' names until just prior to testimony, and requests to deny bail to gang defendants.

In each of four sites visited in this study, gang prosecution units quickly shifted emphasis from drugs to violent crime to all crime committed by gang members. Traditional drug enforcement

techniques remained effective against traditional drug trafficking, but were not necessarily effective against other types of gang crime.

Prosecutors did not express optimism about gangs in the future. In their work, they have learned a great deal about gangs, gang members, and the circumstances that have produced them. The gang members who come to their attention are often far beyond the reach of social interventions designed to deter youths from involvement in gang or drug lifestyles. Although they stated that prosecuting gangs would not completely solve the gang problem, they intend to pursue prosecutions as vigorously as possible. But as indicated by their comments on the survey questionnaire and in interviews, gang prosecutors consistently advocated early intervention with children and youths and more effective services to strengthen families as the best way to prevent gang crime and violence.

### Notes

1. The American Prosecutors Research Institute of the National District Attorneys Association assisted the project by reviewing the draft survey instrument, encouraging prosecutors to respond to the survey, and reviewing the final report on the project.
2. Maxon, C., and M. Klein, "Street Gang Violence: Twice as Great or Half as Great?" in C. Ron Huff, ed., *Gangs in America*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990.
3. Institute for Law and Justice, results of a survey of 175 law enforcement agencies conducted for the Urban Street Gang Drug Trafficking Enforcement Program, unpublished, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1992.

4. Ibid.

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Claire Johnson, Barbara Webster, and Edward Connors are senior researchers with the Institute for Law and Justice, Alexandria, Virginia. This research was funded by NIJ grant 91-IJ-CX-K006.

Findings and conclusions of the research reported here are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

*The National Institute of Justice is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, and the Office for Victims of Crime.*

NCJ 151785

## Selected Recent NIJ Products

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Alfred Blumstein, Ph.D., J. Erik Jonsson University Professor of Urban Systems and Operations Research, H. John Heinz School III of Public Policy Management, Carnegie Mellon University: *Youth Violence, Guns, and Illicit Drug Markets*, September 1994, NCJ 152235, \$19.00, includes postage and handling.

Peter W. Greenwood, Ph.D., Director, Criminal Justice Research Program, The RAND Corporation: *Three Strikes, Who's Out: Benefits and Costs of California's New Mandatory-Sentencing Law*, October 1994, NCJ 152236, \$19.00, includes postage and handling.

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James Inciardi, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Criminal Justice, University of Delaware. *A Corrections-Based Continuum of Effective Drug Abuse Treatment*, January 1995, NCJ 152692, \$19.00, includes postage and handling.

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Block, Carolyn Rebecca, and Richard Block, *Street Gang Crime in Chicago*, NIJ Research in Brief, December 1993, NCJ 144782.

Conly, Catherine, P. Kelly, P. Mahanna, and L. Warner, *Street Gangs: Current Knowledge and Strategies, Issues and Practices*, July 1993, NCJ 143290.

Curry, G. David, Richard A. Ball, and Robert J. Fox, *Gang Crime and Law Enforcement Recordkeeping*, NIJ Research in Brief, August 1994, NCJ 148345.

*Drugs and Youth Gangs*, NIJ Crime File Videotape, 1990, NCJ 123674, \$17.00 plus postage and handling.

### Weapons

Roth, Jeffrey A., *Firearms and Violence*, NIJ Research in Brief, February 1994, NCJ 145645.

Sheley, Joseph F., Ph.D., and James D. Wright, *Gun Acquisition and Possession in Selected Juvenile Samples*, NIJ Research in Brief (published jointly with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention), December 1993, NCJ 145326.

Sheley, Joseph F., Ph.D., Zina T. McGee, Ph.D., and James D. Wright, Ph.D., *Weapon-Related Victimization in Selected Inner-City High School Samples*, NIJ Research Report, February 1995, NCJ 151526. (A two-page summary with the same title, an NIJ Update, is also available.)

Sherman, Lawrence W., James W. Shaw, and Dennis P. Rogan, *The Kansas City Gun Experiment*, NIJ Research in Brief, January 1995, NCJ 150855. (A two-page summary with the same title, an NIJ Update, is also available.)

### Violence

DeJong, William, *Building the Peace: The Resolving Conflict Creatively Program (RCCP)*, Program Focus, November 1994, NCJ 149549.

Earls, Felton J., M.D., and Albert Reiss, Jr., Ph.D., *Breaking the Cycle: Predicting and Preventing Crime*, NIJ Research Report, December 1994, NCJ 140541.

PAVNET—Partnerships Against Violence Network—coalition of 6 Federal agencies and more than 30 Federal clearinghouses, *PAVNET Resource Guide, Promising Programs*, volume 1, January 1995, NCJ 150044, \$17.00, includes postage and handling.

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*Preventing Interpersonal Violence Among Youths*, NIJ Update, October 1994.

Roth, Jeffrey A., *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, NIJ Research in Brief, February 1994, NCJ 145645.

*TV and Violence*, NIJ Crime File Videotape, 1984, NCJ 097234, \$17.00 plus postage and handling.

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# OJJDP Update on Statistics

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator

October 1994

## How Juveniles Get to Criminal Court

Melissa Sickmund, Ph.D.

All States allow juveniles to be tried as adults in criminal court under certain circumstances. A juvenile's case can be transferred to criminal court for trial in one of three ways—judicial waiver, prosecutorial discretion, or statutory exclusion from juvenile court jurisdiction. In any State, one, two, or all three transfer mechanisms may be in place.

**Judicial waiver.** As of year end 1992, in all States except Nebraska and New York, juvenile court judges may waive jurisdiction over a case and transfer it to criminal court (figure 1). Such action is usually in response to a request by the prosecutor. However, in several States, juveniles or their parents may request a transfer. In many States, statutes limit judicial waiver by age, offense, or offense history. Frequently, statutory criteria such as the juvenile's amenability to treatment must also be considered.

An estimated 11,700 juvenile delinquency cases were transferred to criminal court by judicial waiver in 1992 (table 1). Waivers increased 68% from 1988 to 1992. Over this 5-year period, the number of waivers doubled or nearly doubled for all offense categories except property offenses.

Judicially waived cases accounted for fewer than 2% of the cases formally processed in juvenile courts in 1992 (table 2). Drug and person offense cases were more likely to be judicially waived than cases involving property or public order offenses.

The offense profile of waived cases changed somewhat from 1988 to 1992 (table 3). Person offense cases accounted for a greater proportion and property cases for a smaller proportion of waived cases in 1992 than in 1988.

**Prosecutorial discretion.** In some States, prosecutors are given the authority to file certain juvenile cases in either juvenile or criminal court under concurrent jurisdiction statutes. Thus, original jurisdiction is shared by both criminal and juvenile courts.

Prosecutorial discretion is typically limited by age and offense criteria (figure 2). Often concurrent jurisdiction is limited to charges of serious, violent, or repeat crimes. Juvenile and criminal courts frequently share jurisdiction over minor offenses such as traffic, watercraft, or local ordinance violations, as well.

There are no national data at the present time on the number of juvenile cases tried in criminal court under concurrent jurisdiction provisions. There is, however, some indication that they may outnumber judicial waivers in States

### From the Administrator

Every State provides a means for juveniles to be tried in adult criminal courts under certain criteria. A particular State may employ one, two, or three of the standard methods for such transfers: judicial waiver, prosecutorial discretion, and statutory exclusion.

Drawing on data from the National Juvenile Court Data Archive's forthcoming *Juvenile Court Statistics 1992* report, this *Update on Statistics* provides significant State and aggregate information on the diverse mechanisms by which juveniles arrive in criminal court.

The information in this *Update* was developed for OJJDP's forthcoming *National Report on Juvenile Offending and Victimization*.

John J. Wilson  
Acting Administrator

Figure 1

**Statutorily Defined Age and Offense Provisions for Judicial Waiver of Juveniles to Criminal Court, 1992**

**Key:**      Provision is specifically mentioned in State's Juvenile Code.  
     Provision applies only if the other condition similarly shaded is also met.  
 See example below for information on how to read the chart.

State	Minimum Age	Certain Offenses								Previous	
		Any Criminal Offense	Murder	Person Offenses	Property Offenses	Drug Offenses	Weapons Offenses	Felony Offenses	Capital Crimes	Delinquent Adjudication(s)	Criminal Conviction
AL	14	14									
AK											
AZ											
AR	14		14	14				16	14		
CA	16	16									
CO	14							14			
CT	14							14			
DE	14	16						14			
DC		16 <sup>a</sup>						15			
FL		14									
GA	13	15			15				13		
HI	16							16			
ID	14	14									
IL	13	13									
IN		14	10					16			
IA	14	14									
KS	16	16						14			
KY	14							14	14		
LA	15			15	15						
ME											
MD		15									
MA	14			14				14 <sup>b</sup>			
MI	15							15			
MN	14	14									
MS	13	13									
MO	14							14			
MT	12		12	12	16	16	16				
NV	16							16			
NH											
NJ	14	14	14	14	14	14	14				
NM	15		15	16	16		16	16			
NC	14							14			
ND	14	16		14							
OH	15							15			
OK											
OR	15		15	15	15			15			
PA	14							14			
RI											
SC		16			14						
SD											
TN	14	16	14	14							
TX	15							15			
UT	14							14			
VT	10		10	10	10						
VA	15							15			
WA	15			17				15			
WV								16			
WI	14	16	14								
WY											

Example: Alabama permits judicial waiver for any delinquency case involving a juvenile age 14 or older. Connecticut permits waiver of juveniles age 14 or older charged with certain felonies if they have been previously adjudicated delinquent.



Note: Ages in the minimum age column may not apply to all the restrictions indicated, but represent the youngest possible age at which a juvenile may be judicially waived to criminal court. For States with a blank minimum age cell, at least one of the offense restrictions indicated is not limited by age. When a provision is conditional on previous adjudications, those adjudications are often required to have been for the same offense type (e.g., class A felony) or a more serious offense.

<sup>a</sup> Waiver conditional on the juvenile being under commitment for delinquency.  
<sup>b</sup> Waiver conditional on a previous commitment to the Department of Youth Services.

Source: Szymanski, L. (1993) *Waiver/transfer/certification of juveniles to criminal court: Age restrictions-crime restrictions (1992 update)*. Pittsburgh, PA: National Center for Juvenile Justice.



Figure 3  
**Serious Offenses Excluded From Juvenile Court by State Statute and Related Age Restrictions, 1992**

**Key:**  Exclusion is specifically mentioned in State's Juvenile Code.  
 } Exclusion applies only if the other condition similarly shaded is also met.  
 See example below for information on how to read the chart.

State	Minimum Age	Certain Offenses						Previous	
		Murder	Person Offenses	Property Offenses	Drug Offenses	Weapons Offenses	Felony Offenses	Capital Crimes	Felony Adjudication(s)
CT	14	14					14		
DE									
GA	14	14 <sup>a</sup>	14 <sup>a</sup>	15					
HI	16	14					16		
ID	14	14	14		14				
IL	15	15	15		15	15	15 <sup>b</sup>	b	
IN		16	16			16			
KS	16		16 <sup>a</sup>	16 <sup>a</sup>			16		
LA	15	15	15						
MD	14		16			16		14	
MN	14						14		
MS									
NV									
NY	7	13	13	13			7		
NC	14							14	
OH									
OK	16	16	16	16	16	16			
PA									
RI	16				16				
VT	14	14	14	14					

Example: In North Carolina, juveniles age 14 or older charged with capital crimes are excluded from juvenile court jurisdiction. In Ohio, juveniles of any age charged with murder are excluded if they have prior criminal convictions, as are those charged with certain felonies who have prior felony adjudications.

Note: The ages given in the minimum age column may not apply to all the exclusions indicated, but represent the youngest possible age at which a juvenile may be excluded from juvenile court. For States with a blank minimum age cell, at least one of the exclusions indicated is not restricted by age. When an exclusion is conditional on previous adjudications, those adjudications are often required to have been for the same offense type (e.g., class A felony) or a more serious offense.

<sup>a</sup> Exclusion applies only to juveniles charged with offenses while in custody in juvenile institutions.

<sup>b</sup> Exclusion of felonies is also conditional on the offense being "committed in furtherance of criminal activity by an organized gang."

Source: Szymanski, L. (1993) *Statutory exclusion of crimes from juvenile court jurisdiction (1992 update)*. Pittsburgh, PA: National Center for Juvenile Justice.

This bulletin was prepared by Melissa Sickmund, Ph.D., National Center for Juvenile Justice. The material was developed for the forthcoming *National Report on Juvenile Offending and Victimization*, funded by OJJDP through grant number 90-JN-CX-K003. Barbara Allen-Hagen, Social Science Analyst in OJJDP's Research and Program Development Division, served as Program Manager.

*The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.*

NCJ 150309

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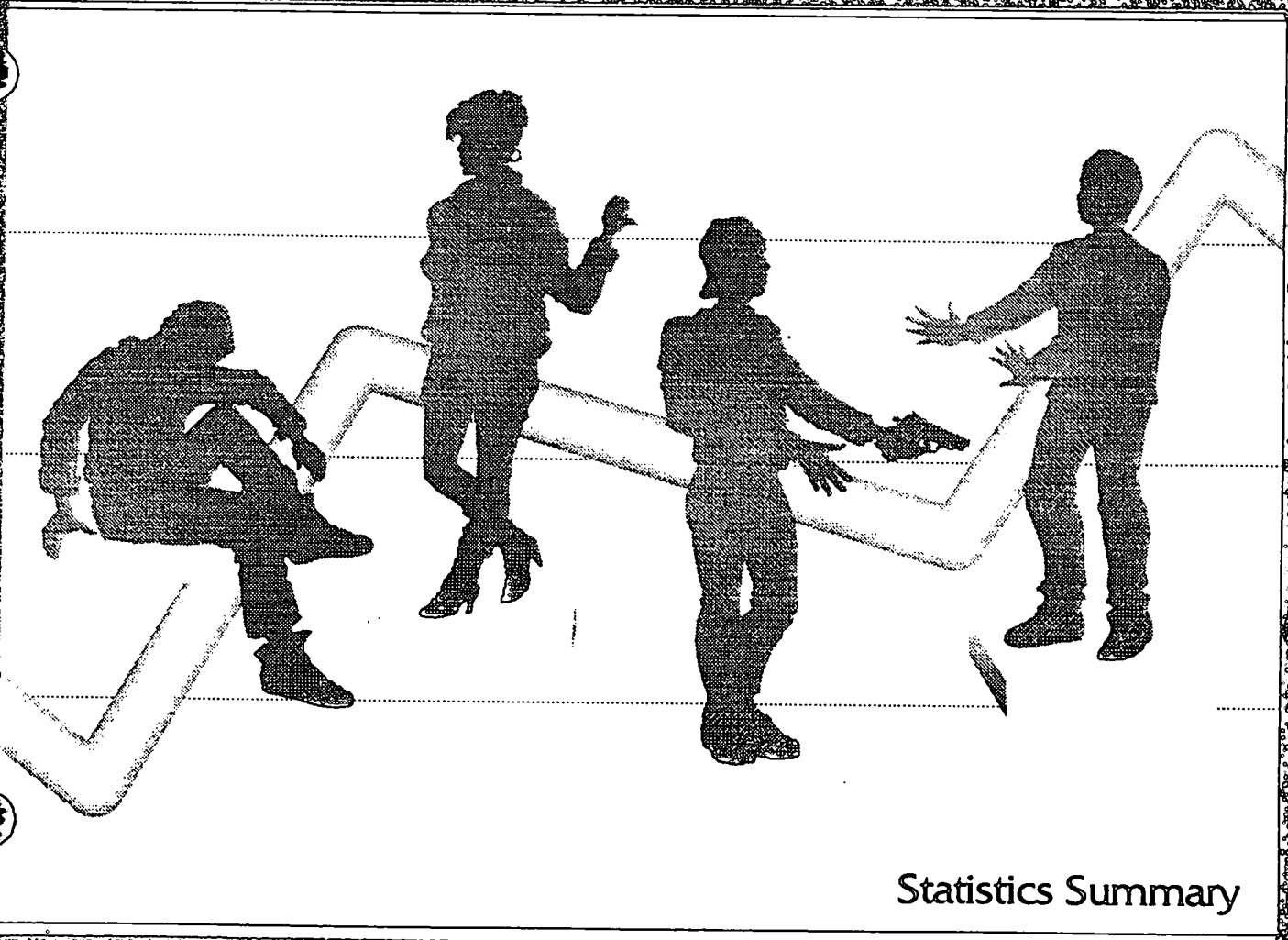
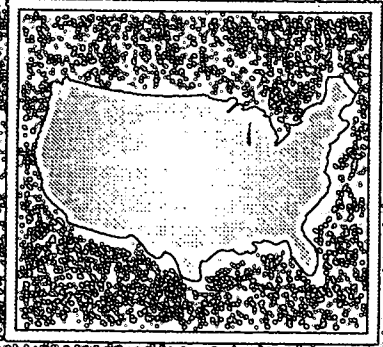
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# Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A Focus on Violence



Statistics Summary

# Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

**Research and Program Development Division** develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

**Training and Technical Assistance Division** provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

**Special Emphasis Division** provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

**State Relations and Assistance Division** supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

**Information Dissemination and Planning Unit** informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit's activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

**Concentration of Federal Efforts Program** promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

**Missing and Exploited Children Program** seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 43 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

OJJDP provides leadership, direction, and resources to the juvenile justice community to help prevent and control delinquency throughout the country.

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# Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A Focus on Violence

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## Statistics Summary

**Howard N. Snyder**

**Melissa Sickmund**

**National Center for Juvenile Justice**

> Shay Blich 11  
**May 1995**

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**This report was prepared by the National Center for Juvenile Justice, the research division of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, and was supported by cooperative agreement #90-JN-CX-K003 with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs (OJP), U.S. Department of Justice.**

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**The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.**

# Introduction

## Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report

The juvenile justice system must react to the law-violating behaviors of youth in a manner that not only protects the community and holds youth accountable, but also enhances the youth's ability to live productively and responsibly in the community. The system must also intervene in the lives of abused and neglected children who lack safe and nurturing environments.

To respond to these complex issues, juvenile justice practitioners, policymakers, and the public must have access to useful and accurate information about the system and the youth serviced by the system. Much of the information needed is currently unavailable. When the information does exist, it is often too scattered or inaccessible to be useful.

To bridge the gap between existing information and the juvenile justice community, OJJDP requested that the National Center for Juvenile Justice prepare a report that pulls together the most requested information on juveniles and the juvenile justice system in the United States. Before writing the report, the authors reviewed existing national statistics to determine what information was available and what information was credible.

The result of this effort is *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report*. This report presents important, and at times complex, information using clear, nontechnical writing and easy-to-understand graphics and tables. The report is designed as a series of briefing papers on specific topics, short sections designed to be read in isolation from other parts of the report. The full report covers a wide range of topics:

Chapter 1, *Juvenile Population Characteristics*, describes the juvenile population in the U.S. along dimensions and trends of interest including poverty, education, living arrangements, unwed teen mothers, and population growth. State- and county-level data are presented whenever possible.

Chapter 2, *Juvenile Victims*, summarizes what is known about the nature of and trends in juvenile victimizations including juvenile homicides, other violent victimizations, offenders, use of weapons, level of injury, nature of crimes against young children, time of day when victimizations occur, child abuse and neglect, the link between abuse and subsequent delinquent behavior, missing children, and juvenile suicides.

Chapter 3, *Juvenile Offenders*, describes the nature of and trends in juvenile offending including the proportion of crime in the U.S. caused by juveniles, juvenile law-violating careers, possession and use of weapons, gangs, homicides by juveniles, use of drugs, and the link between substance abuse and delinquency.

Chapter 4, *Juvenile Justice System Structure and Process*, describes the characteristics of and legislation that controls juvenile justice systems. Characteristics of the juvenile and criminal justice systems are compared, and brief descriptions of significant Supreme Court cases are presented. State variations in the expressed purpose of the juvenile justice system, the definition of a juvenile, the administration of juvenile services, and the criteria for transfer to the criminal system are also described.

Chapter 5, *Law Enforcement and Juvenile Crime*, summarizes trends in the flow of juveniles into the justice system through law enforcement agencies. This chapter presents national statistics on long-term juvenile arrest trends and trends in the proportion of crimes cleared by juvenile arrest. These trends are detailed by offense and juvenile demographic characteristics. Juvenile arrest trends are compared with adult trends, resulting in a clearer understanding of the juvenile responsibility for the growth in violent crime in recent years. Projections of juvenile arrests in the year 2010 are also presented. In addition to national statistics, this chapter also contains State- and county-level maps displaying juvenile violent and property crime arrest rates.

Chapter 6, *Juvenile Courts and Juvenile Crime*, describes the flow of cases in U.S. juvenile courts and court responses to offenders. The chapter shows the volume and trends in cases referred to juvenile courts by offense category and juvenile demographics, as well as the likelihood of detention, adjudication, probation, and placement. The chapter describes court use of detention, including admission trends, variations in State detention rates, and the conditions of confinement within detention centers. This chapter also summarizes the nature of juvenile court careers and what is known about the effect of transferring a juvenile to criminal court.

Chapter 7, *Juveniles in Correctional Facilities*, describes annual admissions to long-term juvenile facilities, admissions by offense, demographics of these juveniles, and admission rates by State.

The conditions of juvenile confinement are also documented in terms of institutional crowding, security procedures, access to health care, and staff and inmate injury rates.

The material presented in the *National Report* represents the most current and reliable information available near the end of 1994 on juvenile offending and victimization and the juvenile justice system. Although some newer data are now available, the patterns displayed in the *National Report* remain accurate. For example, the *National Report* shows substantial annual growth in juvenile arrests for violent crimes between 1988 and 1992. This growth continued, as shown by the FBI's newly released 1993 arrest statistics.

### A Focus on Violence

The information contained in the *National Report* can be juxtaposed and reordered to provide a detailed summary of a particular topic. This *OJJDP Statistics Summary* has sections from the full report that focus on violence by and against juveniles.

As this *OJJDP Statistics Summary* and the *National Report* show, the proportion of violent crimes committed by juveniles is disproportionately high compared with their share of the U.S. population, and the number of these crimes is growing. Between 1988 and 1992 juvenile arrests for violent crime increased nearly 50%.

Even with these large increases, however, juveniles are not responsible

for most of the increase in recent years. If juvenile violence had not increased between 1988 and 1992, the U.S. violent crime rate would have increased 16% instead of 23%.

Additionally, as the accompanying figure from the *National Report* shows, a very small percentage of juveniles are arrested for violent crime. However, these violent juveniles and the system's response to them are driving very broad changes in juvenile justice policy and legislation in States and at the Federal level.

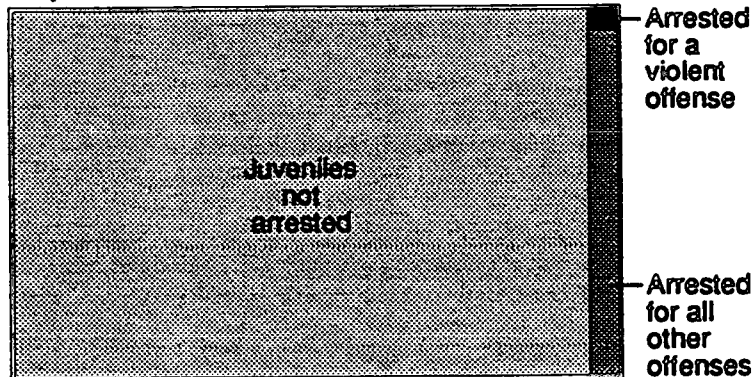
While juveniles may not be responsible for most violent crime, the growing level of violence by juveniles does not bode well for the future. If violent juvenile crime increases in the future as it has for the past 10 years, the authors of the *National Report* estimate that by the year 2010 the number of juvenile arrests for a violent crime will more than double and the number of juvenile arrests for murder will increase nearly 150%.

It is my hope that this particular *Summary* provides context for the debate over the direction we take in addressing juvenile violence. The full report, *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report*, will be released in the summer of 1995. If initial responses are any indication, this report will become a primary source of information on the juvenile justice system and will be the objective, empirical foundation for many discussions, deliberations, and debates.

Shay Bilchik  
Administrator

Less than one-half of 1 percent of juveniles in the U.S. were arrested for a violent offense in 1992

All juveniles 10-17 in the United States



□ 5% of juveniles were arrested in 1992 — of those, about 9% were arrested for a violent crime.

Sources: FBI. (1993). *Crime in the United States 1992*. Epps, N. (1995). *Profiles of delinquency cases and youths referred at each stage of the juvenile justice system: Fiscal year 89/90-93/94*.



# How much of the crime in the U.S. is caused by juveniles?

## Victims attributed about 1 in 4 personal crimes to juvenile offenders in 1991

One of two continuous sources of information on the proportion of crime committed by juveniles is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). NCVS captures information on crimes committed against persons age 12 or older. Crimes committed against children below age 12 are not counted. As a result, significant numbers of crimes committed by juveniles and adults are not reported.

In 1991 NCVS found that victims age 12 and older reported that the offender was a juvenile (under age 18) in approximately 28% of personal crimes (i.e., rape, personal robbery, aggravated and simple assault, and theft from a person). These victims also reported that 88% of juvenile crimes were committed by male offenders and 10% by female offenders, with the remainder committed by both males and females. Adult offenders in 1991 had a similar sex profile.

## Victims reported that half of all juvenile offenders were white

In 1991 victims of personal crimes reported essentially the same racial distribution for juvenile and adult offenders:

Race of offender	Offender age	
	Juvenile	Adult
White	51%	51%
Black	41	39
Other race	8	10
Total	100%	100%

Source: BJS. (1992). *National crime victimization survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

## Juveniles were responsible for about 1 in 5 violent crimes

In 1991 juveniles were responsible for 19% of all violent crimes (i.e., rape, personal robbery, and aggravated and simple assault) reported to NCVS in which there was a single offender.

Age of victim	Proportion of crimes committed by juveniles		
	Crimes of violence	Robbery	Assault
All ages	19%	14%	21%
12-19	49%	48%	52%
20-34	5	7	5
35-49	11	4	12
50-64	5	<1	5
Over 64	<1	<1	<1

Source: BJS. (1992). *Criminal victimization in the United States 1991*.

Persons most likely to be victimized by juveniles were individuals between ages 12 and 19 (remembering that crimes against children below age 12 are not a part of NCVS). The offender was a juvenile in nearly half of these violent crimes. In contrast, juveniles were seldom the offender in crimes against older victims. For example, 7% of robberies of persons ages 20-34 were committed by juveniles, and victims above age 50 rarely reported that they were robbed by juveniles.

## One in 7 serious violent crimes involved juveniles in groups

Seventeen percent of all serious violent crimes in 1991 were committed by juveniles only, either alone (11%) or in juvenile groups (6%). Another 8% of serious violent crimes were committed by a group of offenders that included at least one juvenile and one adult. In all, 25% of all serious violent crime involved a juvenile offender; and of these crimes, more than one-half involved a group of offenders.

Adults were less likely to commit crimes in groups; about one-third of serious violent crimes committed by adults involved a group of offenders.

Number and type of offenders	Percent of serious violent crime
1 juvenile	11%
2 or more juveniles	6
1 or more juvenile with adult(s)	8
2 or more adults	22
1 adult	53
Total	100%

Juvenile victims were more likely than adult victims to be victimized by a group of juvenile offenders. That is, 14% of all juveniles who were victims of a serious violent crime reported that they were victimized by two or more juvenile offenders, compared with 3% of adult victims.

## Racial profiles of violent crime victims varied with the race of the juvenile offender

In 1991, when a white juvenile committed a violent crime, the victim was nearly always white (95%).

Race of victim	Juvenile offender's race		
	White	Black	Other
White	95%	57%	80%
Black	3	37	7
Other	2	6	13
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Hispanics can be of any race, but most are classified as white.

Source: BJS. (1992). *National crime victimization survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

In contrast to white offenders, the victim profile of black juvenile offenders was more racially mixed. Fifty-seven percent of the violent crime victims of black juvenile offenders were white and 37% black.

## Law enforcement agencies made nearly 2.3 million arrests of persons under age 18 in 1992

**Nearly 6% of all juvenile arrests in 1992 were for a violent crime — half of these arrests involved juveniles below age 16, half involved whites, and 1 in 8 involved females**

Offense charged	Estimated number of juvenile arrests	Percent of total juvenile arrests					
		Female	Ages 16 and 17	White	Black	Native American	Asian
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,296,000</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>
Crime Index Total	839,400	21	40	68	29	1	2
Violent Crime Index	129,600	13	50	49	49	1	1
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	3,300	6	73	41	57	<1	1
Forcible rape	6,300	2	44	52	46	1	1
Robbery	45,700	9	51	38	60	<1	2
Aggravated assault	74,400	16	50	56	42	1	1
Property Crime Index	709,800	23	38	71	26	1	2
Burglary	144,500	9	40	75	22	1	2
Larceny-theft	468,200	29	36	73	24	1	2
Motor vehicle theft	87,500	12	46	58	39	1	2
Arson	9,700	11	21	83	15	1	1
Nonindex offenses	1,456,500	24	49	71	26	1	2
Other assaults	169,400	24	40	62	35	1	2
Forgery and counterfeiting	8,400	35	67	78	19	1	1
Fraud	18,400	26	46	53	44	<1	2
Embezzlement	800	45	78	69	29	1	1
Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing	42,900	11	50	59	39	1	1
Vandalism	145,300	9	33	82	16	1	1
Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.	54,200	7	51	62	36	1	1
Prostitution and commercialized vice	1,200	52	72	69	29	1	1
Sex offenses (except forcible rape and prostitution)	19,700	7	32	73	25	1	1
Drug abuse violations	85,700	11	68	52	47	<1	1
Gambling	1,200	7	66	24	74	1	1
Offenses against the family and children	5,100	35	45	76	21	1	3
Driving under the influence	14,700	14	92	92	5	2	1
Liquor law violations	119,200	29	76	92	5	2	1
Drunkenness	18,900	16	72	88	10	2	1
Disorderly conduct	136,500	22	47	67	32	1	1
Vagrancy	4,100	15	42	67	32	<1	1
All other offenses (except traffic)	338,500	21	54	68	29	1	2
Curfew and loitering law violations	91,100	27	47	76	21	1	2
Runaways	181,300	57	30	78	17	1	3

■ 57% of juvenile arrests for murder and 60% of juvenile arrests for robbery involved blacks.

■ 92% of juvenile arrests for driving under the influence and for liquor law violations involved whites.

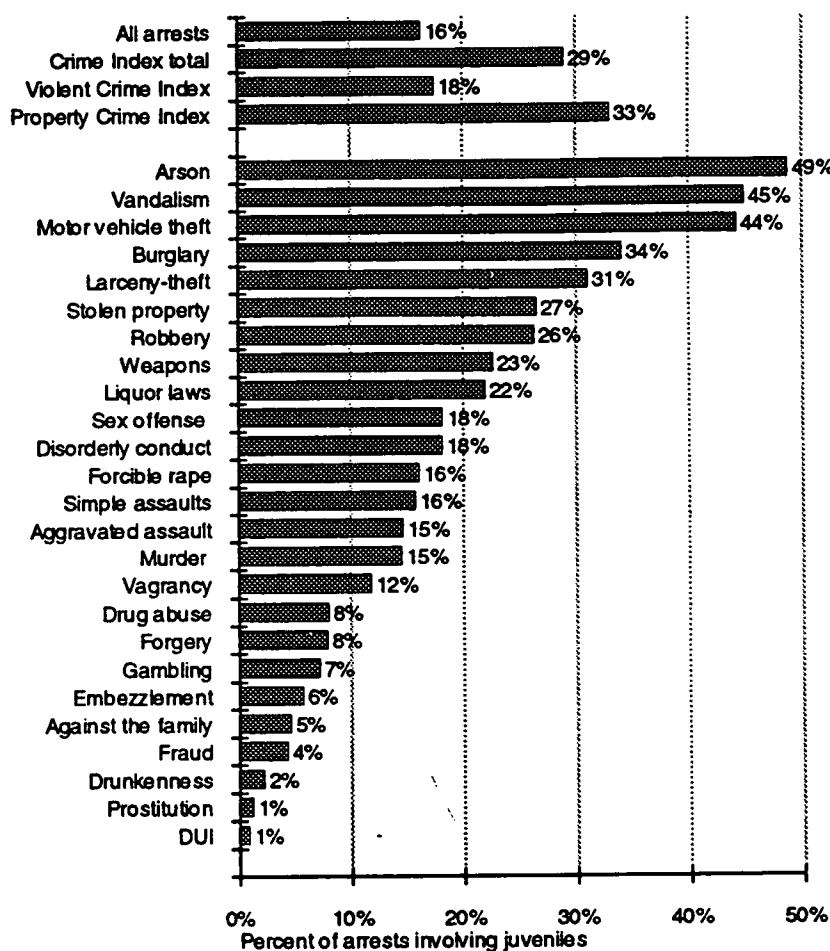
■ The majority of juvenile arrests for running away from home (57%) and for prostitution (52%) involved females.

Note: UCR data do not distinguish the ethnic group Hispanic; Hispanics may be of any race. Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Sources: FBI. (1993). *Crime in the United States 1992*. Arrest estimates developed by the National Center for Juvenile Justice.

## In 1992 juveniles accounted for 13% of all violent crimes reported to law enforcement agencies and 18% of all violent crime arrests

Juveniles accounted for a much larger proportion of all property crime arrests (33%) than violent crime (18%) or drug arrests (8%) in 1992



■ More than one-fourth of all persons arrested in 1992 for robbery were below age 18, well above the juvenile proportion of arrests for murder (15%), aggravated assault (15%), and forcible rape (16%).

■ Juveniles were involved in 1% of all arrests for driving under the influence and prostitution, but more than 40% of all arrests for arson, vandalism, and motor vehicle theft.

Note: Running away and curfew violations are not presented in this figure because, by definition, only juveniles can be arrested for these offenses.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Crime in the United States 1992*.

### How much of the crime problem is caused by juveniles?

Arrest proportions accurately characterize the ages of individuals entering the justice system. The fact that juveniles were 15% of all persons arrested for murder in 1992 implies that 15% of all persons entering the justice system on a murder charge were juveniles, not that the juveniles committed 15% of all murders.

Because juveniles are more likely than adults to commit crime in groups, arrest percentages are likely to exaggerate the juvenile contribution to the crime problem. The FBI clearance data provide a better assessment of the juvenile contribution to crime.

### Juveniles were responsible for 13% of all violent crimes in 1992 and 23% of all property crimes

The juvenile contribution to the crime problem in the U.S. in 1992 varied considerably with the nature of the offense. Based on 1992 clearance data, juveniles were responsible for:

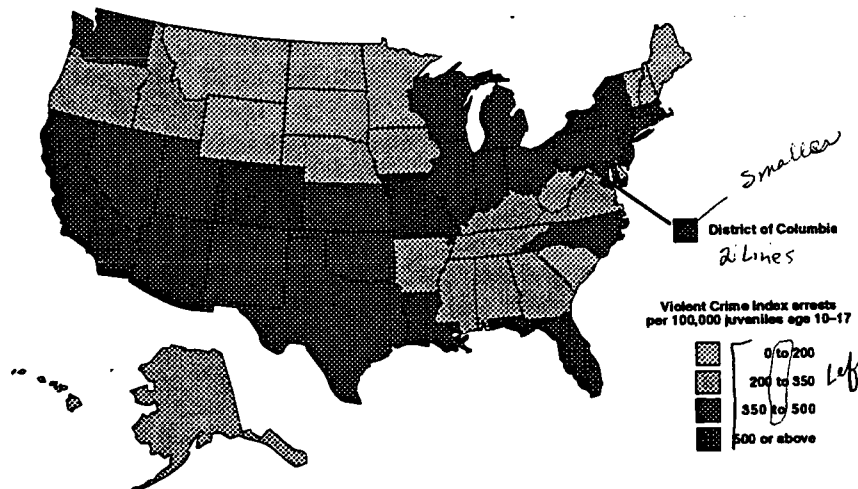
- 9% of murders.
- 12% of aggravated assaults.
- 14% of forcible rapes.
- 16% of robberies.
- 20% of burglaries.
- 23% of larceny-thefts.
- 24% of motor vehicle thefts.
- 42% of arsons.

Crimes with greater discrepancies between the arrest and clearance proportions may be those in which group behavior is more common. For example, while the discrepancy is small for forcible rape, it is relatively large for motor vehicle theft, burglary, murder, and robbery.

# In 1992 the States of New York, Florida, New Jersey, Maryland, and California had the highest juvenile violent crime arrest rates

States with high juvenile arrest rates for some violent crimes do not necessarily have high juvenile arrest rates for all violent crimes

State	% Reporting	Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17					State	% Reporting	Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17				
		Violent Crime Index	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault			Violent Crime Index	Murder	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Agg. Assault
Total U.S.	83%	458	12	22	161	263	Missouri	43%	571	18	23	154	376
Alabama	93	220	11	9	61	139	Montana	90	94	1	16	19	58
Alaska	94	205	1	23	38	143	Nebraska	73	104	1	13	32	59
Arizona	94	519	11	16	114	378	Nevada	79	394	25	39	145	185
Arkansas	100	265	14	22	60	168	New Hamp.	81	101	0	15	25	61
California	99	633	20	17	246	350	New Jersey	97	691	7	30	253	402
Colorado	92	506	6	21	85	394	New Mexico	56	382	4	15	55	308
Connecticut	82	499	7	24	125	343	New York	85	996	15	17	642	322
Delaware	54	340	3	54	62	220	N. Carolina	97	396	14	13	72	298
Dist. of Columbia	100	1,318	65	52	416	785	N. Dakota	77	58	0	15	13	30
Florida	92	739	12	29	247	450	Ohio	66	372	7	41	155	168
Georgia	72	251	6	14	62	169	Oklahoma	97	353	8	24	90	231
Hawaii	100	276	2	26	149	99	Oregon	95	338	5	27	130	177
Idaho	88	313	2	9	16	287	Pennsylvania	84	463	9	26	185	243
Illinois	42	463	5	52	101	305	Rhode Island	100	613	4	33	82	494
Indiana	51	487	4	11	60	411	S. Carolina	96	200	6	20	28	147
Iowa	64	159	0	9	17	133	S. Dakota	71	120	2	23	8	87
Kansas	77	377	4	11	77	285	Tennessee	49	296	12	23	100	161
Kentucky	96	331	5	12	64	250	Texas	100	380	17	17	131	214
Louisiana	60	569	23	26	129	391	Utah	73	391	2	26	56	307
Maine	82	128	2	19	28	80	Vermont	53	36	3	9	3	21
Maryland	100	645	21	35	200	390	Virginia	100	228	11	20	92	105
Mass.	66	545	5	19	137	384	Washington	80	385	5	48	106	226
Michigan	90	388	20	44	101	223	West Virginia	100	77	3	9	24	41
Minnesota	99	179	3	12	29	136	Wisconsin	98	376	16	21	149	190
Mississippi	35	223	15	31	73	105	Wyoming	95	82	2	10	5	65

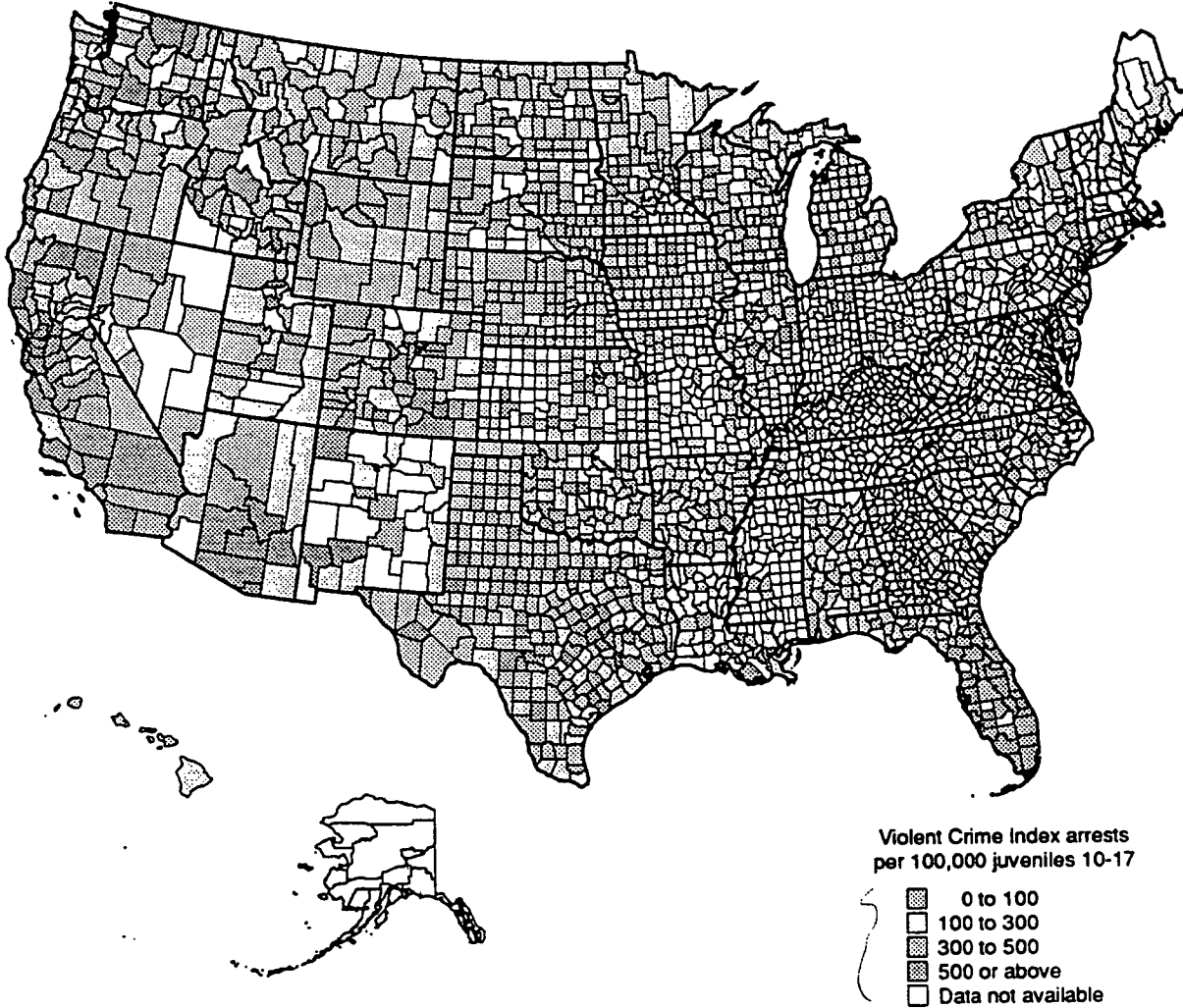


Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Readers are encouraged to review the technical note at the end of this summary.

Source: State rates were developed from data reported in *Crime in the United States 1992*.

Counties within a State exhibited diverse juvenile violent crime arrest rates in 1992



Note: Rates were classified as "Data not available" when agencies with jurisdiction over more than 50% of the population did not report.

Source: County rates were developed using *Uniform Crime Reporting Program data [United States]: County-level detailed arrest and offense data, 1992* [machine-readable data file] prepared by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.

**Arrests for Violent Crime Index offenses monitor violence levels in the juvenile population**

The Violent Crime Index combines four offenses (murder/nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault). The Index is

dominated by arrests for two of the four offenses — robbery and aggravated assault. In 1992, 93% of juvenile Violent Crime Index arrests were for robbery and aggravated assault. Thus, a jurisdiction with a high juvenile Violent Crime Index arrest rate does not necessarily have a high juvenile

arrest rate in each component of the Index. For example, while New Jersey had one of the highest juvenile Violent Crime Index arrest rates in 1992, its juvenile murder arrest rate was below the national average.

## After more than a decade of relative stability, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate soared between 1988 and 1992

**The increase in the juvenile arrest rate for violent crimes began in the late 1980's**

During the period from 1973 through 1988 the number of juvenile arrests for a Violent Crime Index offense (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) varied largely with the changing size of the juvenile population. However, in 1989, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate broke out of this historic range.

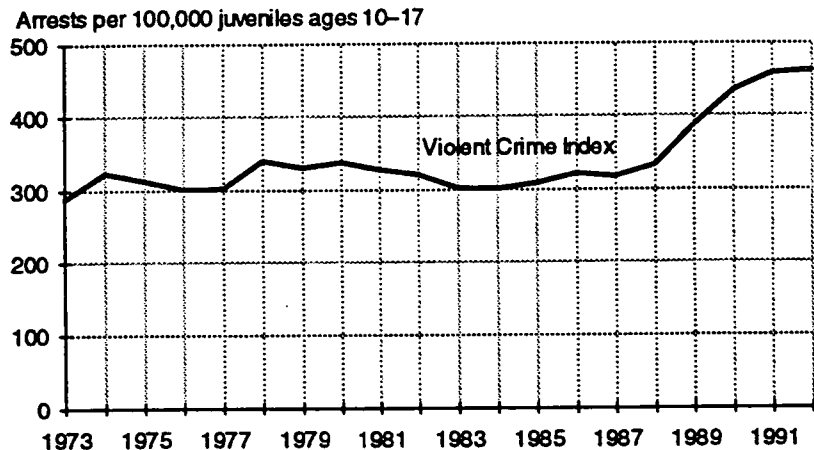
The years between 1988 and 1991 saw a 38% increase in the rate of juvenile arrests for violent crimes. The rate of increase then diminished, with the juvenile arrest rate increasing little between 1991 and 1992. This rapid growth over a relatively short period moved the juvenile arrest rate for violent crime in 1992 far above any year since the mid-1960's, the earliest time period for which comparable statistics are available.

**The juvenile violent crime arrest rate increased substantially in all racial groups in recent years**

In 1983 the violent crime arrest rate for black youth was nearly 7 times the white rate. Between 1983 and 1992 the white arrest rate increased more than the rate for blacks (82% versus 43%). As a result, the white and black rates have moved closer together, but there is still a wide gap. In 1992 the rate of violent crime arrests for black youth was about 5 times the white rate.

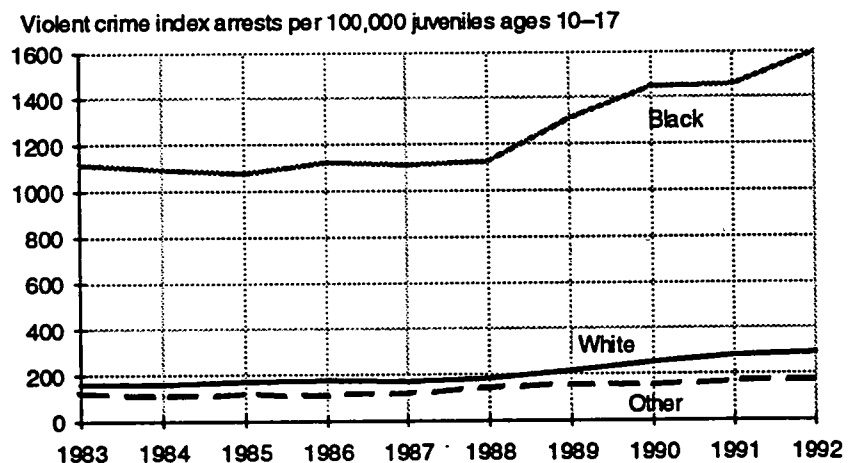
Over the 10-year period from 1983 through 1992, the violent crime arrest rate for youth of other races increased 42%, nearly equal to the increase in the black rate.

From 1973 through 1988 the juvenile arrest rates for violent crimes remained relatively constant, but these rates have climbed rapidly in recent years



Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992.*

**The rapid growth in violent crime arrest rates between 1988 and 1992 is found in all racial groups**



■ In absolute terms, the black rate grew much more than the white rate. That is, a typical 100,000 white juveniles experienced 110 more arrests in 1992 than in 1983, while a comparable group of black juveniles experienced 470 more arrests for a violent crime.

Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992.*

# If trends continue as they have over the past 10 years, juvenile arrests for violent crime will double by the year 2010

## Age-specific arrest rates provide a clearer picture of arrest trends

The media and the public often use arrest trends to assess the relative changes in juvenile and adult criminal behavior. Arrest trends are simple to report — *juvenile violent crime arrests up 47% in past 5 years* — but they are notoriously difficult to interpret. First, interpretations are complicated by population changes, which can be considerable, even over a short time period, for the few high-crime-generating age groups. For example, how differently would the increase in juvenile arrests from 1983 to 1992 be viewed if it were known that the number of 16- and 17-year-olds in the U.S. population declined by 10% over this period?

Also, juvenile and adult arrest trends lump everyone into one of two groups. This ignores important variations within the groups that may provide important information to understand these trends.

A better method for comparing arrest patterns is to compare annual, age-specific arrest rates — for example, the number of arrests of a typical group of 100,000 17-year-olds in 1983 and in 1992. Arrest rates control for the impact of population growth or decline on arrests. They also break down the juvenile and adult groups into smaller pieces so that changes in younger and older juveniles and adults can be studied independently. Age-specific arrest rates can also be used to project the number of future arrests if certain assumptions are made and projections of population growth are available.

## How many juvenile violent crime arrests will there be in the year 2010?

Estimates of future juvenile arrests for violent crime vary widely. The accuracy of these estimates relies on the appropriateness of each estimate's underlying assumptions and the accuracy of existing data. For this report, two sets of estimates were developed using different assumptions. Both sets are based on age-specific arrest rates and projected population growth (controlling for racial differences).

The first set of estimates assumes that the rates of juvenile violent crime arrests in 2010 will be equal to the rates in 1992. Under this assumption, the number of violent juvenile crime arrests is projected to increase 22% between 1992 and 2010. This increase corresponds to the projected growth in the juvenile population ages of 10 to

17. Projected increases would be nearly equal in all offense categories.

In contrast to the "constant rate" assumption underlying the first set of projections, the second set of estimates assumes that juvenile violent crime arrest rates will increase annually between 1992 and 2010 in each offense category as they have in recent history (i.e., from 1983 to 1992).

Assuming both population growth and continuing increases in arrest rates, the number of juvenile violent crime arrests is expected to double by 2010. The projected growth varies across crime categories. If current trends continue, by the year 2010 the number of juvenile arrests for murder is expected to increase 145% over the 1992 level. Projected increases are less than half as great for forcible rape (66%) and robbery (58%).

### Juvenile arrest projections vary with the nature of underlying assumptions

Offense	Juvenile arrests in 1992	Projections assuming no change in arrest rates from 1992 to 2010		Projections assuming annual changes in arrest rates equal to the average increases from 1983 to 1992	
		Juvenile arrests in 2010	Increase over 1992	Juvenile arrests in 2010	Increase over 1992
Violent Crime Index	129,600	158,600	22%	261,000	101%
Murder	3,300	4,100	23	8,100	145
Forcible rape	6,300	7,700	22	10,400	66
Robbery	45,700	56,600	24	72,200	58
Aggravated assault	74,400	90,200	21	170,300	129

■ If juvenile arrest rates remain constant through the year 2010, the number of juvenile arrests for violent crime will increase by one-fifth; if rates increase as they have in recent history, juvenile violent crime arrests will double.

Note: Both series of estimates control for racial variations in population growth.

# The increase in violent crime arrest rates is disproportionate for juveniles and young adults

## Violent crime arrest rates have increased in all age groups

Over the 10-year period from 1983 to 1992, arrest rates for Violent Crime Index offenses increased substantially for juveniles as well as adults. Juveniles had the largest increases (averaging nearly 60%), but even the rates for persons ages 35 to 39 increased 47%.

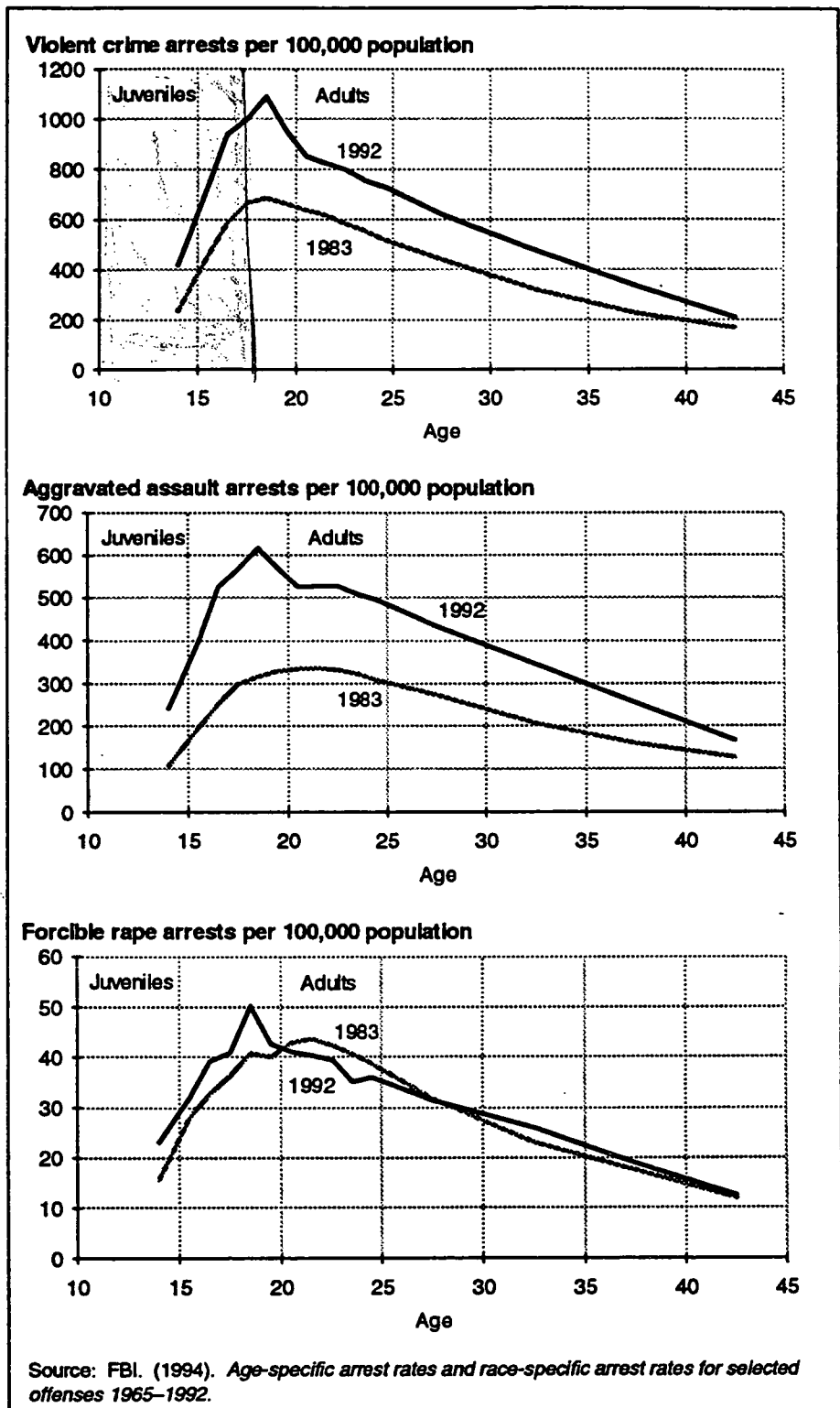
The Violent Crime Index treats each of its four offenses equally — an arrest for aggravated assault is counted the same as an arrest for murder. While this may be reasonable statistically, these four crimes raise different concerns and should be understood separately.

## Aggravated assault arrest rates increased most for juveniles and young adults

In 1992 arrests for aggravated assault were 68% of all Violent Crime Index arrests. Thus, changes in violent crime arrest rates primarily reflected changes in aggravated assaults. As with violent crime overall, aggravated assault arrest rates increased substantially between 1983 and 1992 in all age groups, with juvenile rates up about 100% and the rates for persons in their twenties up about 60%.

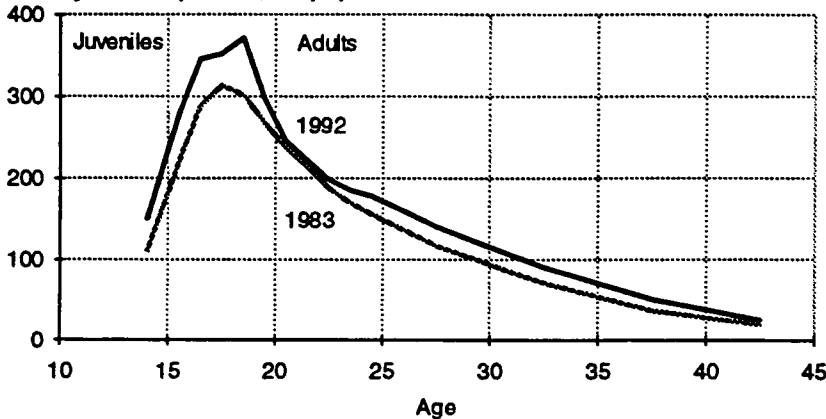
## Forcible rape arrest rates increased far less than other violent crimes

In contrast to the overall violent crime and aggravated assault patterns, forcible rape arrest rates for juveniles grew between 1983 and 1992 by a relatively small 20%, while actually declining for persons in their twenties.





**Robbery arrests per 100,000 population**



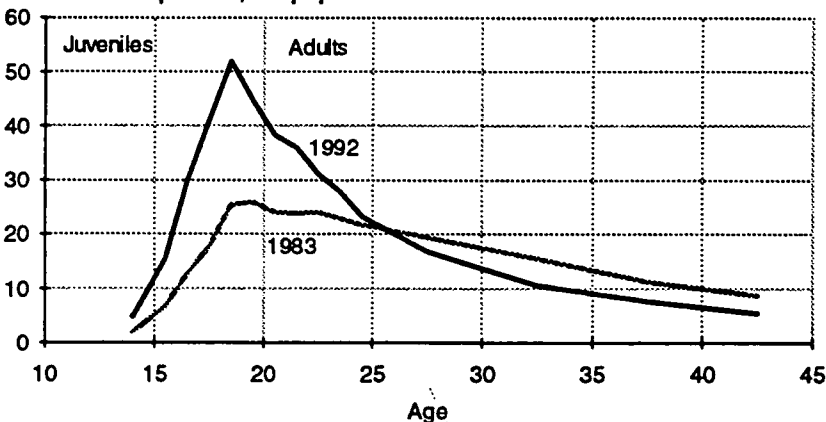
**Robbery arrest rates increased much less than aggravated assault rates**

Robbery arrest rates increased in all age groups from 1983 to 1992. However, the growth was less than half of violent crime overall. The age groups with the smallest increases were those in their early twenties, with the juvenile increases similar to those of persons above age 25.

**Murder rates declined in most age groups from 1983 to 1992**

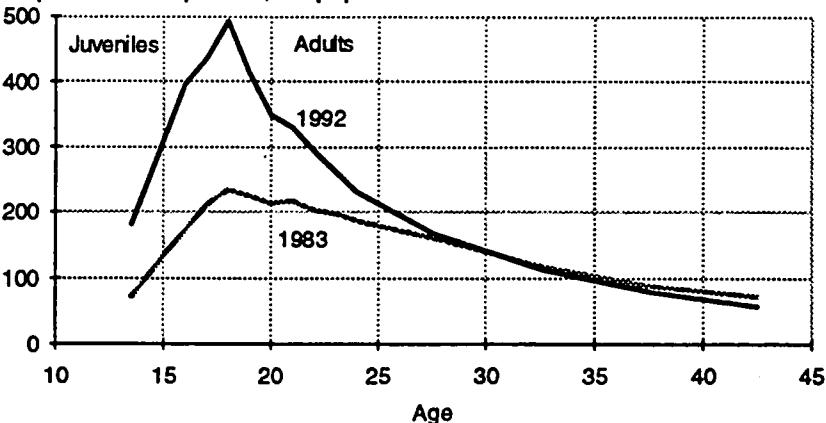
In 1992 persons above age 25 were arrested for murder at substantially lower rates than they were in 1983. For example, the murder arrest rate for persons ages 35–45 declined nearly 25% over the 10-year period. In stark contrast, murder arrest rates for juveniles and young adults soared, with increases far greater than in any other violent crime category. The average increase for juveniles was double the average increase for young adults.

**Murder arrests per 100,000 population**



The fact that murder arrests for all adults increased just 9% between 1983 and 1992 masks two very different trends within the adult age group. The substantial declines in murder arrest rates for adults above their midtwenties almost offset the very large increases in murder arrests of young adults.

**Weapons arrests per 100,000 population**



As in all violent crimes, 18-year-olds had the highest arrest rate for murder in 1992. However, the pattern of age-related growth in murder arrest rates was not mirrored in any other violent offense, but was paralleled in weapons arrests.

Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965–1992*.

## With some notable exceptions, percentage increases in juvenile and adult arrests have been roughly similar over the past 10 years

Between 1983 and 1992 the percentage growth in juvenile arrests for murder, weapons law violations, and motor vehicle theft far surpassed the growth in adult arrests

	Percent change in arrests					
	1991-1992		1988-1992		1983-1992	
	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile	Adult
<b>Total</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>-1%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>21%</b>
Crime Index Total	1	-2	12	5	16	25
Violent Crime Index	5	2	47	19	57	50
Murder	0	-6	51	9	128	9
Forcible rape	2	-2	17	3	25	14
Robbery	1	-2	50	13	22	21
Aggravated assault	8	4	49	23	95	69
Property Crime Index	0	-4	8	1	11	16
Burglary	-1	-3	1	-3	-20	-3
Larceny-theft	0	-4	8	2	13	21
Motor vehicle theft	-4	-4	12	-5	120	45
Arson	8	-3	25	-7	26	-18
Nonindex offenses	4	0	11	6	18	20
Other assaults	9	5	49	26	106	113
Forgery	-3	4	5	8	9	25
Fraud	10	0	-2	17	-41	31
Embezzlement	3	1	-38	-13	35	53
Stolen property	-4	-2	6	-2	39	21
Vandalism	5	-3	28	7	34	32
Weapons	16	5	66	13	117	21
Prostitution	-8	-4	-27	-1	-54	-17
Sex offense	10	4	28	6	41	22
Drug abuse	14	7	-10	0	7	64
Gambling	15	3	52	-17	25	-58
Against the family	27	7	53	56	212	79
Driving under influence	-19	-8	-37	-6	-52	-18
Liquor law violations	-12	-13	-24	-14	-12	12
Drunkenness	-14	-6	-26	-4	-47	-31
Disorderly conduct	6	-1	24	1	35	6
Vagrancy	57	-14	38	-8	36	-11
All other offenses (except traffic)	6	4	11	16	3	55
Curfew	1	*	5	*	9	*
Runaways	4	*	13	*	31	*

■ Because the absolute number of juvenile arrests is far below the adult level, a larger percentage increase in juvenile arrests does not necessarily imply a larger increase in the actual number of arrests. For example, while the percentage increase in juvenile arrests for a weapons law violation was much greater than the adult increase between 1983 and 1992, the increase in the number of arrests was 9% greater for adults.

\* Not applicable to adults.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Crime in the United States 1992*.

Persons arrested in 1992 were, on average, older than those arrested in 1972

Offense	Average age of arrestees	
	1972	1992
Violent Crime Index	26.2	27.6
Murder	29.7	27.2
Forcible rape	24.8	28.6
Robbery	22.0	24.1
Aggravated assault	29.0	28.8
Property Crime Index	21.1	25.1
Burglary	19.9	23.5
Larceny-theft	21.8	26.2
Motor vehicle theft	20.1	21.8
Arson	20.5	22.8
Weapons	29.1	26.0
Drug abuse	22.3	28.5

Source: FBI. (1993). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992*.

Between 1972 and 1992 the average age of the U.S. population increased by nearly 3 years. Generally following this increase in the general population, the average age of persons arrested in 1992 for larceny-theft, forcible rape, and burglary was nearly 4 years older than those arrested in 1972.

The increase in the average age of those arrested for a drug abuse violation was greater than the increase in the general population; those arrested for a drug abuse violation were nearly 6 years older.

Even with the aging of the U.S. population, the larger percentage increases in juvenile arrests for murder and weapons law violations resulted in a decline in the average age of arrestees in these crime categories. On average, 1992 arrestees were nearly 3 years younger than those arrested for these crimes in 1972.

## Although adults were responsible for most of the recent violent crime increases, juveniles contributed more than their fair share

### Users of reported crime and arrest statistics face difficult interpretation problems

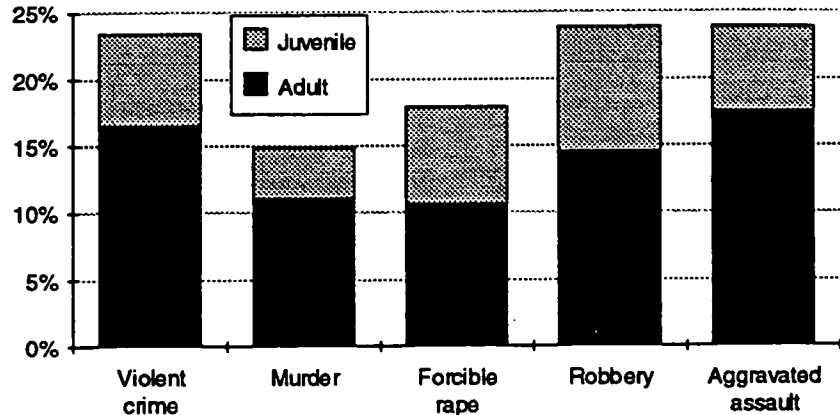
Violent crime is increasing and, based on their representation in the general population, juveniles are responsible for a disproportionate share of this increase. But is it accurate to say that juveniles are driving the violent crime trends?

The number of violent crimes reported to law enforcement agencies increased 23% between 1988 and 1992. Knowing that over this same period, juvenile arrests for violent crime grew 47%, while adult arrests for violent crimes increased 19%, it is easy to conclude that juveniles were responsible for most of the increase in violent crime. However, even though the percentage increase in juvenile arrests was more than double the adult increase, the growth in violent crime cannot be attributed primarily to juveniles.

An example shows how this apparent contradiction can occur. Of the 100 violent crimes committed in 1988 in a small town, assume that juveniles were responsible for 10, and adults for 90. If the number of juvenile crimes increased 50%, juveniles would be committing 15 (or 5 more) violent crimes in 1992. A 20% increase in adult violent crimes would mean that adults were committing 108 (or 18 more) violent crimes in 1992. If each crime resulted in an arrest, the percentage increase in juvenile arrests would be more than double the adult increase (50% versus 20%). However, nearly 80% of the increase in violent crime (18 of the 23 additional violent crimes) would have been committed by adults.

If juveniles had committed no more violent crimes in 1992 than in 1988, violent crime in the U.S. would have increased 16% instead of 23%

Percent change in violent crime 1988–1992



Juveniles were responsible for one-quarter of the 15% increase in murders between 1988 and 1992. If murders by juveniles had remained constant over this period, murders in the U.S. would have increased 11%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Crime in the United States 1992*.

Large percentage increases can yield relatively small overall changes. Juvenile arrests represent a relatively small fraction of the total; consequently, a large percentage increase in juvenile arrests does not necessarily translate into a large contribution to overall crime growth.

### Adults responsible for 70% of recent increase in violent crimes

In 1988 the FBI reported juveniles were arrested in 9% of the violent crimes for which someone was arrested; this juvenile clearance percentage was 13% in 1992. If it is assumed that juveniles were responsible for similar percentages of the *unsolved* violent crimes in these years, then it is possible to estimate the number of crimes committed by juveniles and by adults in 1988 and 1992.

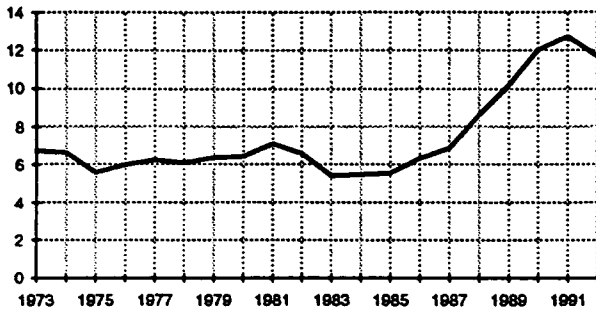
From FBI reported crime and clearance statistics, it was estimated that juveniles committed 108,000 more Violent Crime Index offenses in 1992 than in 1988, while adults committed an additional 258,000. Therefore, juveniles were responsible for 30% of the growth in violent crime between 1988 and 1992. Between 1988 and 1992 juveniles were responsible for 26% of the increase in murders, 41% of the increase in forcible rapes, 39% of the increase in robberies, and 27% of the increase in aggravated assaults. Juveniles contributed less to the increase in murder than to the increases in other violent crimes.

# Trends in juvenile arrests for specific violent crimes show different patterns

## Murder/Nonnegligent Manslaughter

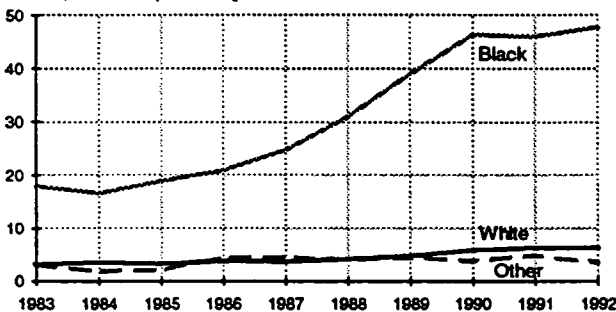
The juvenile arrest rate varied little from 1973 to 1987, but increased 84% from 1987 to 1991, before it dropped in 1992 for the first time in 8 years.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



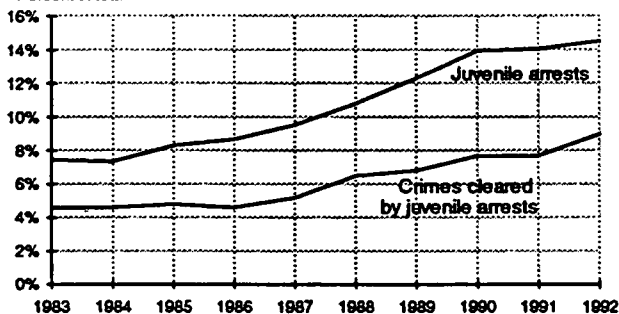
The disparity between white and black arrest rates increased between 1983 and 1992, with the black rate increasing more than the white rate (166% vs. 94%).

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



Paralleling the growth in juvenile arrest rates, the juvenile proportion of murders cleared grew from 5% in 1983 to 9% in 1992.

Percent of total

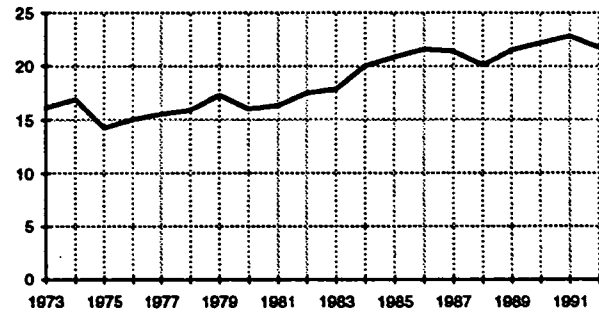


Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992*. FBI. (1984-1993). *Crime in the United States series*.

## Forcible Rape

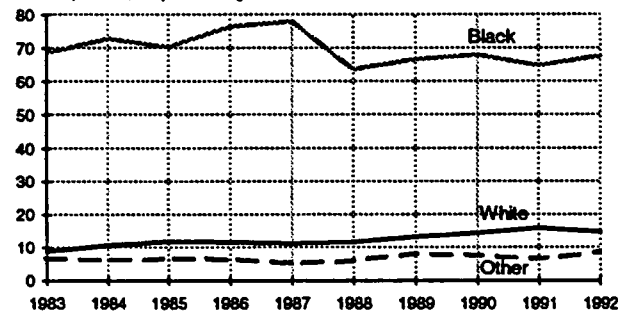
Unlike the Violent Crime Index trend, the juvenile arrest rate for forcible rape has increased gradually since the mid 1970's.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



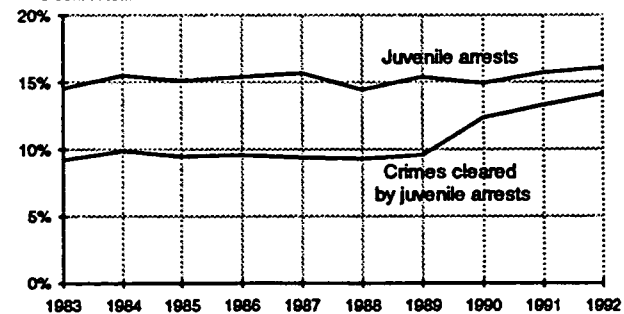
Between 1983 and 1992, the arrest rate of black youth for forcible rape showed no consistent trends, while the comparatively low white rate increased 66%.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



While juveniles were involved in about 15% of forcible rape arrests between 1983 and 1992, the percentage of forcible rapes cleared by juvenile arrests grew.

Percent of total

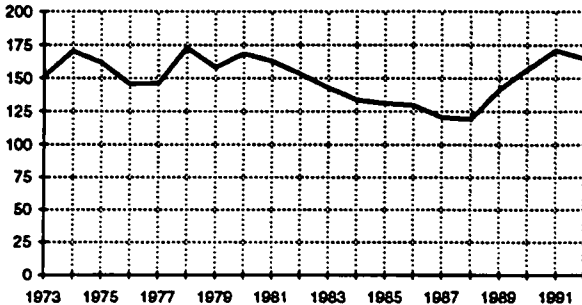


Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992*. FBI. (1984-1993). *Crime in the United States series*.

## Robbery

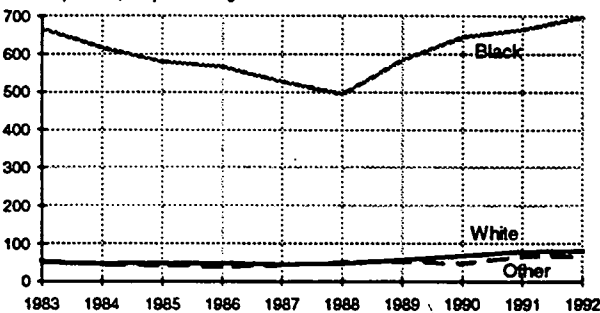
Unlike the trends for other violent crimes, juvenile robbery arrest rates declined during most of the 1980's before reversing in 1989 and returning to 1980 levels.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



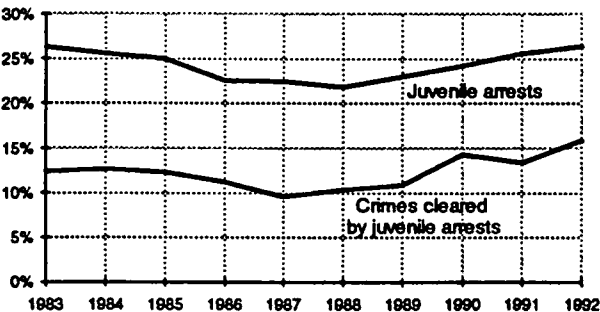
The disparity between black and white arrest rates was greater for robbery than for any of the other three Violent Crime Index offenses.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



Between 1983 and 1992 the juvenile proportion of robbery arrests declined and then, in the late 1980's, increased to earlier levels.

Percent of total

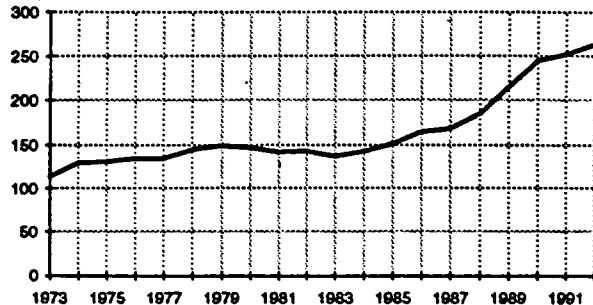


Source: FBI. (1994). Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992. FBI. (1984-1993). Crime in the United States series.

## Aggravated Assault

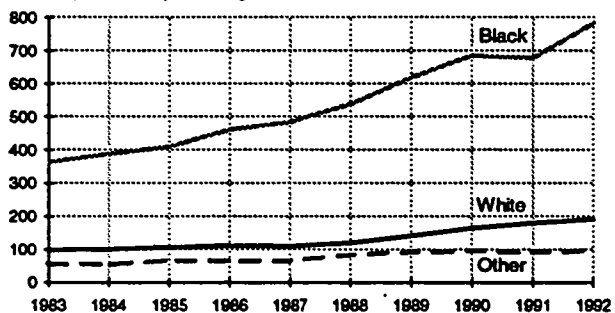
Juvenile arrest rates for aggravated assault remained relatively constant from the mid 1970's through the mid 1980's before increasing sharply through 1992.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



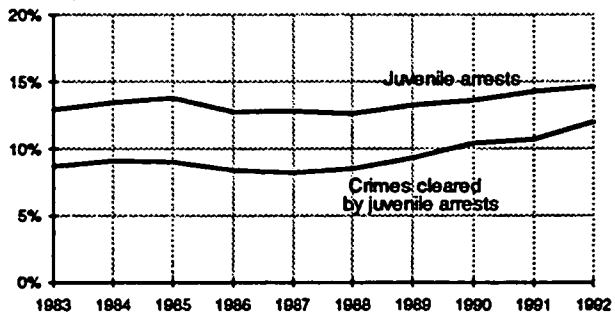
Juvenile arrest rates for aggravated assault increased substantially across all racial groups — 94% for whites, 116% for blacks, and 66% for other races.

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



With large increases in both juvenile and adult rates between 1983 and 1992, the juvenile proportion of aggravated assault arrests increased only slightly.

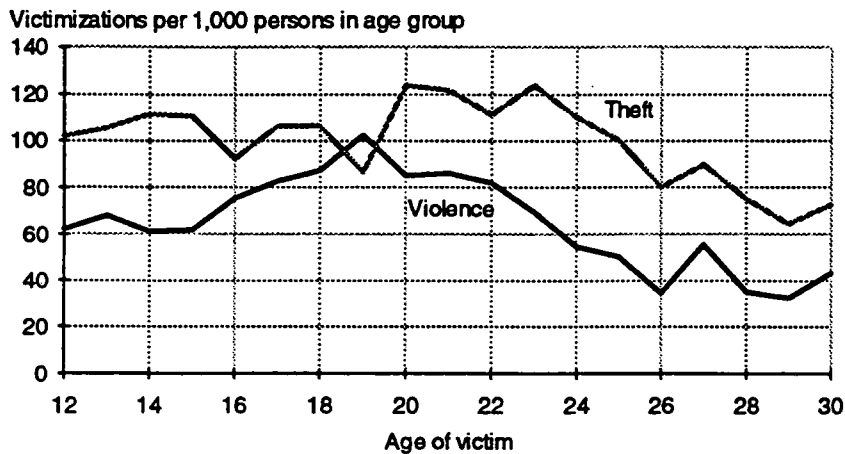
Percent of total



Source: FBI. (1994). Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992. FBI. (1984-1993). Crime in the United States series.

# Any juvenile between ages 12 and 17 is more likely to be the victim of violent crime than are persons past their midtwenties

The risk of violent victimization in 1991 was greater for a 12-year-old than for anyone age 24 or older



- The risk of violent victimization for a 29-year-old in 1991 was less than one-half of that faced by a 17-year-old.
- The risk of violent crime varies substantially within the juvenile age groups. The risk of violent crime for a 17-year-old was 33% greater than the risk for a 12-year-old.
- The risk of being a victim of personal theft (i.e., larceny with and without contact) in 1991 was greater for a 12-year-old than for anyone age 26 or older.

Source: BJS. (1993). *National crime victimization survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

## Juveniles and young adults have the greatest risk of victimization

Victimization rates vary substantially across age groups. Senior citizens have much lower victimization rates than persons ages 18–24. In fact, these young adults have the highest rates within the adult population. The victimization rate for juveniles is roughly the same as that of young adults and substantially above the rates for persons over age 24. This is true for both crimes of violence and crimes of theft.

## Juvenile victims are likely to know their offender

Most offenders who victimize juveniles are family members, friends, or acquaintances. In 1991 only 22% of personal crimes against juveniles were committed by strangers. Adults were much more likely to be victimized by strangers (42%). The juvenile and adult proportions of stranger crimes in

In 1991 juveniles ages 12–17 were as likely to be the victims of rape, robbery, and simple assault as were adults ages 18–24 ; aggravated assault was the only violent crime for which young adults had a statistically higher victimization rate

Crime type	Victimizations per 1,000 persons in age group							
	All Ages	Juveniles			Adults			
		Total	12–14	15–17	Total	18–24	25–34	35+
Personal crime	98	172	166	179	89	193	114	57
Crimes of violence	32	71	65	78	28	81	37	14
Rape	1	2	1	3	<1	2	1	<1
Robbery	6	10	11	10	5	12	8	3
Aggravated assault	8	15	14	17	7	24	9	3
Simple assault	18	44	40	48	15	42	19	7
Crimes of theft	65	101	102	101	61	112	77	43
Personal larceny with contact	3	3	2	3	3	4	3	2
Personal larceny without contact	62	98	100	97	58	109	74	41

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: BJS. (1993). *National crime victimization survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

1991 were more similar for rape and robbery than for aggravated assault and simple assault.

	Percent	
	stranger crime juvenile	Adult
Personal crimes*	22%	42%
Rape	33	39
Robbery	44	51
Aggravated assault	20	38
Simple assault	15	38

\* Includes crimes of theft.

### A gun was used in 1 in 4 serious violent offenses against juveniles in 1991

The offender was armed in 67% of serious violent crimes (i.e., crimes of violence excluding simple assault) involving juvenile victims. In 19% of serious violent incidents the offender had a handgun, in 6% a gun other than a handgun, in 18% a knife, and in 25% a blunt object was used.

The level of weapon use against juveniles is only slightly less than against adults. Compared with adult victimizations, offenders in serious violent incidents against juveniles were less likely to be armed (67% compared with 72% for adults) and, when armed, less likely to use a handgun (19% compared with 24% for adults).

### Juveniles suffer fewer and less serious injuries than adults

The proportion of serious violent incidents that resulted in injury was the same for juveniles (35%) as for adults (36%) in 1991. Adult victims of serious violent crime, however, were twice as likely as juvenile victims to be injured seriously (14% versus 7%). Injuries requiring hospital stays of at least 2 days were also more common for adult (3%) than for juvenile victims (fewer than 1%).

### More than 1 in 5 violent crime victims in 1991 was a juvenile age 12-17

Crime type	Proportion of victims who were:			
	Total	Juveniles		Adults
		12-14	15-17	
Personal crime	18%	9%	9%	82%
Crimes of violence	22%	10%	12%	78%
Rape	18	3	15	82
Robbery	18	9	8	82
Aggravated assault	20	9	11	80
Simple assault	24	11	13	76
Crimes of theft	16	8	8	84
Personal larceny with contact	11	4	7	89
Personal larceny without contact	16	8	8	84

Source: BJS. (1993). *National crime victimization survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

### Much of what is known about the victimization of juveniles comes from NCVS

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducts the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). With funds from BJS, the Bureau of the Census contacts a large nationally representative sample of households and asks their occupants to describe the personal crimes they have experienced. Personal crimes are broken into two general categories: crimes of violence and crimes of theft.

Personal crimes of violence include rape, personal robbery, and aggravated and simple assault. These crimes always involve contact between victim and offender. For this report, serious violent crime includes all crimes of violence except simple assault. Personal crimes of theft include larcenies (theft without force or threat of force) with and without victim-offender contact.

With all its strengths, NCVS has limitations in describing the extent of juvenile victimizations. NCVS does not capture information from, or about, victims below age 12. Designers of the survey believe that younger respondents are not able to provide the information requested. Therefore, juvenile victimizations reported by NCVS cover only those that involve older juveniles. In addition, as with any self-report survey, NCVS has limited ability to address the sensitive issues of intrafamily violence and child abuse.

Some official data sources (such as law enforcement and child protective service agencies) can provide a partial picture of crime against juveniles. However, they are limited to those incidents made known to them.

**Compared with other juveniles, black youth are more likely to be the victim of a violent crime**

Race/ethnicity of victim	Violent victimizations per 1,000 population	
	Ages 12-17	Ages 18-24
Total	71	82
White (not Hispanic)	69	84
White Hispanic	69	56
Black	84	99
Other	42	66

In 1991 black juveniles and young black adults had the highest violent victimization rates. Black juveniles had a violent victimization rate 20% higher than that of white juveniles. Among both blacks and non-Hispanic whites, young adults had a greater risk of violent victimization than did juveniles, while the reverse was true for white Hispanics.

**Whites were more likely than Hispanics or blacks to be the victim of a personal theft in 1991**

Race/ethnicity of victim	Personal theft victimizations per 1,000 population	
	Ages 12-17	Ages 18-24
Total	101	110
White (not Hispanic)	109	122
White Hispanic	74	84
Black	87	77
Other	76	93

White juveniles were 25% more likely to be the victim of a personal theft than were black juveniles in 1991. In contrast, while white and Hispanic young adults were about 10% more likely to be a victim of a personal theft

than were same race juveniles, black juveniles were at greater risk than young black adults.

**When cash or property was taken from a juvenile victim in 1991, most lost less than \$25**

In 1991, 56% of crimes involving personal theft from a juvenile resulted in losses of \$25 or less. Twenty-seven percent involved losses of more than \$50. The losses of adult victims were somewhat greater. Among adults, 36% of personal thefts involved the loss of \$25 or less and 50% involved losses of more than \$50.

**Personal crimes with juvenile victims occurred most often in school or on school property**

In 1991 approximately 56% of juvenile victimizations happened in school or on school property. There is no comparable place where crimes against adults were so concentrated. Much of this concentration for juveniles was due to personal theft. Seventy-two percent of personal thefts involving juvenile victims occurred in school.

Twenty-three percent of violent juvenile victimizations occurred in school or on school property in 1991. For juveniles, violent crimes were about as likely to occur at home (25%) as they were in school. A somewhat larger proportion of the violent crimes reported by juvenile victims occurred on the street (33%). A larger proportion (35%) of violent crimes involving adult victims happened in the home.

**Few juvenile victimizations are reported to law enforcement**

Only 20% of juvenile personal victimizations were brought to the attention of police in 1991. In contrast, 37% of adult personal victimizations were reported to police. When asked why the event was not reported to police, 35% of these juvenile victims said that they reported the incident to some other authority, primarily school officials. If the percentage of juvenile victimizations reported to police is combined with those not reported to police but reported to school officials, approximately 48% of juvenile personal victimizations were reported to an authority in 1991.

Juveniles reported that police responded to approximately 64% of the personal crimes brought to their attention. This is essentially the same rate at which police appeared for events reported to them by adult victims.

For personal crimes involving juvenile victims that resulted in a police response, the victim reported that the police arrived within 10 minutes of notification in 48% of the incidents. In 82% of the incidents, police arrived within an hour.

Response times were similar for adults. Police arrived within 10 minutes in 43% of the incidents and within an hour in 82% of the incidents.



## A juvenile's risk of becoming a victim of a nonfatal violent crime increased between 1987 and 1991

### NCVS monitors changes in nonfatal violent victimizations

The National Crime Victimization Survey asks respondents to report on crimes in which they were the victim, which obviously excludes fatal incidents. Nonfatal violent victimizations include rape, robbery, and aggravated and simple assault.

### The risk of violent victimization has increased for juveniles and young adults in recent years

Between 1987 and 1991 the risk that a person between the ages of 12 and 17 would become a victim of a nonfatal violent crime increased 17%. Over this period the risk of violence increased from 61 to 71 violent victimizations per 1,000 juveniles. During the same period the risk of violence for those ages 18-24 increased 24% from 66 to 81 per 1,000. The risk of violent victimizations for age groups above age 24 declined with age, and the risks that they would become the victim of a nonfatal violent crime did not increase between 1987 and 1991.

During the same period the risk of personal theft for juveniles decreased from 114 to 101 per 1,000, although this decrease was not significant statistically.

### Recent changes in juvenile victimization rates varied by race and ethnic group

Changes in a juvenile's risk of violent crime differed by race and ethnicity. The rate of violent victimization for non-Hispanic whites increased 21% between 1987 and 1991, from 57 to 69 per 1,000. During the same period, the violent victimization rate for blacks remained constant. Black juveniles had a violent victimization rate of 84 per 1,000 in 1991. The victimization rate for white-Hispanic juveniles increased more than 40% to a level equal to that of whites, but due to their small numbers in the NCVS sample, this difference was not statistically significant.

The increase in risk of violent victimization for young adults (ages 18 to 24) was greater for blacks than for whites from 1987 to 1991. Violent victimizations among non-Hispanic whites

increased 25% (from 67 to 84 per 1,000) and among blacks 48% (from 67 to 99 per 1,000).

### The nature of nonfatal violence against juveniles did not change much between 1987 and 1991

In the case of serious violence (rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) no statistically significant changes occurred in the nature of juvenile victimizations. The proportion involving serious injury declined from 11% to 7% but this difference was not statistically significant. The percent of serious violent incidents resulting in injury remained essentially the same (37% in 1987 and 35% in 1991) as did the proportion resulting in hospital stays. The proportion of serious violent incidents in which weapons were used also remained essentially the same from 1987 (66%) to 1991 (67%).

Between 1987 and 1991 no statistically significant changes occurred in the places where serious violence occurred, in the reporting of these events to the police, or in the characteristics of juvenile victims.

### Neither robbery nor aggravated assault victimization rates changed significantly between 1987 and 1991 for persons ages 12-17

	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
Population ages 12-17 (in millions)	20,756	20,346	20,049	20,102	20,370
Total violent victimizations	1,258,000	1,245,000	1,294,000	1,328,000	1,448,000
Victimizations per 1,000 population:					
Crimes of Violence*	61	61	65	66	71
Robbery	8	9	10	11	10
Aggravated assault	15	16	14	16	15
Simple assault	36	36	39	37	44

\* Includes data on rape not displayed as a separate category.

Source: Moone, J. (1994). Juvenile victimizations: 1987-1992. *OJJDP Fact Sheet*.

# Recent large increases in the homicide rates of black and older juveniles are the result of increases in firearm homicides

## Fatal injuries to youth have decreased, while homicides rise

Injury was the leading cause of death for youth below age 20 in 1991. Homicide was second only to motor vehicle accidents as the leading cause of fatal injuries. Two in five injury deaths of these youth in 1991 were the result of motor vehicle collisions. More than 1 in 5 injury deaths resulted from homicide. Between 1986 and 1991, while the number of youth dying in motor vehicle accidents declined 20%, homicide deaths rose substantially.

## On a typical day in 1992, seven juveniles were murdered

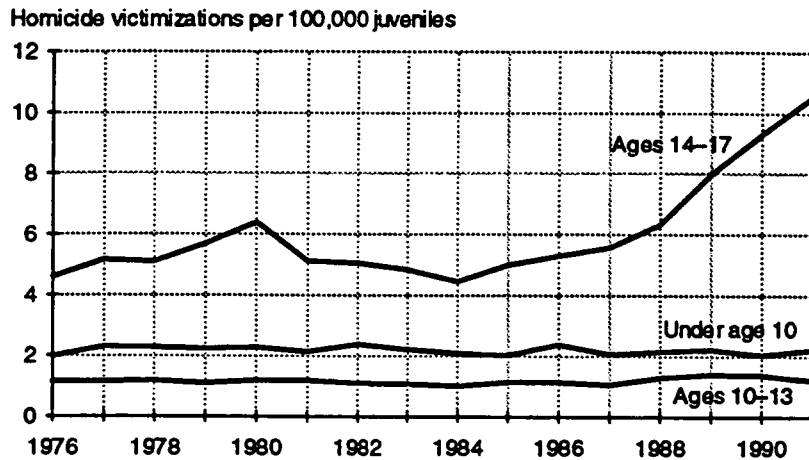
An FBI Supplementary Homicide Report form is completed on all homicides known to police. Data are collected on victim and offender demographics, the victim-offender relationship, the weapon, and circumstances surrounding the homicide.

From 1985 through 1992 nearly 17,000 persons under age 18 were murdered in the U.S. In 1992, 2,595 juveniles were murdered, an average of 7 per day.

Year	Number of juvenile homicides
1985	1,605
1986	1,753
1987	1,738
1988	1,955
1989	2,184
1990	2,339
1991	2,610
1992	2,595

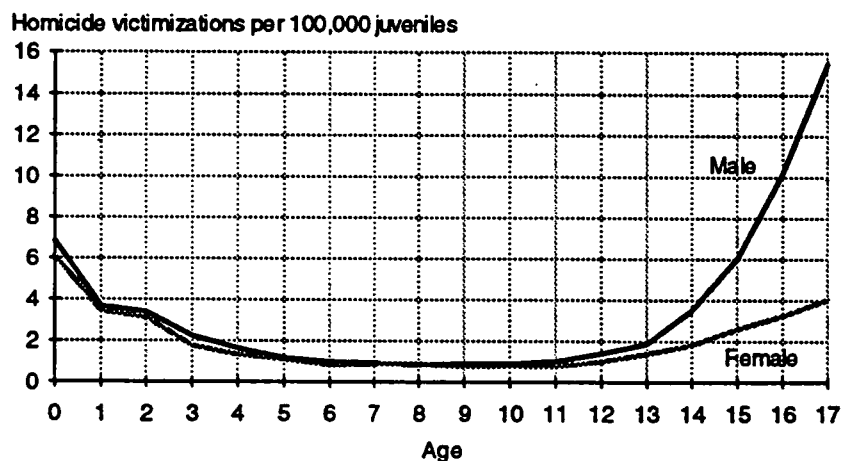
Source: FBI. (1986-1993). *Crime in the United States series.*

## The homicide victimization rate for juveniles ages 14-17 has nearly doubled since the mid-1980's, while the rates for younger juveniles have remained relatively constant



Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976-1991* [machine-readable data files].

## Until boys and girls become teenagers, they have an equal chance of being murdered



■ The rate of homicide victimization is higher for children age 5 and younger than for those between ages 6 and 11. After age 11 the homicide victimization rate increases throughout adolescence, especially for boys.

Note: Rates are based on the 1976-1991 combined average.

Source: FBI (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976-1991* [machine-readable data files].

### Juvenile homicides have increased most in large cities

The growth in juvenile homicide has been most pronounced in larger cities, those more than one-quarter million in population. Although the rate of juvenile homicides has increased in the U.S. in recent years, growth has been smallest in the South.

### Homicide victimization rates have increased for males and females

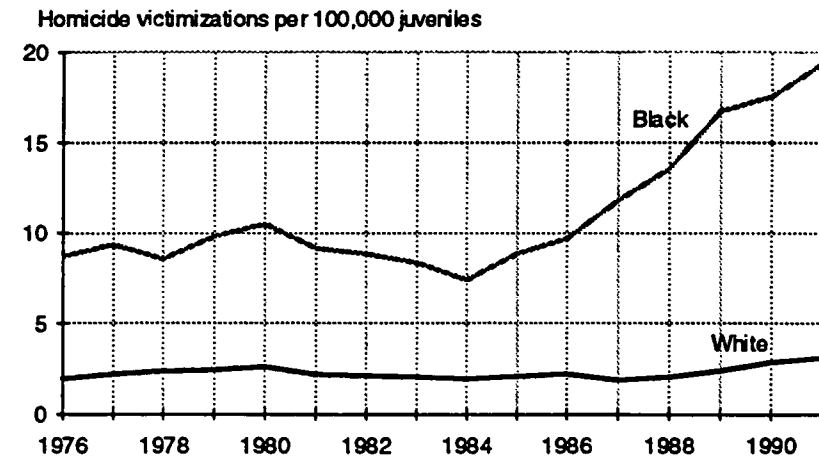
Sixty-five percent of juvenile homicide victims between 1976 and 1991 were male. The risk of being murdered has increased since the mid-1980's for both boys and girls. However, the increase has been greater for males. As a result, the male proportion of juvenile homicide victims has increased. In 1985, 64% of juvenile homicide victims were males; in 1991 this proportion had increased to 72%.

### Black males ages 14-17 are more likely than other juveniles to be homicide victims

Slightly more than half of the juveniles killed between 1976 and 1991 were white. In terms of rate per 100,000 persons, however, black juveniles were 4 times more likely than white juveniles to be homicide victims. As a result, young black males have the highest homicide victimization rate of any race/sex group. The rate for black males was twice that of black females, 5 times that of white males, and 8 times that of white females.

Race and sex differences in homicide victimization rates were even more pronounced among older juveniles.

### The homicide victimization rate among black juveniles has increased substantially in recent years



Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976-1991* [machine-readable data files].

Among juveniles ages 14 to 17, blacks were 5 times more likely to be murdered than whites. Similarly, older boys were 3 times more likely to be killed than older girls.

These race and sex differences in homicide victimization rates have increased in recent years, especially among older juveniles. In 1984 among juveniles ages 14 to 17, the homicide victimization rate for black males was 3 times that of black females, 5 times that of white males, and 9 times that of white females. By 1991 among these older juveniles, the homicide victimization rate for black males was 7 times that of black females, 8 times that of white males, and 29 times that of white females.

### Most juvenile victims know their attacker, usually well

In 22% of homicides involving a juvenile victim between 1976 and 1991, information about the offender is

unknown because the case is unsolved. For cases in which the offender was known, 24% percent of juvenile victims were murdered by other juveniles. Most juveniles (76%) were killed by adults; 52% were killed by persons ages 18 to 29.

Most juvenile homicides involved victims and offenders of the same race. Ninety-two percent of the black juvenile victims were killed by blacks, and 93% of the white juvenile victims were killed by whites.

Forty percent of juvenile homicide victims were killed by family members, most of them by parents. Of these parent-killing-child cases, slightly more than half of the boys (53%) were killed by their fathers, and slightly more than half of the girls (51%) were murdered by their mothers.

Forty-five percent of juvenile homicide victims were murdered by friends, neighbors, or acquaintances. These

incidents generally involved boys being killed by males (66%).

Fourteen percent of juvenile homicide victims were killed by strangers. In murders by strangers, one-third occurred during the commission of another felony, such as rape or robbery.

### Young children are often killed by parents, older juveniles by their peers

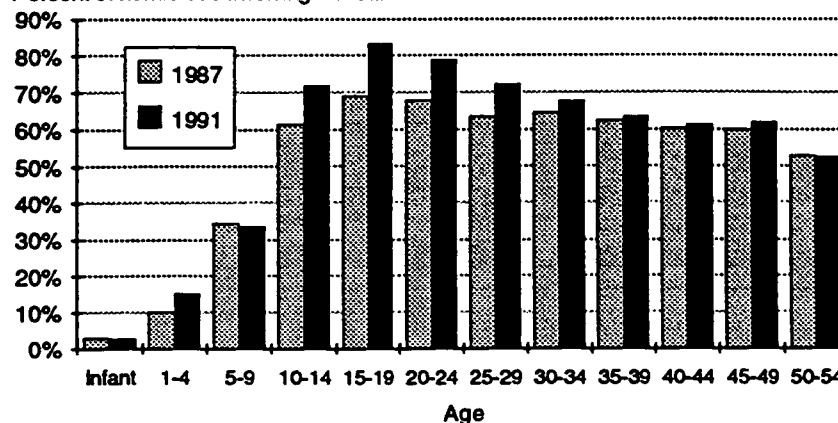
Children were more likely than were older juveniles to be killed by their parents. Fifty-nine percent of homicide victims under age 10 were killed by parents (more often the father). Fists or feet were the most common weapons in such killings (45%). Eighteen percent of these younger children were killed with a firearm. These younger homicide victims were slightly more likely to be male (54%).

A Bureau of Justice Statistics study of murder cases disposed in 1988 found that 4 in 5 children under age 12 murdered by their parents had been previously abused by the parent who killed them.

Homicide victims ages 10 to 17 were more often killed by a friend or other acquaintance (61%) rather than by a family member (16%). More than 70% of these homicide victims were shot to death. The large majority of juvenile homicide victims in this age range were male (73%).

### Homicides of youth ages 15–19 are most likely to involve a gun

Percent of homicides involving a firearm



Sources: FBI. (1988). *Crime in the United States 1987*. (1992). *Crime in the United States 1991*.

### More than half of juvenile homicide victims are killed with a firearm

In 1991 approximately 57% of all juvenile homicide victims were killed with a firearm, 8% were killed with a cutting or stabbing instrument, and 17% were killed with personal weapons such as fists or feet. Overall, homicide victims under age 18 were less likely than were adult homicide victims to be killed with a firearm and more likely than were adult victims to be killed with personal weapons. Older teens (ages 15 to 19) were more likely than was any other age group to be killed with a gun, while the murderers of young children rarely used a gun.

### The firearm homicide rate increased while the nonfirearm homicide rate declined

The firearm homicide death rate for teens ages 15 to 19 increased 61% between 1979 and 1989, from 6.9 to 11.1 deaths per 100,000. During the same period, the nonfirearm homicide rate decreased 29%, from 3.4 to 2.4. Thus, the observed increase in the homicide rate for older teenagers was driven solely by the increase in firearm homicides.

Homicides involving firearms have been the leading cause of death for black males ages 15 to 19 since 1969. In 1979 there were fewer than 40 such deaths per 100,000 black males that age in the population — by 1989 the figure had increased to more than 85. In 1989 the firearm homicide death rate among black males ages 15 to 19 in metropolitan counties was 6.5 times the rate in nonmetropolitan counties.

## After a decade of gradual increase, the juvenile arrest rate for weapons violations increased 75% between 1987 and 1992

**A weapons law violation was the most serious charge in 54,000 juvenile arrests in 1992**

There were more juvenile arrests for weapons law violations in 1992 than for murder, forcible rape, and robbery combined. A weapons law violation was the most serious charge in 54,000 juvenile arrests. Many more juvenile arrests actually involved a weapons law violation but, following the FBI's reporting procedures, an arrest is classified under the most serious offense involved (e.g., aggravated assault, robbery, forcible rape, and murder).

**Juveniles arrests for weapons law violations more than doubled between 1983 and 1992**

Between 1983 and 1992 the adult arrests increased 21%, while juvenile arrests increased 117%. During this same time period, juvenile murder arrests rose 128% and aggravated assault arrests rose 95%, while arrests for other assaults increased 106%. These large increases in juvenile arrests reflect a growing involvement of juveniles in violent crime.

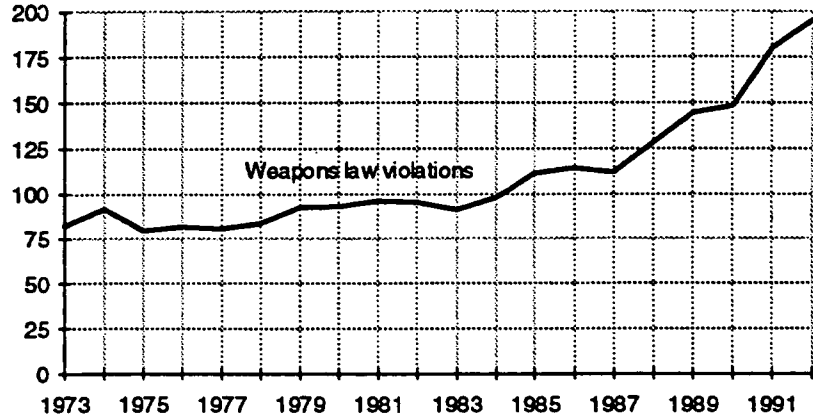
**As juveniles age, the probability that their murderer will use a firearm increases substantially**

The proportion of victims killed by firearms in 1992 varied with the age of the victim:

- 4% of victims under age 1.
- 15% of victims ages 1-4.
- 37% of victims ages 5-9.
- 72% of victims ages 10-14.
- 85% of victims ages 15-17.

**The 20-year trend in the rate of juvenile arrests for weapons law violations closely parallels the juvenile arrest trend for murder**

Arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17

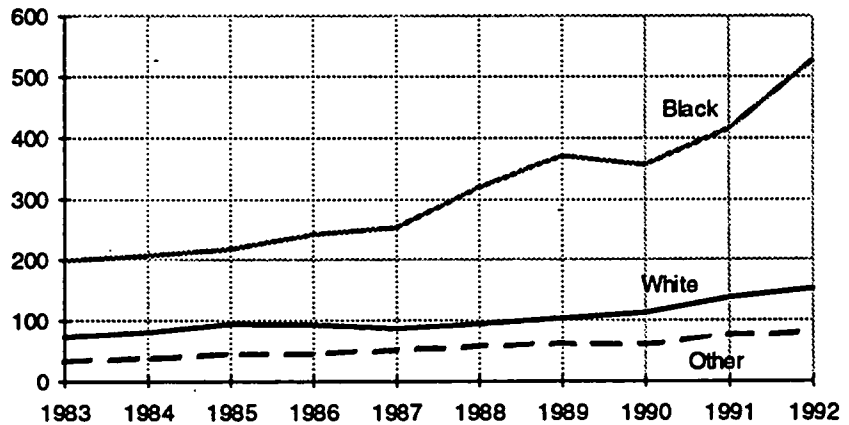


- It took 12 years (from 1975 to 1987) for the juvenile arrest rate for weapons offenses to increase 25%. In comparison, it took just 2 years (from 1987 to 1989) for the rate to increase another 25%, and then just 2 more years (from 1989 to 1991) for another 25% increase.

Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992*.

**Juvenile arrest rates for weapons law violations more than doubled between 1983 and 1992 in each racial group**

Weapons arrests per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



- The increase for black juveniles (167%) was greater than the increases for whites (106%) and for youth of other races (129%).

Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992*.

## Increase in homicides by juveniles is tied to the use of guns

### The FBI is a primary source of information on homicide

The FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* provide data on offenders as well as victims. In 29% of homicides that occurred between 1976 and 1991, the identity of the perpetrator was unknown, at least at the time the reports were completed by law enforcement authorities. From the large majority of homicides in which the offender is known, however, a profile of juveniles who murder can be developed and trends in juvenile homicide can be examined.

### The growth in homicides involving juvenile offenders has surpassed that among adults

From 1976 to 1991, nearly 23,000 persons under age 18 were known perpetrators of homicide in the U.S., an average of more than 1,400 per year. Moreover, the number of known juvenile homicide offenders has more than doubled in recent years, from 969 in 1984 to 2,202 in 1991, while the number of adult offenders increased 20% over the same period.

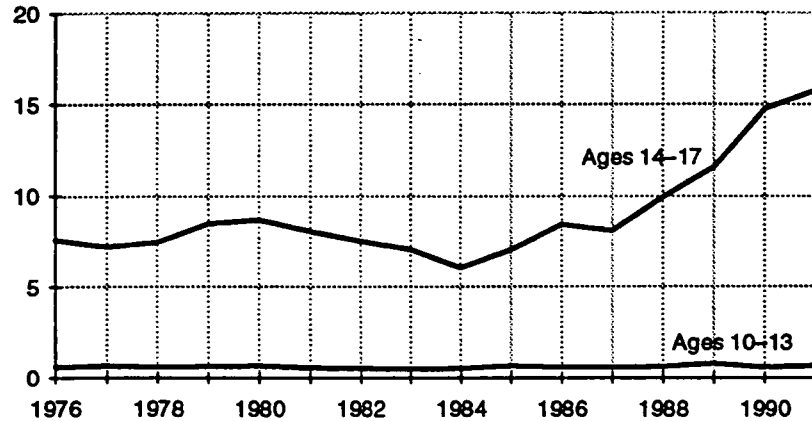
The trends in homicide for male and female juveniles are quite different. Controlling for population changes, homicides by male juveniles have more than doubled in number since the mid-1980's, whereas those by female juveniles have remained steady in recent years.

### Between 1976 and 1991, 9 in 10 juvenile murderers were male, and about half were white

Most juvenile homicide offenders are male (91%). Boys are 10 times more likely to commit homicide than girls.

### The homicide offending rate for 14-17-year-olds increased substantially in recent years, while the rate for younger juveniles remained constant

Homicide offenders per 100,000 juveniles in age group

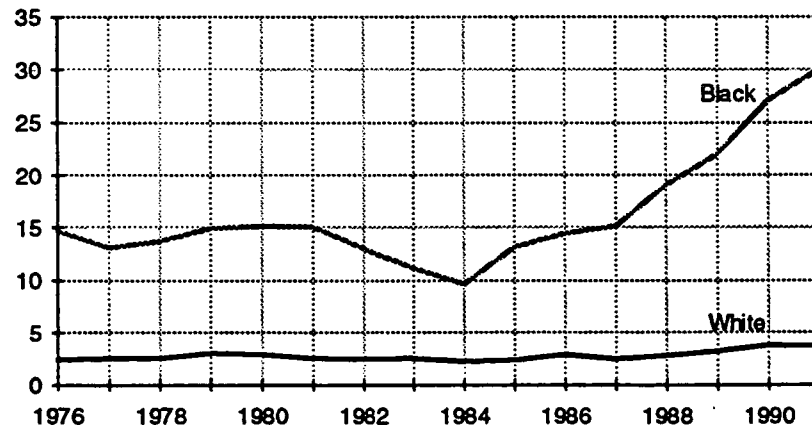


- Between 1984 and 1991 the rate at which juveniles ages 14 to 17 committed murder increased 160%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976-1991* [machine-readable data files].

### The homicide offending rate for black juveniles is substantially higher than the rate for white juveniles and has risen sharply in recent years

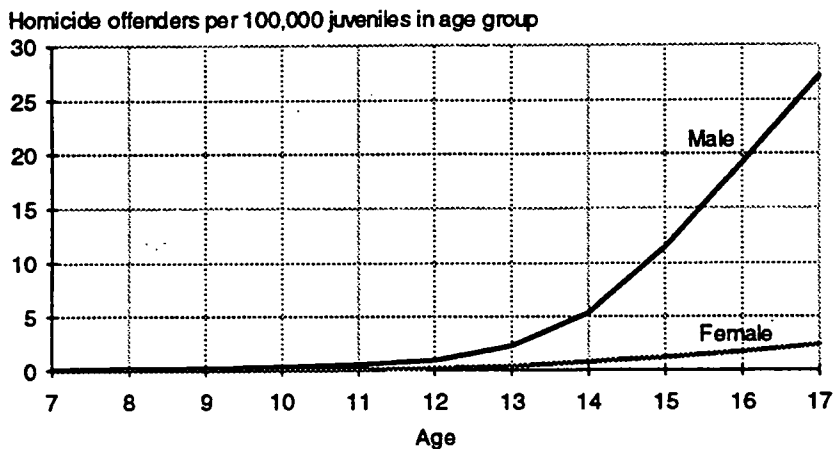
Homicide offenders per 100,000 juveniles ages 10-17



- Between 1984 and 1991 the rate at which white juveniles committed murder increased by 64%, while the black juvenile murder rate increased 211%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976-1991* [machine-readable data files].

**The disparity between juvenile male and female homicide offending rates increases with age**



■ At age 13 the male homicide rate is 6.3 times greater than the female rate; by age 17 the male rate is 11.5 times greater.

Note: Rates are based on the 1976–1991 combined average.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976–1991* [machine-readable data files].

The rate of homicide offending increases throughout adolescence. This is true for both boys and girls, but the growth during adolescence is particularly sharp for boys.

Nearly half (47%) of juvenile homicide offenders are white. However, when population differences are taken into account, black juveniles kill at a rate 6 times that of white juveniles.

In most homicides, the victim and offender are of the same race. Ninety-two percent of the victims of white juveniles are white; 76% of victims of black juveniles are black.

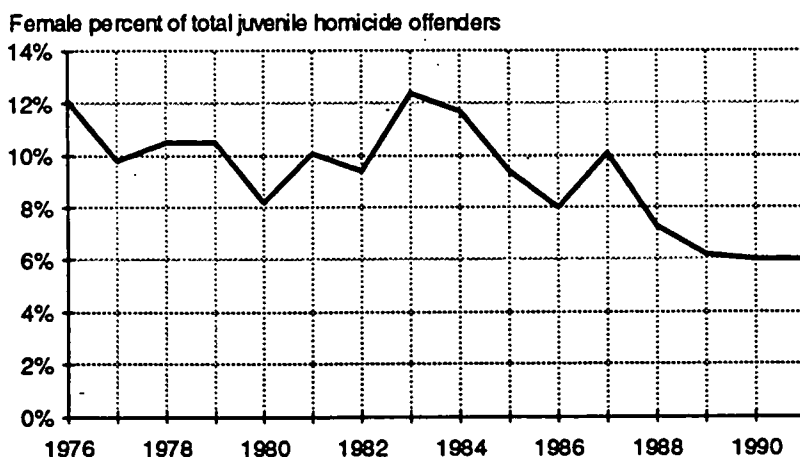
**Boys and girls tend to kill different types of victims**

The typical male juvenile homicide offender kills a friend or acquaintance during an argument. Fifty-three percent killed friends or acquaintances, while 34% killed strangers. In 67% of homicides the boy used a gun, and a knife was used in another 18% of the cases.

The typical female juvenile homicide offender is nearly as likely to kill a family member (41%) as a friend or acquaintance (46%). Firearms are not used as often in female homicides as in homicides by males. While 42% of female juvenile homicide offenders used a firearm, 32% killed with a knife.

Both male and female juvenile homicide offenders tend to kill males. Eighty-five percent of boys and 70% of girls killed males (generally friends, fathers, or brothers).

**The female proportion of juvenile homicide offenders declined between 1987 and 1991**



■ While the female proportion of juvenile offenders declined between 1976 and 1991, the number of female juvenile homicide offenders remained relatively constant.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976–1991* [machine-readable data files].

### Nearly one-third of juvenile murder victims are strangers

When juveniles commit homicide, most of their victims are friends or acquaintances (53%). Thirty-two percent of juvenile murder victims are strangers, and 15% are family members.

When juveniles kill strangers, generally the perpetrator is male (96%) and black (57%), uses a gun (64%), and kills during the commission of a felony (62%).

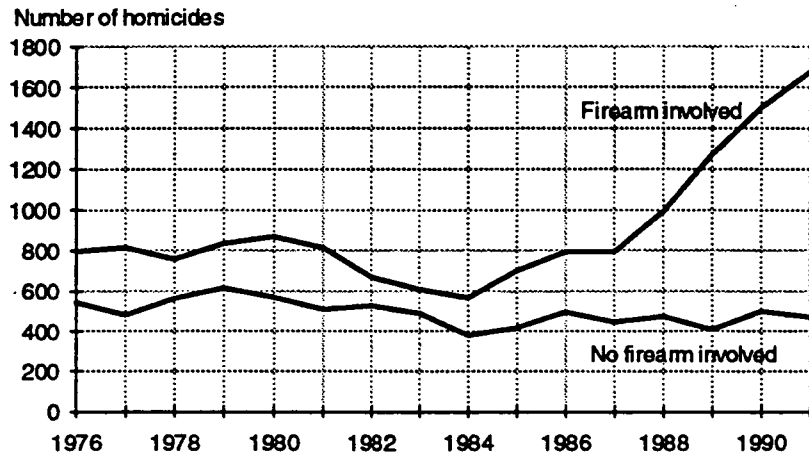
Similarly, when juveniles kill friends or acquaintances, the perpetrator is almost always male (92%), is equally likely to be white or black, kills with a firearm (62%), and is frequently motivated by an argument or brawl (45%).

In family-related incidents, the offender is usually male (75%), is more often white (64%), murders with a firearm (64%), and is motivated by an argument or brawl (51%). When juveniles commit homicide within the family, they typically kill fathers/stepfathers (30%) or brothers (17%).

### Handguns accounted for the greatest proportion of homicides by juveniles from 1976 to 1991

Over the period 1976 to 1991, firearms were the weapon of choice for 65% of juvenile homicide offenders — 44% used handguns. The use of firearms by juvenile homicide offenders increased substantially over this period. In 1976, 59% of juvenile homicide offenders killed with a gun; by 1991 the figure was 78%.

### Gun homicides by juveniles have nearly tripled since 1983, while homicides involving other weapons have actually declined



■ From 1983 through 1991, the proportion of homicides in which the juvenile uses a gun increased from 55% to 78%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976-1991* [machine readable data files].

### A growing number of juveniles kill in groups of two or more

Multiple-offender killings have more than doubled since the mid-1980's. While in a majority (77%) of homicide incidents involving juvenile offenders the offender acted alone, 14% involved 2 offenders, 6% involved 3 offenders, and 3% involved 4 or more offenders. Group killings typically involve guns (64%) or knives (17%), and often occur during the commission of other felonious acts (51%). When multiple offenders are involved they are disproportionately black (52%) and male (93%). Victims of multiple-offender homicides are as likely to be strangers as not and are more likely to be male (86%) and white (60%).

Group killings are more likely to cross racial lines than single-offender homicides. Whereas 11% of single-offender killings involve victims and offenders of different races, one-quarter of multiple-offender homicides involved victims and offenders of different races. These mixed-race group killings typically involve black offenders killing white victims (71% of all mixed-race combinations) who are strangers (76%), and often involve the element of robbery (60%).



# How many juveniles carry guns and other weapons?

## Many high school students say they carry weapons, but few carry guns

In 1990 the Centers for Disease Control asked a nationally representative sample of students in grades 9–12 how many times they had carried a weapon, such as a gun, knife, or club, during the past 30 days. One in five reported carrying a weapon at least once in the previous month. About 1 in 20 said they had carried a firearm, usually a handgun.

Nearly 4 times as many males (31%) as females (8%) reported carrying a weapon. Hispanic males (41%) and black males (39%) were more likely to say they carried a weapon than were white males (29%).

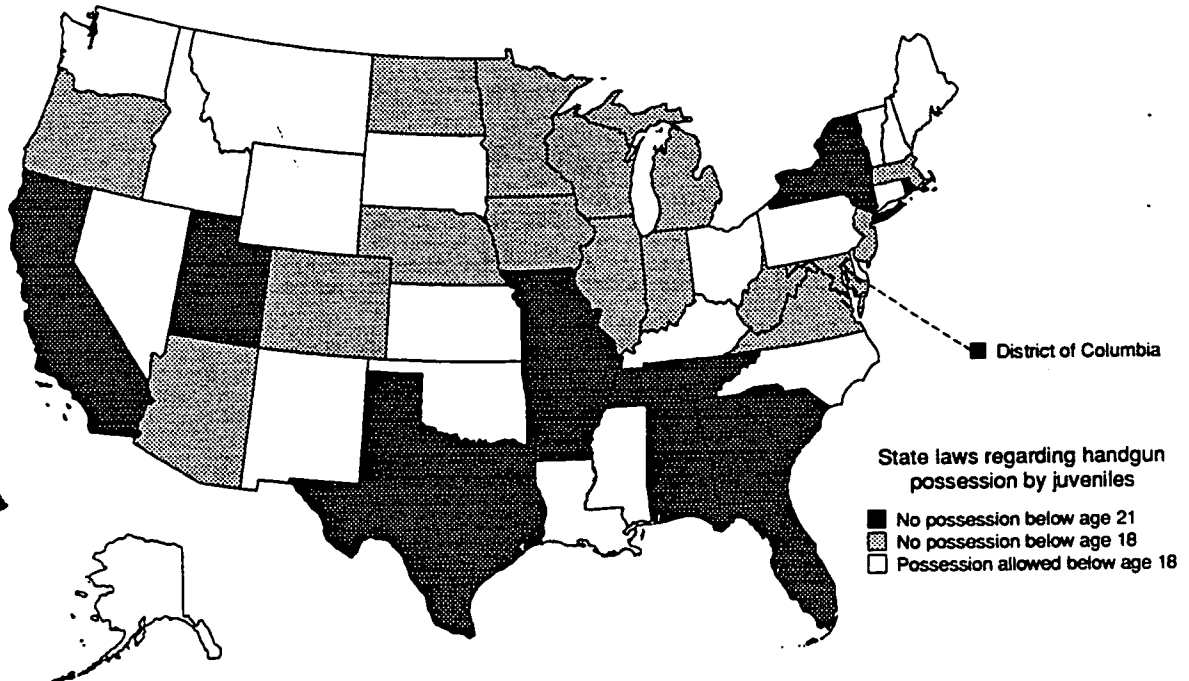
Of students who reported they had carried a weapon, 25% said they had carried a weapon only once in the 30-day period, while 43% reported carrying a weapon 4 or more times. Students who reported carrying weapons 4 or more times were 9% of all students and accounted for 71% of weapon-carrying incidents.

Among students who reported carrying a weapon, knives or razors were carried more often (55%) than clubs (24%) or firearms (21%). Most students who reported carrying firearms carried handguns. Black males were the only group for whom firearms were carried more often than other weapons — 54% of black males who carried weapons carried a firearm.

## Study finds strong relationship among illegal gun ownership, delinquency, and drug abuse

A recent longitudinal study of high risk, urban youth in Rochester, New York, assessed the scope of legal and illegal gun ownership by 9th and 10th grade boys. [Legal guns are defined as shotguns or rifles owned for reasons other than protection.] By 10th grade more boys owned illegal guns (7%) than legal guns (3%). Of those who owned illegal guns, 57% carried them on a regular basis, and 24% had used a gun in a street crime. Compared with those with legal guns, boys with illegal guns were more likely to be involved in street crime (74% vs. 14%), to use drugs (41% vs. 13%), and to be a gang member (54% vs. 7%).

At the end of 1993, 16 states had laws prohibiting the possession of handguns by juveniles



Source: National Governors' Association. (1994). *Kids and violence*.

# All States allow juveniles to be tried as adults in criminal court under certain circumstances

## There is more than one path to criminal court

A juvenile's delinquency case can be transferred to criminal court for trial as an adult in one of three ways:

- Judicial waiver.
- Prosecutorial discretion.
- Statutory exclusion.

In a given State, one, two, or all three transfer mechanisms may be in place.

## Transfers to criminal court have been allowed in some States for more than 70 years

Some States have permitted juvenile offenders to be transferred to criminal court since before the 1920's — Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, and Tennessee. Other States have permitted transfers

since at least the 1940's — Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Utah.

Traditionally, the decision to transfer a youth to criminal court was made by a juvenile court judge and was based upon the individual circumstances in each case. Beginning in the 1970's and continuing through the 1990's, however, State legislatures increasingly moved young offenders into criminal court based on age and offense seriousness without the case-specific assessment offered by the juvenile court process. In half the States, laws have been enacted that exclude some offenses from juvenile court and a number of States have also expanded the range of excluded offenses. One-quarter of the States have given prosecutors the discretion to charge certain offenses either in juvenile or criminal court.

## Judicial waiver is the most common transfer provision

In all States except Nebraska and New York, juvenile court judges may waive jurisdiction over a case and transfer it to criminal court. Such action is usually in response to a request by the prosecutor; however, in several States, juveniles or their parents may request judicial waiver. In most States, statutes limit waiver by age and offense.

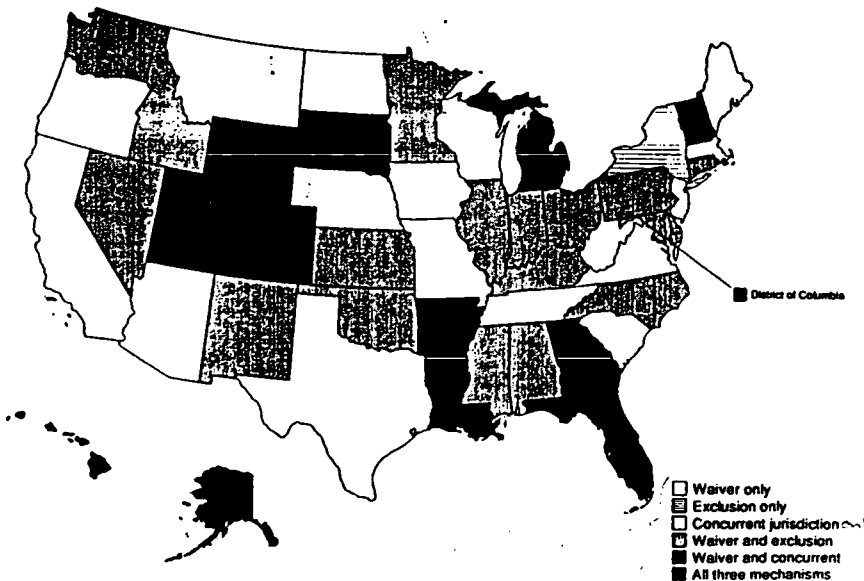
## Statutes establish waiver criteria other than age and offense

Most State statutes also limit judicial waiver to juveniles who are "no longer amenable to treatment." The specific factors that determine lack of amenability vary, but typically include the juvenile's offense history and previous dispositional outcomes. Many statutes instruct juvenile courts to consider the availability of dispositional alternatives for treating the juvenile and the time available for sanctions, as well as public safety and the best interests of the child when making waiver decisions. The waiver process must adhere to certain constitutional principles of fairness (see Supreme Court decisions earlier in this chapter).

## Criminal courts often may return transferred cases to juvenile court or order juvenile sanctions

Several States have provisions for transferring "excluded" or "direct filed" cases from criminal court to juvenile court under certain circumstances. This procedure is sometimes referred to as "reverse" waiver or transfer. In many States juveniles tried as adults in criminal court may receive dispositions involving either criminal or juvenile court sanctions.

## Many States have a combination of transfer provisions



Note: Analysis conducted 10/94; some provisions effective 1/1/95.

# The number of juveniles transferred to criminal court has grown substantially in recent years

## In certain cases juveniles may be tried in criminal court

Juveniles charged with serious offenses, with lengthy records of prior offenses, or who are unresponsive to treatment in the juvenile justice system are sometimes transferred to criminal court. The methods used to move juveniles into the adult system vary. In recent years, many States modified their laws to transfer more young offenders into the criminal courts. Increasingly, young offenders are moved into the adult system by legislative or prosecutorial actions rather than by judicial waiver.

## There has been a substantial increase in waived cases

Between 1988 and 1992, the number of cases judicially waived to criminal court increased 68%.

Most serious offense	Number of waived cases		Percent change
	1988	1992	
Delinquency	7,000	11,700	68%
Person	2,000	4,000	101
Property	3,700	5,200	42
Drugs	700	1,400	91
Public order	500	1,000	90

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding. Percent change was calculated using unrounded numbers.

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

## Fewer than half of the cases judicially waived to criminal court involve person offenses

Although several factors may result in young offenders being transferred to criminal court, the offenses involved in such cases often do not match the expectations of elected officials or the public. In 1982, for example, a national survey of criminal court transfers found that 32% of judicial waivers involved violent offenses against persons, while 62% involved either property charges or public order offenses. A similar pattern existed in 1992 when, according to *Juvenile Court Statistics*, person offense cases accounted for just over one-third of judicially waived cases. Two-thirds of the delinquency cases judicially waived in 1992 involved either property offenses, drug law violations, or public order offenses as the most serious charge.

## Most serious offense of judicially waived cases in 1992:

Person	34%
Property	45
Drugs	12
Public order	9
Total	100%

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

## Fewer than 2% of all formally processed delinquency cases are judicially waived to criminal court

Offense	Percent of petitioned delinquency cases that were waived				
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Delinquency	1.2%	1.4%	1.3%	1.6%	1.6%
Person	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.4
Property	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.3
Drugs	1.5	2.8	2.7	4.4	3.1
Public order	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

## Judicially waived cases generally involve older males

	Percent of waived cases				
	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Age at Referral					
15 or younger	7%	11%	10%	9%	12%
16 or older	93	89	90	91	88
Sex					
Male	96%	95%	96%	96%	96%
Female	4	5	4	4	4
Race					
White	54%	49%	45%	46%	47%
Black	43	49	52	52	50
Other	2	2	3	2	3

Note: Detail may not total 100% because of rounding.

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

# Given recent increases in juvenile violence, more research is needed on the impact of transferring juveniles to criminal court

## Information on the criminal court's response to transferred juveniles is nearly 10 years old

Research capturing court practice in the mid 1980's found that, while transfer to criminal court was reserved for the most serious offenders, these youth were handled more leniently, probably because they were first appearing in criminal court for the first time and at a relatively young age. In addition, juveniles tried as adults gain the right to bail, increasing their chances of release from pretrial custody when handled in the criminal system.

A 1978 national survey by Hamparian and others found that the majority of transferred cases sentenced in criminal court received probation, fines, or other alternatives to incarceration. This study found that 46% of cases waived by juvenile court judges and 39% of those filed directly by prosecutors resulted in a criminal court sentence that involved incarceration.

A study by Bortner examined the cases of 214 juveniles who were waived to adult court in 1980 and 1981 and found that the majority (63%) of these cases received probation as the primary disposition. Jail or prison terms were ordered in 32% of cases, fines in 1%, and dismissal in 4%.

Some studies have found adult courts more likely to incarcerate. A study by Fagan compared juvenile and criminal court handling of 15- and 16-year-old felony offenders during 1981-82 in four neighboring counties in two States—New York where such felons are excluded from juvenile court jurisdiction and New Jersey where they are not. The study found that sanctions imposed by juvenile courts in New

Jersey were half as likely to include incarceration as were sentences imposed on similar age youth by criminal courts in New York. For example, New Jersey juvenile courts incarcerated 18% of robbery cases, while criminal courts in New York incarcerated 46%. In a more recent sample of cases handled in the same counties during 1986-87, however, the Fagan study found that robbery cases were more likely to receive incarceration in juvenile court (57% vs. 27%).

## If incarcerated, transferred juveniles do not always receive longer sentences

A 1986 study by Rudman and others analyzed case outcomes for a sample of 177 violent youth considered for transfer in four urban jurisdictions. In 71 cases, the transfer was denied and the youth was handled in juvenile court. The study found that criminal court sentences were longer than those imposed by juvenile courts. While 43% of the youth handled in juvenile courts received terms of incarceration exceeding 2 years, this was true for 88% of the transferred youth. However, as with other studies that have employed this research design, part of the difference in sentencing could have resulted from the juvenile courts being more likely to transfer more serious cases.

Other studies have compared the length of juvenile and criminal court sentences and found them to be more similar. Fagan examined the sentences imposed by juvenile and adult courts in cases of felony burglary or robbery and found no significant differences in the minimum and maximum terms ordered. In robbery cases, juvenile courts ordered terms of confinement with an

Large numbers of criminal court cases involving offenders under age 18 occur in States where all 16- or 17-year-olds are considered adults

In most jurisdictions, juvenile courts have original responsibility over all law violations committed by youth through age 17. In eight States, however, the upper age of original jurisdiction has been set at 16 (Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, South Carolina, and Texas). In three States (Connecticut, New York, and North Carolina), the age is 15, which means that youth 16 and older are subject to criminal prosecution for any offense.

In 1991, the National Center for Juvenile Justice estimated that up to 176,000 offenders below age 18 were handled in the Nation's criminal courts because State legislatures set the age of adult responsibility for crime at 16 or 17. In comparison, juvenile court judges waived just 9,700 cases to criminal courts in 1991. When the effects of statutory age limits are combined with offense-based exclusions from the juvenile court, it is likely that legislators "transfer" far more youth to criminal court than do either judges or prosecutors.

average minimum of 11 months and an average maximum of 34 months. Criminal court sentences had average minimum and maximum terms of 11 and 32 months, respectively.

## Procedural differences between juvenile and criminal courts make comparisons difficult

Comparing case outcomes in juvenile and adult courts is problematic. A 1983 study by Greenwood and others examined court dispositions of juveniles and young adults (ages 16-21) charged

with armed robbery or residential burglary in three large California jurisdictions. The study found that adult court sentences were more severe on average, but the difference was partly due to the juvenile court's differentiated handling of youth charged with the same offense. When offenders had a prior record, the juvenile court's response was far more severe, while criminal court dispositions varied much less with the offender's prior record.

In Los Angeles, for example, robbery cases that involved two or more aggravating factors were nearly 3 times as likely to result in incarceration in juvenile court as those having no aggravating factors. Aggravating factors had less effect on the severity of criminal court dispositions.

Aggravating factors	Percent sentenced to incarceration	
	Criminal court	Juvenile court
None	41%	23%
One	43	38
Two or more	53	63

Source: Greenwood, P., et al. (1983). *Youth crime and juvenile justice in California: A report to the Legislature*.

### Transferring young offenders to the criminal courts may not improve the deterrent effect of court sanctions

The Fagan study, for example, compared postrelease outcomes for 15- and 16-year-olds charged with felony robbery or burglary in criminal courts and juvenile courts. The probability of rearrest and reincarceration was no different for youth charged with burglary, regardless of which court handled their case.

Offenders charged with robbery, on the other hand, were significantly *less* likely to be rearrested and reincarcerated if they were handled as juveniles. Among the offenders who recidivated during the study's followup period, the length of time before rearrest was significantly *longer* for youth who received juvenile court sanctions.

### Studies on the impact of criminal court transfer have not yielded definitive conclusions

The debate over the efficacy of criminal court transfer has been underway for at least 50 years. Yet, there are still no definitive answers to basic questions about the effects of the practice. In many ways, policy makers are operating in the dark on this issue.

Although there have been few reliable studies on the impact of transfer and the studies describe behavior that predates recent large increases in violent juvenile crime, the most common findings of these studies indicate that transferring serious juvenile offenders to the criminal justice system does not appreciably increase the certainty or severity of sanctions. While transfer may increase the length of confinement for a minority of the most serious offenders, the majority of transferred juveniles receive sentences that are comparable to sanctions already available in the juvenile justice system. More importantly, there is no evidence that young offenders handled in criminal court are less likely to recidivate than those remaining in juvenile court.

### Florida's use of concurrent jurisdiction has increased dramatically since 1981

In a growing number of States, juvenile and adult courts have "concurrent jurisdiction" over certain offenders. Prosecutors decide in which court to file charges. National statistics are not available on the young offenders who end up in adult court in this manner. In States that allow such transfers, however, they are likely to outnumber judicial waivers by a large margin.

The State of Florida expanded its concurrent jurisdiction statute in 1981, giving State attorneys more discretion to try offenders under age 18 in adult court. By the early 1990's, cases transferred by prosecutors outnumbered judicial waivers by 6 to 1. In 1993 prosecutor transfers accounted for more than 80% of the offenders under age of 18 who were handled in criminal court. Overall, transfers to criminal court increased 216% between 1981 and 1993. A 1982 national survey of transfers estimated that 2,000 prosecutor transfers occurred nationwide. In 1993 Florida prosecutors alone filed criminal charges in 7,000 cases involving offenders under age 18.

Although Florida's use of prosecutor discretion increased relative to judicial waiver, the offense profile of transferred cases did not change substantially. In fiscal 1993, 29% of cases transferred to Florida's adult courts involved a violent felony as the most serious charge. The majority involved nonviolent felonies such as drug charges and property crimes (54%) or misdemeanors and other delinquency offenses (17%).

# Imposition of the death penalty for juvenile crimes is very rare

## Supreme Court decisions set the minimum age for receiving the death penalty at 16

The Supreme Court, in *Eddings v. Oklahoma* (1982), held that just as the background and mental and emotional development of a youthful defendant should be considered in sentencing, so should a defendant's young age be considered a mitigating factor of great weight in deciding whether to apply the death penalty. The Court noted that adolescents are less mature, responsible, and self-disciplined than adults and are less able to consider the long-range implications of their actions.

In *Thompson v. Oklahoma* (1988), the issue before the Supreme Court was whether imposing the death penalty on a juvenile murderer, who was only 15 years old at the time of the offense, violated constitutional protection against cruel and unusual punishment. In an opinion by Justice Stevens, four justices concluded that the Eighth Amendment prohibited application of the death penalty to a person who was younger than 16 at the time of the crime. Justice O'Connor concurred with the opinion, but on the narrower grounds that no minimum age was specified in the State's capital punishment provisions. A year later the Court decided in *Stanford v. Kentucky* that the Eighth Amendment does not prohibit the death penalty for crimes committed at ages 16 or 17.

### What is the minimum age authorized for the death penalty?

Younger than 18	Age 18	None specified
South Dakota (10) <sup>a</sup>	California	Arizona
Arkansas (14) <sup>b</sup>	Colorado	Delaware
Utah (14)	Connecticut <sup>c</sup>	Florida
Virginia (15)	Illinois	Idaho
Alabama (16)	Maryland	Montana
Indiana (16)	Nebraska	Pennsylvania
Kentucky (16)	New Jersey	South Carolina
Louisiana (16)	New Mexico	Washington
Mississippi (16) <sup>d</sup>	Ohio	
Missouri (16)	Oregon	
Nevada (16)	Tennessee	
Oklahoma (16)	Federal system	
Wyoming (16)		
Georgia (17)		
New Hampshire (17)		
North Carolina (17) <sup>e</sup>		
Texas (17)		

Note: Ages at the time of the capital offense were indicated by the offices of the State attorneys general.

a Only after a transfer hearing to try a juvenile as an adult.

b See Arkansas Code Ann. 9-27-318(b)(1) (Repl. 1991).

c See Conn. Gen. Stat. 53a-46a(g)(1).

d Minimum age defined by statute is 13, but effective age is 16 based on an interpretation of U.S. Supreme Court decisions by the State attorney general's office.

e Age required is 17 unless the murderer was incarcerated for murder when a subsequent murder occurred; the age then may be 14.

Source: Greenfeld, L., and Stephan, J. (1993). Capital punishment 1992. *BJS Bulletin*.

## Youth under age 18 account for a small proportion of those receiving the death penalty

Between 1973 and 1993, 121 death sentences were handed down to youth who were under age 18 at the time of their crime, accounting for about 2% of the total number of death sentences imposed since 1973. In the years prior to 1987, as many as 7% of death sentences involved youth younger than 18 at the time of their crime. The proportion dropped from 1987 through 1989 presumably because of cases pending before the Supreme Court.

## Most juvenile death sentences are eventually reversed

As with most death sentences, a large proportion of the death sentences imposed for crimes committed at age 17 or younger are reversed. Since 1973, 66% of these "juvenile" death sentences have been reversed, 7% have resulted in executions, and 27% are still in force.

**Recent executions involved 17-year-old "adults" in States where the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction is 16**

Executions of under-18 offenders: January 1, 1973 – December 31, 1993

Name	State	Age at crime	Race	Age at execution
Charles Rumbaugh	TX	17	white	28
J. Terry Roach	SC	17	white	25
Jay Pinkerton	TX	17	white	24
Dalton Prejean	LA	17	black	30
Johnny Garrett	TX	17	white	28
Curtis Harris	TX	17	black	31
Frederick Lashley	MO	17	black	29
Ruben Cantu	TX	17	Hispanic	26
Chris Burger	GA	17	white	33

Source: Streib, V. (1994). Present death row inmates under juvenile death sentences and death sentences and executions for juvenile crimes, January 1, 1973 to December 31, 1993. *The juvenile death penalty today.*

**Most inmates on death row for "juvenile" crimes were 17 when they committed their offense**

Of the 33 inmates on death row at the end of 1993 for offenses committed at age 17 or younger:

- 26 were 17 at the time of their offense.
- 6 were 16.
- 1 was 15.

About a third of the 33 inmates (17 of 33) were not "juveniles" at the time of their offense — they were older than their State's upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction. The majority of these were 17-year-olds from Texas where the upper age is 16 (10 of 17).

The youngest of those on death row for "juvenile" crimes was 18 years old; the oldest was 35. The average age of those on death row for "juvenile" crimes was 24. As of the end of 1993, an average of nearly 6 years had passed since their initial "juvenile" death sentence.

**Nearly all victims were adults and a majority were white**

Most of the victims of the 34 inmates on death row for "juvenile" crimes were adults (39 of 44). Most of the victims were white (32 of 44). A white offender killing a white victim(s) was the most common offender-victim scenario.

Offender	Victim	
	Minority	Nonminority
Minority	13	12
Nonminority	2	15

Note: Minority includes blacks and Hispanics. Nonminority includes whites not of Hispanic ethnicity.

Source: Streib, V. (1994). Present death row inmates under juvenile death sentences and death sentences and executions for juvenile crimes, January 1, 1973 to December 31, 1993. *The juvenile death penalty today.*

**What types of murder are commonly cited in State death penalty statutes?**

Type of murder for which death penalty is authorized	Number of States
<b>Murder during another crime</b>	
Sexual offenses (rape)	28
Kidnapping	30
Robbery	24
Burglary	21
Arson	20
<b>Murder by a person with a criminal justice status or criminal history</b>	
Defendant was in custody	27
Defendant was previously convicted of murder	29
<b>Murder of a certain type of victim</b>	
Law enforcement officer	34
Corrections employee	23
Firefighter	18
<b>Murder carried out in a particular way</b>	
Murder was especially heinous, atrocious, cruel, vile, etc.	23
Defendant created a grave risk of death to others	23
<b>Murder carried out for a particular purpose</b>	
For pecuniary gain (contract murder)	34
To effect an escape	21
To avoid or prevent arrest	21
<b>Other</b>	
Multiple murders	15
Hiring another to kill	24

Source: Szymanski, L. (1992). *Death penalty statutes—statutes analysis.*



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### Technical Note

While juvenile arrest rates reflect juvenile behavior, many other factors can affect the size of these rates.

Arrest rates are calculated by dividing the number of youth arrests made in the year by the number of youth living in the jurisdiction. Therefore, jurisdictions that arrest a relatively large number of nonresident juveniles would have a higher arrest rate than a jurisdiction whose resident youth behave in an identical manner.

Jurisdictions, especially small jurisdictions, which are vacation destinations or which are centers for economic activity in a region may have arrest rates that reflect more than the behavior of their resident youth.

Other factors that influence the magnitude of arrest rates in a given area include the attitudes of its citizens toward crime, the policies of the jurisdiction's law enforcement agencies, and the policies of other components of the justice system. Consequently, the comparison of juvenile arrest rates across jurisdictions, while informative, should be done with caution.

In most areas not all law enforcement agencies report their arrest data to the FBI. Rates for these areas are then necessarily based on partial information. If the reporting law enforcement agencies in these jurisdictions are not representative of the complete jurisdiction, then the rates will be biased. For example, if the only agencies that report in a county are urban agencies,

the county's reported rate will only reflect activity in the urban section of the county. Reported rates for jurisdictions with less than complete reporting may not be accurate.

In the cited reports, the FBI calculates juvenile arrest rates by dividing the number of arrests of persons under age 18 by the population ages 0 through 17. While this is consistent, the majority of the population in this age range is below 10, while few arrestees are below age 10. For this report, the FBI's reported arrest rates were modified to make them more sensitive to changes in that part of the juvenile population that is likely to generate the arrest figures. Specifically, the reported arrest rates were recalculated using a population base of persons ages 10 through 17.



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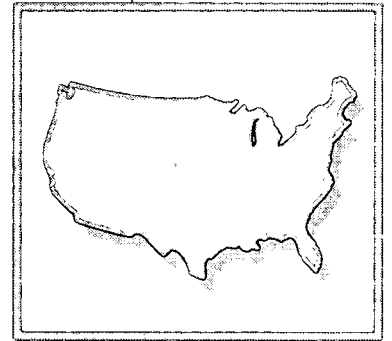
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*Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention*

# Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report



**PREVIEW**



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# **Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report**

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## **Preview**

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**Melissa Sickmund**

**National Center for Juvenile Justice**

**March 19, 1995**

**Prepublication draft**

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# Foreword

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To understand and improve the juvenile justice system, practitioners, policymakers, and the public must have access to useful and accurate information about the system and the youth it serves. Some of the information needed is currently unavailable. When the information does exist, it is often too scattered or inaccessible to be useful.

The goal of the forthcoming *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report* is to fill this information gap by summarizing the best information available on the extent and nature of juvenile offending and victimization and on the juvenile justice system's response. The *Report* will be published by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in the summer of 1995.

This *Report* will be different than most you have seen. Many statistical reports place great demands on the reader's time and attention. They require the reader to work too hard to uncover the important messages conveyed by the data. The *Report* is designed so you do not have to trudge through pages of irrelevant material. The data is summarized in

clear, nontechnical writing, and is presented using graphics whenever possible.

The *Report* is designed so that each section and page reviews what is known about a specific topic. This mode of presentation effectively disseminates critical, and at times complex, information to an audience that more often than not does not have the time to digest most statistical reports.

OJJDP recognizes that those who attend this year's National Conference on Juvenile Justice are in a position to put this information to immediate use. Therefore, we have compiled this preview of selected key pages from the full *Report* for you to reference until the full *Report* is available. I believe you will be intrigued by the pages we have selected for your review and excited about the full *Report's* release this summer. We will arrange for all conference registrants to automatically receive a copy of the full *Report* upon release.

Shay Bilchik  
Administrator



# How much crime in the U.S. is caused by juveniles?

## Victims attributed about 1 in 4 personal crimes to juvenile offenders in 1991

One of two continuous sources of information on the proportion of crime committed by juveniles is the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). NCVS captures information on crimes committed against persons age 12 or older. Crimes committed against children below age 12 are not counted. As a result, significant numbers of crimes committed by juveniles and adults are not reported.

In 1991 NCVS found that victims age 12 and older reported that the offender was a juvenile (under age 18) in approximately 28% of personal crimes (i.e., rape, personal robbery, aggravated and simple assault, and theft from a person). These victims also reported that 88% of juvenile crimes were committed by male offenders and 10% by female offenders, with the remainder committed by both males and females. Adult offenders in 1991 had a similar sex profile.

## Victims reported that half of all juvenile offenders were white

In 1991 victims of personal crimes reported essentially the same racial distribution for juvenile and adult offenders:

Race of offender	Offender age	
	Juvenile	Adult
White	51%	51%
Black	41	39
Other race	8	10
Total	100%	100%

Source: BJS. (1992). *National crime victimization survey 1991* [machine-readable data file].

## Juveniles were responsible for about 1 in 5 violent crimes

In 1991 juveniles were responsible for 19% of all violent crimes (i.e., rape, personal robbery, and aggravated and simple assault) reported to NCVS in which there was a single offender.

Age of victim	Proportion of crimes committed by juveniles		
	Crimes of violence	Robbery	Assault
All ages	19%	14%	21%
12-19	49%	48%	52%
20-34	5	7	5
35-49	11	4	12
50-64	5	<1	5
Over 64	<1	<1	<1

Source: BJS. (1992). *Criminal victimization in the U.S. 1991*.

Persons most likely to be victimized by juveniles were individuals between ages 12 and 19 (remembering that crimes against children below age 12 are not a part of NCVS). The offender was a juvenile in nearly half of these violent crimes. In contrast, juveniles were seldom the offender in crimes against older victims. For example, 7% of robberies of persons ages 20-34 were committed by juveniles, and victims above age 50 rarely reported that they were robbed by juveniles.

## One in 7 serious violent crimes involved juveniles in groups

Seventeen percent of all serious violent crimes in 1991 were committed by juveniles only, either alone (11%) or in juvenile groups (6%). Another 8% of serious violent crimes were committed by a group of offenders that included at least one juvenile and one adult. In all, 25% of all serious violent crime involved a juvenile offender; and of these crimes, more than one-half involved a group of

offenders. Adults were less likely to commit crimes in groups; about one-third of serious violent crimes committed by adults involved a group of offenders.

Number and type of offenders	Percent of serious violent crime
1 juvenile	11%
2 or more juveniles	6
1 or more juvenile with adult(s)	8
2 or more adults	22
1 adult	53
Total	100%

Juvenile victims were more likely than adult victims to be victimized by a group of juvenile offenders. That is, 14% of all juveniles who were victims of a serious violent crime reported that they were victimized by two or more juvenile offenders, compared with 3% of adult victims.

## Racial profiles of violent crime victims varied with the race of the juvenile offender

In 1991, when a white juvenile committed a violent crime, the victim was nearly always white (95%).

Race of victim	Juvenile offender's race		
	White	Black	Other
White	95%	57%	80%
Black	3	37	7
Other	2	6	13
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Hispanics can be of any race, but most are classified as white.

Source: BJS. (1992). *National crime victimization survey 1991* [machine-readable data file].

In contrast to white offenders, the victim profile of black juvenile offenders was more racially mixed. Fifty-seven percent of the violent crime victims of black juvenile offenders were white and 37% black.

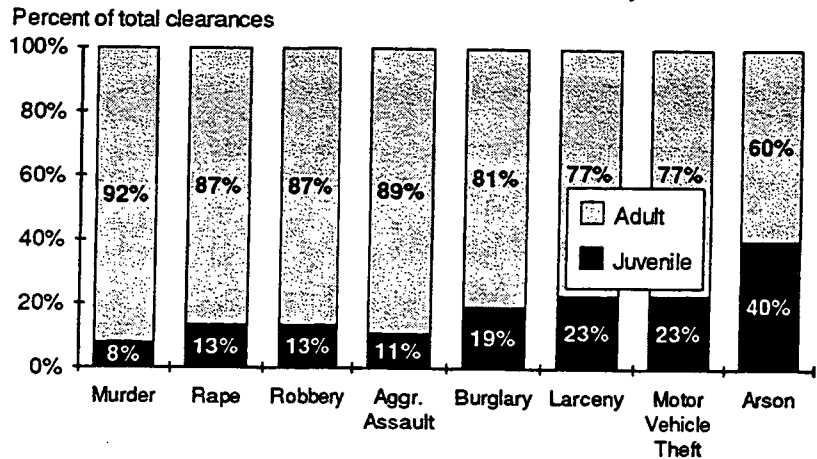
**Juveniles were responsible for 1 in 10 violent crimes cleared by arrest in 1991**

The second source of information that addresses the relative volume of crime committed by juveniles and adults comes from the FBI. The FBI tracks the proportion of crimes that result in arrest — or crimes cleared — and the age of the arrestee(s). Many crimes captured by NCVS are never reported to law enforcement agencies and many reported crimes never result in arrest. In contrast to NCVS data, some cleared crimes are against children below age 12. For these and other reasons, the NCVS and the FBI's clearance statistics approach the question of the relative volume of juvenile crime from different perspectives.

The FBI reported that 11% of all violent crimes (i.e., murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) cleared in 1991 were cleared by the arrest of a person under age 18. Juveniles were also arrested in 22% of all cleared property crimes (i.e., burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and arson).

The juvenile proportions of crime inferred by FBI clearance data are below those roughly corresponding figures reported by NCVS for 1991. One possible reason for this difference is that adult crimes are more serious and, therefore, are more likely than are crimes committed by juveniles to be reported to law enforcement. If so, the differential reporting would make the juvenile contribution to crime smaller from the perspective of law enforcement than from the perspective of victims.

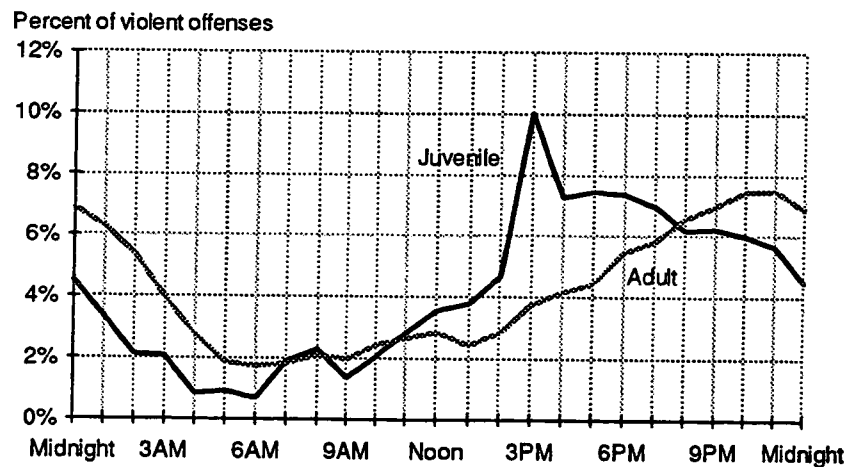
**The juvenile responsibility for crime varies substantially with offense**



■ Based on the FBI's 1991 clearance data, juveniles were responsible for a substantially greater proportion of property crimes than violent crimes.

Source: FBI. (1992). *Crime in the United States 1991*.

**When do juvenile and adult offenders commit violent crimes?**



- Violent crimes committed by juveniles peak at the close of the school day and decline throughout the evening hours.
- In contrast with juveniles, the number of violent crimes committed by adults increases from early morning through midnight.
- The time profiles of when juveniles commit violent crime and when juveniles are the victims of violent crime are similar.

Note: Data are from the State of South Carolina.

Source: FBI. (1993). *National incident-based reporting system 1991 and 1992* [machine-readable data files].

## Violent crime increased 23% between 1988 and 1992 — about one-third of this increase was caused by juveniles

### Users of reported crime and arrest statistics face difficult interpretation problems

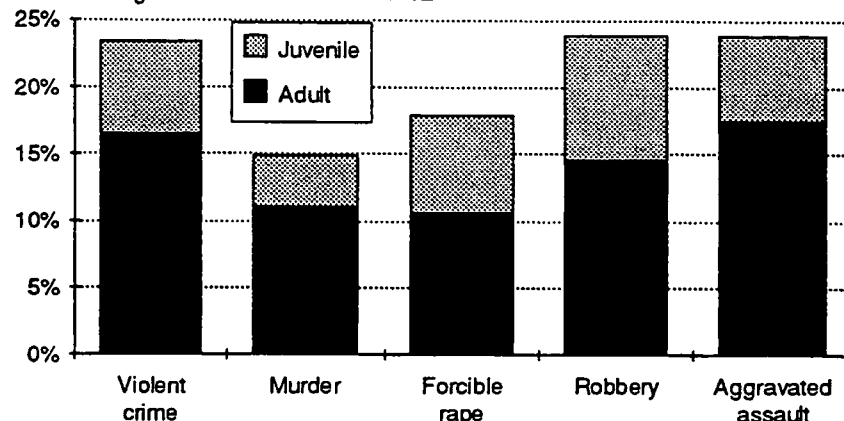
Violent crime is increasing and, based on their representation in the general population, juveniles are responsible for a disproportionate share of this increase. But is it accurate to say that juveniles are driving the violent crime trends?

The number of violent crimes reported to law enforcement agencies increased 23% between 1988 and 1992. Knowing that over this same period, juvenile arrests for violent crime grew 47%, while adult arrests for violent crimes increased 19%, it is easy to conclude that juveniles were responsible for most of the increase in violent crime. However, even though the percentage increase in juvenile arrests was more than double the adult increase, the growth in violent crime cannot be attributed primarily to juveniles.

An example shows how this apparent contradiction can occur. Of the 100 violent crimes committed in 1988 in a small town, assume that juveniles were responsible for 10, and adults for 90. If the number of juvenile crimes increased 50%, juveniles would be committing 15 (or 5 more) violent crimes in 1992. A 20% increase in adult violent crimes would mean that adults were committing 108 (or 18 more) violent crimes in 1992. If each crime resulted in an arrest, the percentage increase in juvenile arrests would be more than double the adult increase (50% versus 20%). However, nearly 80% of the increase in violent crime (18 of the 23 additional violent crimes) would have been committed by adults.

If juveniles had committed no more violent crimes in 1992 than in 1988, violent crime in the U.S. would have increased 16% instead of 23%

Percent change in violent crime 1988–1992



Juveniles were responsible for one-quarter of the 15% increase in murders between 1988 and 1992. If murders by juveniles had remained constant over this period, murders in the U.S. would have increased 11%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Crime in the United States 1992*.

Large percentage increases can yield relatively small overall changes. Juvenile arrests represent a relatively small fraction of the total; consequently, a large percentage increase in juvenile arrests does not necessarily translate into a large contribution to overall crime growth.

### How much of the recent growth in violent crime can be attributed to juveniles?

In 1988 the FBI reported juveniles were arrested in 9% of the violent crimes for which someone was arrested; this juvenile clearance percentage was 13% in 1992. If juveniles were responsible for similar percentages of the unsolved violent crimes in these years, then it is possible to estimate the number of crimes

committed by juveniles and by adults in 1988 and 1992.

From FBI reported crime and clearance statistics, it was estimated that juveniles committed 108,000 more Violent Crime Index offenses in 1992 than in 1988, while adults committed an additional 258,000. Therefore, juveniles were responsible for 30% of the growth in violent crime between 1988 and 1992. Between 1988 and 1992 juveniles were responsible for 26% of the increase in murders, 41% of the increase in forcible rapes, 39% of the increase in robberies, and 27% of the increase in aggravated assaults. Juveniles contributed less to the increase in murder than to the increases in other violent crimes.

# Any juvenile between ages 12 and 17 is more likely to be the victim of violent crime than are persons past their midtwenties

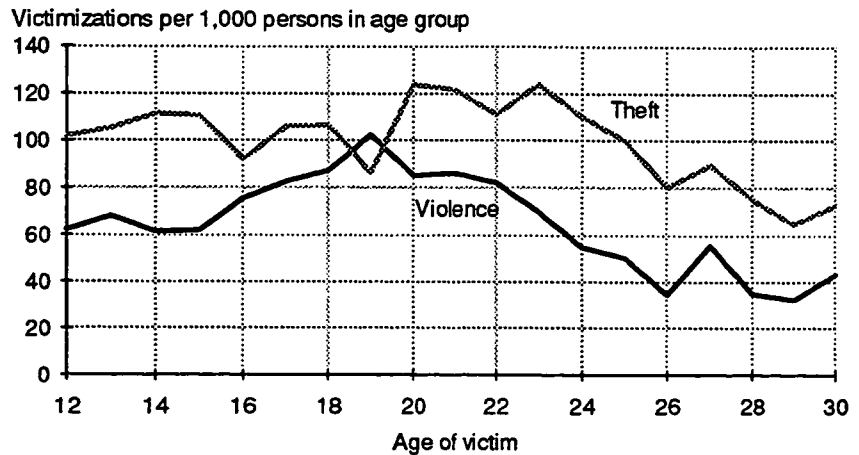
## Juveniles and young adults have the greatest risk of victimization

Victimization rates vary substantially across age groups. Senior citizens have much lower victimization rates than young adults, who have the highest rates within the adult population. The victimization rate for juveniles is roughly the same as that of young adults (ages 18–24) and substantially above the rates for persons over age 24. This is true for both crimes of violence and crimes of theft.

## Juvenile victims are likely to know their offender

Most offenders who victimize juveniles are family members, friends, or acquaintances. In 1991 only 22% of personal crimes against juveniles were committed by strangers. Adults were much more likely to be victimized

The risk of violent victimization in 1991 was greater for a 12-year-old than for anyone age 24 or older



- The risk of violent victimization for a 29-year-old in 1991 was less than one-half of that faced by a 17-year-old.
- The risk of violent crime varies substantially within the juvenile age groups. The risk of violent crime for a 17-year-old was 33% greater than the risk for a 12-year-old.
- The risk of being a victim of personal theft (i.e., larceny with and without contact) in 1991 was greater for a 12-year-old than for anyone age 26 or older.

Source: BJS. (1993). *National crime victimization survey 1991* [machine-readable data file].

In 1991 juveniles ages 12 through 17 were as likely to be the victims of rape, robbery, and simple assault as were young adults ages 18 through 24 ; aggravated assault was the only violent crime for which young adults had a statistically higher victimization rate than juveniles

Crime type	Victimizations per 1,000 persons in age group							
	All Ages	Juveniles			Adults			
		Total	12–14	15–17	Total	18–24	25–34	35+
Personal crime	98	172	166	179	89	193	114	57
Crimes of violence	32	71	65	78	28	81	37	14
Rape	1	2	1	3	<1	2	1	<1
Robbery	6	10	11	10	5	12	8	3
Aggravated assault	8	15	14	17	7	24	9	3
Simple assault	18	44	40	48	15	42	19	7
Crimes of theft	65	101	102	101	61	112	77	43
Personal larceny with contact	3	3	2	3	3	4	3	2
Personal larceny without contact	62	98	100	97	58	109	74	41

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: BJS. (1993). *National Crime Victimization Survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

**Much of what is known about the victimization of juveniles comes from the NCVS**

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) conducts the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). With funds from BJS, the Bureau of the Census contacts a nationally representative sample of households and asks their occupants to describe the personal crimes they have experienced. Personal crimes are broken into two general categories: crimes of violence and crimes of theft.

Personal crimes of violence include rape, personal robbery, and aggravated and simple assault. These crimes always involve contact between the victim and the offender. For this report, serious violent crime includes all crimes of violence except simple assault. Personal crimes of theft include larcenies (theft without force or threat of force) with and without victim-offender contact.

With all its strengths, the NCVS has limitations in describing the extent of juvenile victimizations. The NCVS does not capture information from, or about, victims below the age of 12. Designers of the survey believe that younger respondents are not able to provide the information requested. Therefore, juvenile victimizations reported by the NCVS cover only those that involve older juveniles. In addition, as with any self-report survey, the NCVS has limited ability to address the sensitive issues of intrafamily violence and child abuse.

Some official data sources (such as law enforcement and child protective service agencies) can provide a partial picture of crime against juveniles. However, they are limited to incidents that are made known to them.

**More than 1 in 5 violent crime victims in 1991 was a juvenile aged 12 through 17**

Crime type	Proportion of victims who were:			
	Total	Juveniles		Adults
		12-14	15-17	
Personal crime	18%	9%	9%	82%
Crimes of violence	22%	10%	12%	78%
Rape	18	3	15	82
Robbery	18	9	8	82
Aggravated assault	20	9	11	80
Simple assault	24	11	13	76
Crimes of theft	16	8	8	84
Personal larceny with contact	11	4	7	89
Personal larceny without contact	16	8	8	84

Source: BJS. (1993). *National Crime Victimization Survey, 1991* [machine-readable data file].

by strangers (42%). The juvenile and adult proportions of stranger crimes in 1991 were more similar for rape and robbery than for aggravated assault and simple assault.

	Percent stranger crime	
	Juvenile	Adult
Personal crimes*	22%	42%
Rape	33	39
Robbery	44	51
Aggravated assault	20	38
Simple assault	15	38

Personal crimes*	22%	42%
Rape	33	39
Robbery	44	51
Aggravated assault	20	38
Simple assault	15	38

\* Includes crimes of theft.

**A gun was used in 1 in 4 serious violent offenses against juveniles in 1991**

The offender was armed in 67% of serious violent crimes (i.e., crimes of violence excluding simple assault) involving juvenile victims. In 19% of serious violent incidents the offender had a handgun, in 6% a gun other than a handgun, in 18% a knife, and in 25% a blunt object was used.

The level of weapon use against juveniles is only slightly less than against adults. Compared with adult victimizations, offenders in serious violent incidents against juveniles were less likely to be armed (67% compared with 72% for adults) and, when armed, less likely to use a handgun (19% compared with 24% for adults).

**Juveniles suffer fewer and less serious injuries than adults**

The proportion of serious violent incidents that resulted in injury was about the same for juveniles (35%) as for adults (36%) in 1991. Adult victims of serious violent crime, however, were twice as likely as juvenile victims to be injured seriously (14% versus 7%). Injuries requiring hospital stays of at least 2 days were also more common for adult (3%) than for juvenile victims (less than 1%).

# Child protective service agencies received 1.9 million reports of child maltreatment in 1992 involving 2.9 million children

## NCANDS monitors the caseloads of child protective services

The Child Abuse Prevention, Adoption, and Family Services Act of 1988 required the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN) to establish a national data collection program on child maltreatment. In response, NCCAN established the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS).

NCANDS annually collects information on cases handled by each State's child protective service agency. These data include information on the number of reports received, the number of children involved, the number of reports that were substantiated after investigation, information on perpetra-

tors in substantiated cases, and information on disposition of the cases. These data provide a national picture of the caseloads of child protective service agencies and their responses to child maltreatment cases.

## An estimated 2.9 million children were the subject of abuse and neglect reports in 1992

Nationally, child protective service agencies received an estimated 1.9 million reports of alleged child abuse and neglect in 1992. Many of these reports involved more than one child (e.g., siblings). These 1.9 million reports of abuse and neglect involved approximately 2.9 million children. Child protective service agencies

conducted approximately 1.6 million child abuse and neglect investigations.

In 41% of these investigations the allegation of child abuse or neglect was substantiated (i.e., the allegation of maltreatment or risk of maltreatment was supported or founded on the basis of State law or policy) or was indicated (i.e., the allegation could not be substantiated, but there was reason to suspect that the child was maltreated or was at risk of maltreatment).

## How common are intentionally false allegations of child abuse and neglect?

Six States report information on the number of intentionally false allegations of child maltreatment — Florida,

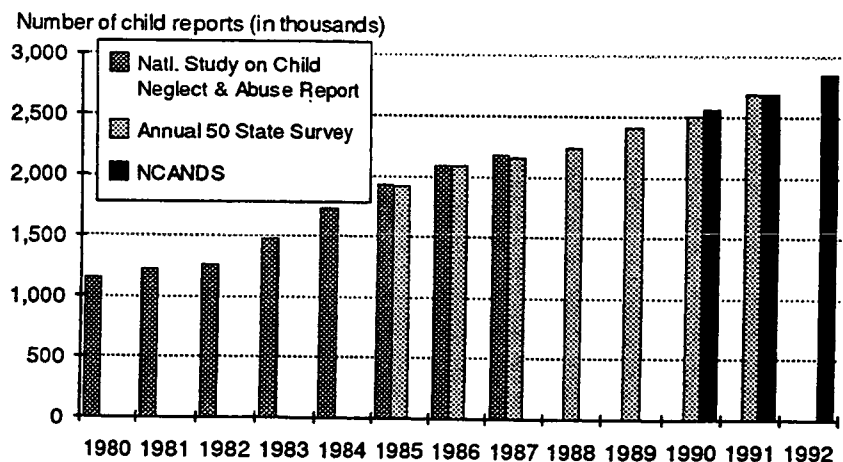
## Educators are the most common source of reports of abuse and neglect to child protective service agencies

Source of referral	Percent of total
Professionals	50%
Educators	16
Social service	12
Legal justice	12
Medical	10
Family and community	27%
Friends/neighbors	10
Relatives—not parents	10
Parents	7
Other sources	23%
Anonymous	11
Victims	2
Other*	10

\* Includes child care providers, perpetrators, and sources not otherwise identified.

Source: NCCAN. (1994). *Child maltreatment 1992: Reports from the States to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect*.

## Reports of alleged child maltreatment have increased since 1980



The increasing trend in child maltreatment reports over the past decade is believed to be the result, at least in part, of a greater willingness to report suspected incidents. Greater public awareness both of child maltreatment as a social problem and the resources available to respond to it are factors that contribute to increased reporting.

Sources: NCCAN. (1994). *Child maltreatment 1992: Reports from the States to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect*. NCCAN. (1993). *National child abuse and neglect data system: Working paper 2, 1991 summary data component*.



**Neglect is the most common form of substantiated or indicated maltreatment**

Type of maltreatment	% of Victims
Neglect	49%
Physical abuse	23
Sexual abuse	14
Emotional maltreatment	5
Medical neglect	3
Other	9
Unknown	3

Note: Total is greater than 100% because victims can be in more than one category when more than one type of abuse or neglect has occurred.

Source: NCCAN. (1994). *Child maltreatment 1992: Reports from the States to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.*

Hawaii, Illinois, Missouri, Vermont, and Virginia. Data from these States show that:

- 60% of allegation investigations were not substantiated.
- 5% of the allegations that were not substantiated were determined to be intentionally false.
- 3% of all allegations were intentionally false.

**All children are potential victims of maltreatment**

In 1992 information on substantiated or indicated victims of maltreatment provided by States to NCANDS found the following:

- 52% of the victims were female.
- 7% of victims were under the age of 1, 52% were under the age of 8, and 7% were 16 or older.

**For every 1,000 juveniles in the Nation, 43 were the subject of abuse and neglect reports in 1992**

State	Population under age 18 (in thousands)	Number of children subject of a report	State	Population under age 18 (in thousands)	Number of children subject of a report
Total U.S.	66,166	2,855,691	Missouri	1,350	79,493
Alabama	1,076	43,246	Montana*	226	14,760
Alaska*	185	9,892	Nebraska	439	17,029
Arizona	1,047	51,216	Nevada	338	22,540
Arkansas	629	36,089	New Hampshire	280	10,943
California	8,423	463,090	New Jersey	1,863	50,443
Colorado	909	55,740	New Mexico*	469	26,969
Connecticut	771	22,080	New York	4,422	228,457
Delaware	172	8,292	N. Carolina	1,662	88,472
DC	117	12,093	N. Dakota	172	7,565
Florida	3,106	180,285	Ohio	2,820	148,101
Georgia	1,800	46,192	Oklahoma	858	24,092
Hawaii	293	5,310	Oregon	766	41,506
Idaho	324	24,020	Pennsylvania	2,844	25,891
Illinois	3,029	131,592	Rhode Island	233	12,886
Indiana	1,461	58,970	S. Carolina*	945	33,854
Iowa	735	28,094	S. Dakota	204	10,486
Kansas	678	22,079	Tennessee	1,246	31,231
Kentucky	964	56,438	Texas	5,072	174,255
Louisiana	1,238	47,893	Utah	654	27,047
Maine	306	10,177	Vermont	144	3,205
Maryland	1,226	48,698	Virginia	1,562	55,680
Mass.	1,384	52,581	Washington	1,355	55,836
Michigan	2,509	117,316	West Virginia	438	20,949
Minnesota	1,206	27,462	Wisconsin	1,330	47,622
Mississippi	748	32,076	Wyoming	138	5,458

Note: In most States a child may be counted more than once if the child is alleged to be the victim of abuse or neglect in more than one report during the year. However, four States in 1992 provided unduplicated counts of children referred. These States were Alaska, Montana, New Mexico, and South Carolina, which are denoted in this table with an asterisk to indicate this reporting capability.

Source: NCCAN. (1994). *Child maltreatment 1992: Reports from the States to the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect.*

- 55% of the victims were white, 26% were black, 10% were Hispanic, and 4% were other races; race was unknown for the remaining 5% of victims.

**Removal from home occurred in 1 of 5 substantiated cases**

NCANDS reported that 18% of the victims in substantiated or indicated cases were removed from their homes in 1992. This represents a 6% increase over 1991.

# Increase in homicides by juveniles is tied to the use of guns

## The FBI is a primary source of information on homicide

The FBI's *Supplementary Homicide Reports* provide data on offenders as well as victims. In 29% of homicides that occurred between 1976 and 1991, the identity of the perpetrator was unknown, at least at the time the reports were completed by law enforcement authorities. From the large majority of homicides in which the offender is known, however, a profile of juveniles who murder can be developed and trends in juvenile homicide can be examined.

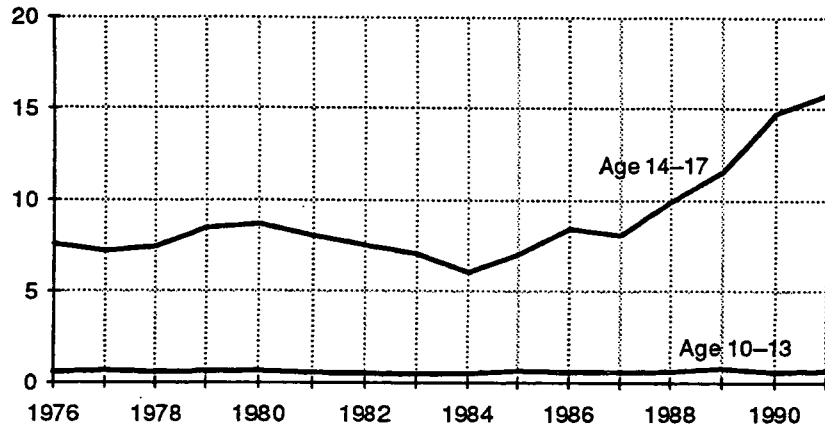
## The growth in homicides involving juvenile offenders has surpassed that among adults

From 1976 to 1991, nearly 23,000 persons under age 18 were known perpetrators of homicide in the U.S., an average of more than 1,400 per year. Moreover, the number of known juvenile homicide offenders has more than doubled in recent years, from 969 in 1984 to 2,202 in 1991, while the number of adult offenders increased 20% over the same period.

The trends in homicides for male and female juveniles are quite different. Controlling for population changes, homicides by male juveniles have more than doubled in number since the mid-1980's, whereas those by female juveniles have remained steady in recent years.

**The homicide offending rate for 14–17-year-olds increased substantially in recent years, while the rate for younger juveniles remained constant**

Homicide offenders per 100,000 juveniles in age group

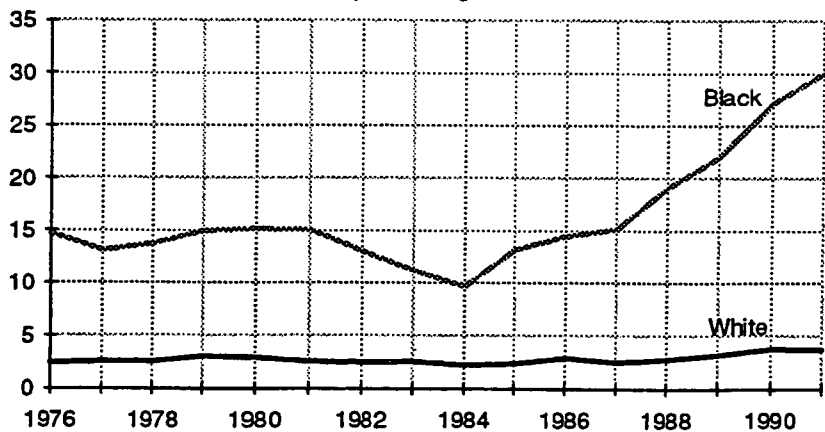


■ Between 1984 and 1991 the rate at which juveniles ages 14 to 17 committed murder increased 160%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976–1991* [machine-readable data files].

**The homicide offending rate for black juveniles is substantially higher than the rate for white juveniles and has risen sharply in recent years**

Homicide offenders per 100,000 juveniles age 10–17



■ Between 1984 and 1991 the rate at which white juveniles committed murder increased by 64%, while the black juvenile murder rate increased 211%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976–1991* [machine-readable data files].

### Nearly one-third of juvenile murder victims are strangers

When juveniles commit homicide, most of their victims are friends or acquaintances (53%). Thirty-two percent of juvenile murder victims are strangers and 15% are family members.

When juveniles kill strangers, generally the perpetrator is male (96%) and black (57%), uses a gun (64%), and kills during the commission of a felony (62%).

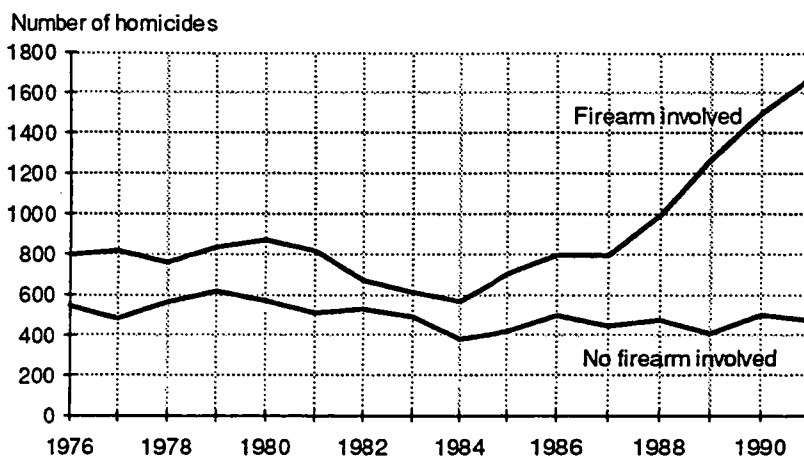
Similarly, when juveniles kill friends or acquaintances, the perpetrator is almost always male (92%), is equally likely to be white or black, kills with a firearm (62%), and is frequently motivated by an argument or brawl (45%).

In family-related incidents, the offender is usually male (75%), is more often white (64%), murders with a firearm (64%), and is motivated by an argument or brawl (51%). When juveniles commit homicide within the family, they typically kill fathers/step-fathers (30%) or brothers (17%).

### Handguns accounted for the greatest proportion of homicides by juveniles from 1976 to 1991

Over the period 1976 to 1991, firearms were used by 65% of juvenile homicide offenders — 44% used handguns. The use of firearms by juvenile homicide offenders increased substantially over this period. In 1976, 59% of juvenile homicide offenders killed with a gun; by 1991 the figure was 78%.

Gun homicides by juveniles have nearly tripled since 1983, while homicides involving other weapons have actually declined



■ From 1983 through 1991, the proportion of homicides in which the juvenile uses a gun increased from 55% to 78%.

Source: FBI. (1993). *Supplementary homicide reports 1976–1991* [machine readable data files].

### A growing number of juveniles kill in groups of two or more

Multiple-offender killings have more than doubled since the mid-1980's. While in a majority (77%) of homicide incidents involving juvenile offenders the offender acted alone, 14% involved 2 offenders, 6% involved 3 offenders, and 3% involved 4 or more offenders. Group killings typically involve guns (64%) or knives (17%), and often occur during the commission of other felonious acts (51%). When multiple offenders are involved they are disproportionately black (52%) and male (93%). Victims of multiple-offender homicides are as likely to be strangers as not and are more likely to be male (86%) and white (60%).

Group killings are more likely to cross racial lines than single-offender homicides. Whereas 11% of single-offender killings involve victims and offenders of different races, one quarter of multiple-offender homicides involved victims and offenders of different races. These mixed-race group killings typically involve black offenders killing white victims (71% of all mixed-race combinations) who are strangers (76%), and often involve the element of robbery (60%).

## After a decade of gradual increase, the juvenile arrest rate for weapons violations increased 75% between 1987 and 1992

A weapons law violation was the most serious charge in 54,000 juvenile arrests in 1992

There were more juvenile arrests for weapons law violations in 1992 than for murder, forcible rape, and robbery combined. A weapons law violation was the most serious charge in 54,000 juvenile arrests. Many more juvenile arrests actually involved a weapons law violation but, following the FBI's reporting procedures, an arrest is classified under the most serious offense involved (e.g., aggravated assault, robbery, forcible rape, and murder).

Juveniles arrests for weapons law violations more than doubled between 1983 and 1992

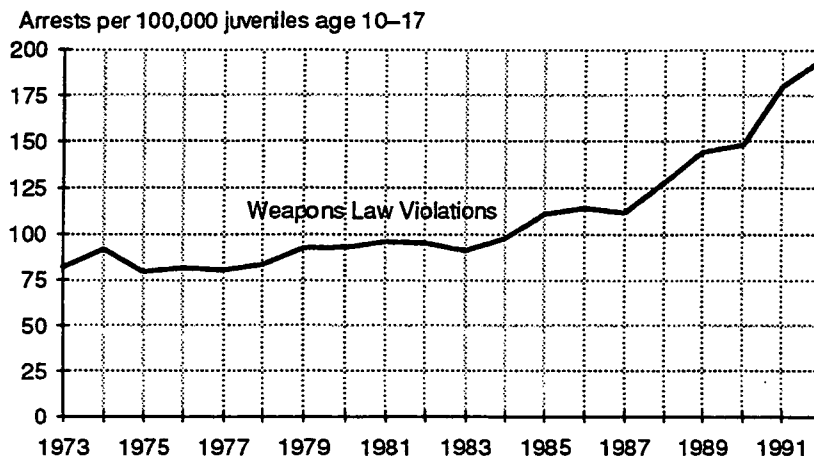
Between 1983 and 1992 adult arrests for weapons law violations increased 21%, while juvenile arrests increased 117%. During this same time period, juvenile murder arrests rose 128% and aggravated assault arrests rose 95%, while arrests for other assaults increased 106%. These large increases in juvenile arrests reflect a growing involvement of juveniles in violent crime.

As juveniles age, the probability that their murderer will use a firearm increases substantially

The proportion of victims killed by firearms in 1992 varied with the age of the victim:

- 4% of victims under age 1.
- 15% of victims ages 1-4.
- 37% of victims ages 5-9.
- 72% of victims ages 10-14.
- 85% of victims ages 15-17.

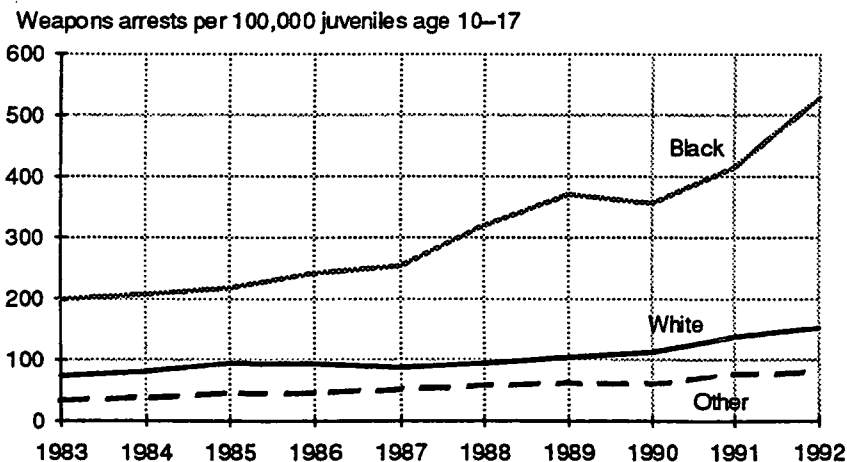
The 20-year trend in the rate of juvenile arrests for weapons law violations closely parallels the juvenile arrest trend for murder



- It took 12 years (from 1975 to 1987) for the juvenile arrest rate for weapons offenses to increase 25%. In comparison, it took just 2 years (from 1987 to 1989) for the rate to increase another 25%, and then just 2 more years (from 1989 to 1991) for another 25% increase.

Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992.*

Juvenile arrest rates for weapons law violations more than doubled between 1983 and 1992 in each racial group



- The increase for black juveniles (167%) was greater than the increases for whites (106%) and for youth of other races (129%).

Source: FBI. (1994). *Age-specific arrest rates and race-specific arrest rates for selected offenses 1965-1992.*

## How many delinquency cases are handled by the Nation's juvenile courts?

### U.S. juvenile courts handle 4,000 delinquency cases each day

In 1992 U.S. courts with juvenile jurisdiction handled an estimated 1.5 million cases in which the juvenile was charged with a delinquency offense — an offense for which an adult could be prosecuted in criminal court.

An individual juvenile may be involved in more than one case during the year. The annual ratio of cases to juveniles is about 3 to 2. Therefore, juvenile courts handled about 1 million individual juveniles charged with delinquency offenses in 1992.

### Juvenile courts are faced with an increasing and changing workload

Changes in the nature of the offenders brought to juvenile court in recent years have placed demands on the court's resources and programs. The 26% increase between 1988 and 1992 in the volume of cases that passed through juvenile courts placed a strain on the system. In addition, the courts were asked to respond to not only more cases, but to a different type of caseload.

Over the 5-year period from 1988 through 1992, the juvenile courts saw a disproportionate increase in violent offense cases and weapon law violations, while alcohol and other drug offense cases declined. These changes have required the courts to expand their programs in some areas, while decreasing their capacities in others.

### Youth were charged with a property offense in the majority (57%) of the delinquency cases handled by juvenile courts in 1992

Most serious offense	Number of cases	Percent of total cases	Percent change 1988-1992
<b>Total delinquency</b>	<b>1,471,200</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>26%</b>
<b>Person offenses</b>	<b>301,000</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>56</b>
Criminal homicide	2,500	<1	55
Forcible rape	5,400	<1	27
Robbery	32,900	2	52
Aggravated assault	77,900	5	80
Simple assault	152,800	10	47
Other violent sex offenses	9,900	1	60
Other person offense	19,800	1	63
<b>Property offenses</b>	<b>842,200</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>23</b>
Burglary	156,400	11	22
Larceny-theft	361,600	25	16
Motor vehicle theft	73,000	5	34
Arson	8,300	1	24
Vandalism	121,700	8	50
Trespassing	58,500	4	17
Stolen property offenses	28,900	2	-7
Other property offenses	33,700	2	57
<b>Drug law violations</b>	<b>72,100</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>-12</b>
<b>Public order offenses</b>	<b>255,900</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>21</b>
Obstruction of justice	87,100	6	10
Disorderly conduct	69,300	5	50
Weapons offenses	41,000	3	86
Liquor law violations	12,500	1	-26
Nonviolent sex offenses	12,900	1	19
Other public order	33,000	2	-8
<b>Violent Crime Index *</b>	<b>118,600</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>Property Crime Index **</b>	<b>599,400</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>20</b>

- Person offense cases accounted for 20% of all delinquency cases handled by juvenile courts in 1992. Cases involving a Violent Crime Index offense accounted for 8% of all delinquency cases.
- Five percent of all cases involved drug law violations.
- Although a substantial portion of the growth in court referrals is related to arrests, changes in juvenile court caseloads are also dependent on other forces. The increases in juvenile court cases were greater than increases in arrests of persons under age 18. Between 1988 and 1992, Violent Crime Index arrests increased by 47%, while arrests for Property Crime Index offenses increased by 8%.

\* Violent Crime Index: criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

\*\* Property Crime Index: burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.

Note: Detail may not add to totals because of rounding. Percent change calculations are based on unrounded numbers.

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

# Half of all delinquency cases are handled informally by the juvenile court, without the filing of a petition

## Informal processing involves the voluntary acceptance of sanctions and interventions

Soon after referral to juvenile court, a decision is made to either handle the case formally or informally. Informal processing is considered when the decision makers (police or probation officers, intake workers, prosecutors, or other screening officers) believe that accountability and rehabilitation can be achieved without the use of formal court intervention.

Informal sanctions are voluntary; the court cannot force a juvenile to comply with an informal disposition. If the decision is made to handle the matter informally (in lieu of formal prosecution), an offender agrees to comply with one or more sanctions such as community service, victim restitution, or voluntary probation supervision. In many jurisdictions, before juveniles are offered informal sanctions, they must admit they committed the alleged act.

When informally handled, the case is generally held open pending the successful completion of the informal disposition. Upon successful completion of these arrangements, the charges against the offender are dismissed. However, if the offender does not fulfill the court's conditions for informal handling, the case is likely to be reopened and formally prosecuted.

## The juvenile justice system makes broad use of informal processing

Informal handling is common in the juvenile courts. According to *Juvenile Court Statistics 1992*, half (49%) the

delinquency cases disposed by juvenile courts in 1992 were handled informally.

	Percent of cases handled informally	
	1988	1992
Delinquency	51%	49%
Person	46	45
Property	54	52
Drugs	41	36
Public order	52	49

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

## Females, whites, and younger juveniles are more likely to have their cases handled informally

	Percent of delinquency cases that were handled informally in 1992
Sex	
Male	48%
Female	61
Race	
White	54%
Black	41
Other race	50
Age at referral	
Under 16	53%
16 or older	46

Note: These patterns do not control for criminal histories which are related to an increased likelihood of formal processing.

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

## Cases are more likely to be handled informally in rural areas than in large cities

In jurisdictions where the population of 10- to 17-year-olds was less than 10,000, courts processed 55% of their delinquency cases informally in 1992, while in jurisdictions where the population of 10- to 17-year-olds was greater than 100,000, only 43% of

their delinquency cases were processed informally.

## A substantial proportion of informal cases involve some sort of voluntary sanction

In 1992 more than half (53%) of informally handled delinquency cases involved some type of intervention services and/or sanctions beyond warning and counseling the youth. In nearly a third (30%) of informally processed cases the youth agreed to a term of voluntary probation supervision, while 23% agreed to other sanctions such as voluntary restitution, community service, or referral to another agency. In a very small number of cases the youth and the youth's family agreed to a period of out-of-home placement as a sanction.

## Informal handling can be advantageous to both the community and the offender

Programs such as "pre-trial diversion" or "deferred prosecution" have attracted increasing interest in recent years. Courts at all levels have found that diverting certain cases from the formal justice system can be cost-effective in terms of both public accountability and offender rehabilitation. Diversion programs reduce the administrative burdens and the costs of prosecution while allowing the justice system to intervene in relatively minor cases. Offenders benefit by avoiding trial and the stigma of formal conviction. Diverted or deferred cases also move through the court system more quickly since they do not involve protracted courtroom procedures.

## Youth in nearly 3 out of 5 delinquency cases handled formally by juvenile courts in 1992 were adjudicated delinquent

### Juveniles were adjudicated in 427,000 formally processed delinquency cases in 1992

A youth referred to juvenile court for a delinquency offense may be adjudicated (judged to be) a delinquent after admitting to the charges in the case, or after the court finds sufficient evidence to prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, that the youth committed the acts alleged in the petition.

In 1992, 57% of all formally processed delinquency cases resulted in an adjudication. Youth were adjudicated delinquent in 53% of person offense cases. This was fewer than any of the other major categories of offenses — youth were adjudicated delinquent in 58% of property offense cases, 60% of drug law violation cases, and 59% of public order offense cases.

The lower rate of adjudication in person offense cases may reflect intake's unwillingness to divert person offense cases from the formal juvenile justice system until a judge has had the opportunity to review the case.

### The proportion of cases adjudicated varied by offense and demographic group

Proportion of formally processed cases that were adjudicated:

	Males	Females
Delinquency	58%	52%
Person	54	49
Property	59	52
Drugs	61	52
Public order	60	56

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

In 1992, 58% of all formally processed male cases were adjudicated compared

with 52% of cases involving females, a pattern that held even after controlling for referral offense.

There were also race and age variations in the proportion of formal cases that were adjudicated in 1992 —

- Blacks, 55%.
- Whites, 58%.
- Youth of other races, 65%.
- Juveniles below age 14, 55%.
- 14–15-year-olds, 61%.
- 16-year-olds, 58%.
- 17-year-olds, 52%.

The decreasing rate of adjudication in cases involving older offenders is nearly equivalent to the increased probability of judicial waiver for these older offenders. The proportion of formally processed cases that were either waived or adjudicated was relatively constant for juveniles above age 13.

### 121,000 adjudicated delinquency cases resulted in out-of-home placement, and 244,000 resulted in formal probation in 1992

In 28% of adjudicated delinquency cases the court ordered the youth to a residential placement such as a training school, camp, ranch, privately operated placement facility, or group home. Cases involving youth adjudicated for a property offense were least likely to result in out-of-home placement. The relatively high placement rate for public order offense cases was at least partially due to the fact that escapes from institutions and probation and parole violations are included in this offense category.

Once adjudicated, white juveniles were less likely to be ordered to an out-of-home placement than blacks and youth

of other races. Females were less likely to be placed out of home than were males.

About half (52%) the adjudicated delinquency cases involved detention at some point during processing of the case. These cases were more than twice as likely as cases that did not involve detention to result in out-of-home placement at disposition.

Proportion of adjudicated delinquency cases in 1992 that resulted in:

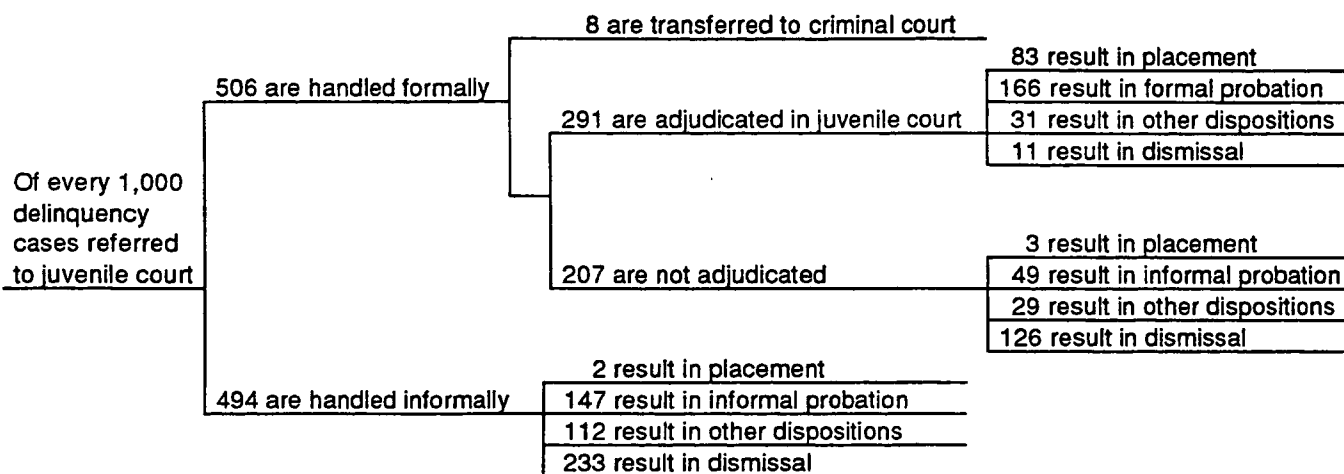
	Out-of-home placement	Formal probation
All cases	28%	57%
Offense		
Person	32	55
Property	25	60
Drugs	32	54
Public order	34	52
Age		
<14	24	63
14	30	58
15	32	56
16	30	56
17	25	54
Sex		
Male	29	57
Female	23	61
Race		
White	25	58
Black	33	56
Other	31	51

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

Generally, if adjudicated delinquents were not placed out of home, they were placed on formal probation. Fifty-seven percent of adjudicated delinquency cases resulted in probation. Overall, 85% of adjudicated delinquency cases resulted in either placement or formal probation.

These patterns do not control for criminal histories that are related to increased severity of sanctions.

**Most adjudicated delinquency cases received dispositions of formal probation or placement outside the home in 1992**



- Of every 1,000 delinquency cases handled in 1992, 166 resulted in formal probation, and 83 resulted in residential placement following adjudication.
- Many delinquency cases that were handled formally in 1992 did not result in juvenile court adjudication. However, many of these cases still resulted in the youth agreeing to informal services or sanctions, including out-of-home placement, informal probation, and other dispositions.
- Although juvenile courts handled about half of all delinquency cases without the filing of a formal petition, more than half of these cases received some form of court sanction, including probation or other dispositions such as restitution, community service, or referral to another agency.

Source: Butts, J., et al. (1995). *Juvenile court statistics 1992*.

**Juvenile courts offer a relatively severe response to violent offenders when compared with criminal courts**

Violent offenses—homicide, violent sex offenses, robbery, and aggravated assault—are a small portion of the total delinquency caseload. However, the handling of these cases is one of the more important and visible responsibilities of the juvenile justice system. Using juvenile court records from 10 States on their handling of violent offenders between 1985 and 1989 and adult court data from the 14 States included in the Bureau of Justice Statistics' 1988 *Offender-Based Transaction Statistics* program (OBTS), the juvenile court's handling of violent offense cases involving 16- and 17-year-olds was compared

with violent case dispositions in the criminal (adult) courts.

Despite the fact that adult court defendants would be expected to have, on average, more lengthy criminal records, the study showed that violent juvenile offenders were more likely to receive restrictive sanctions in juvenile court than are adult violent offenders in criminal court.

Juvenile courts petitioned 78% of all cases involving violent offenses, while criminal courts prosecuted 79% of such cases—a relatively equal diversion rate. However, once prosecution

was initiated, adult courts were more likely than juvenile courts to dismiss the case (29% versus 20%). Once convicted, criminal courts were more likely than juvenile courts to incarcerate violent offenders (32% versus 24%). However, juvenile courts made greater use of formal probation (25% compared with 9%).

Altogether, 53% of the violent offense cases referred to juvenile courts resulted in probation, out-of-home placement, or transfer to criminal court. In comparison, criminal courts ordered probation or incarceration in 41% of their violent offense cases



## All States allow juveniles to be tried as adults in criminal court under certain circumstances

### There is more than one path to criminal court

A juvenile's delinquency case can be transferred to criminal court for trial as an adult in one of three ways:

- Judicial waiver.
- Prosecutorial discretion.
- Statutory exclusion.

In a given State, one, two, or all three transfer mechanisms may be in place.

### Transfers to criminal court have been allowed in some States for more than 70 years

Some States have permitted juvenile offenders to be transferred to criminal court since before the 1920's — Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, and Tennessee. Other States have permitted transfers since at least the 1940's — Delaware, Indiana,

Maryland, Michigan, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Utah.

Traditionally, the decision to transfer a youth to criminal court was made by a juvenile court judge and was based upon the individual circumstances in each case. Beginning in the 1970's and continuing through the 1990's, however, State legislatures increasingly moved young offenders into criminal court based on age and offense seriousness without the case-specific assessment offered by the juvenile court process. In half the States, laws have been enacted that exclude some offenses from juvenile court and a number of States have also expanded the range of excluded offenses. One-quarter of the States have given prosecutors the discretion to charge certain offenses either in juvenile or criminal court.

### Judicial waiver is the most common transfer provision

In all States except Nebraska and New York, juvenile court judges may waive jurisdiction over a case and transfer it to criminal court. Such action is usually in response to a request by the prosecutor; however, in several States, juveniles or their parents may request judicial waiver. In most States, statutes limit waiver by age and offense.

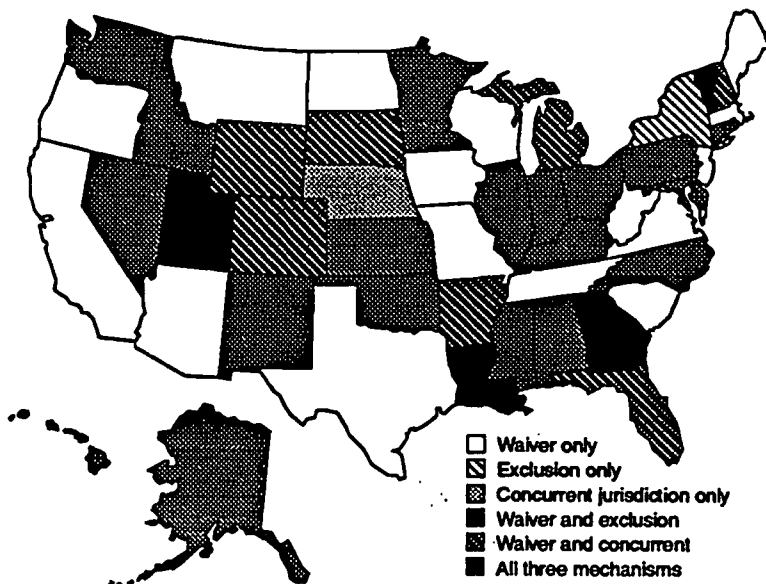
### Statutes establish waiver criteria other than age and offense

Most State statutes also limit judicial waiver to juveniles who are "no longer amenable to treatment." The specific factors that determine lack of amenability vary, but typically include the juvenile's offense history and previous dispositional outcomes. Many statutes instruct juvenile courts to consider the availability of dispositional alternatives for treating the juvenile and the time available for sanctions, as well as public safety and the best interests of the child when making waiver decisions. The waiver process must adhere to certain constitutional principles of fairness (see Supreme Court decisions earlier in this chapter).

### Criminal courts often may return transferred cases to juvenile court or order juvenile sanctions



Several States have provisions for transferring "excluded" or "direct filed" cases from criminal court to juvenile court under certain circumstances. This procedure is sometimes referred to as "reverse" waiver or transfer. In many States juveniles tried as adults in criminal court may receive dispositions involving either criminal or juvenile court sanctions.

### Many States have a combination of transfer provisions



Note: Analysis conducted 10/94; some provisions effective 1/1/95.

### Most States have broad age and offense provisions for judicial waiver

Key:  Provision is specifically mentioned in State's Juvenile Code.  
 Provision applies only if the other condition similarly shaded is also met. See Example below for information on how to read the graphic.

State	Minimum age	Any criminal offense	Capital crimes	Murder	Certain offenses				Prior delinquency adjudication or criminal conviction
					Person offenses	Property offenses	Drug offenses	Weapon offenses	
AL	14	14							
AK									
AZ									
AR	14		14	14	14			14	16
CA	14	16		14	14	14		14	
CO	14								14
CT	14								14
DE	14	16							14
DC		16 <sup>a</sup>							15
FL		14							15
GA	13	15	18			15			
HI	16								16
ID	14	14							
IL	13	13							
IN		14		10					16
IA	14	14							
KS	14	16					14		14
KY	14		14						14
LA	15			15	15	15			
ME									
MD		15							
MA					14	14			14 <sup>b</sup>
MI	15								15
MN	14	14							
MS	13	13							
MO	14								14
MT	12			12	12	16	16	16	
NV	16								16
NH									
NJ	14	14		14	14	14	14	14	
NM	15			15 <sup>c</sup>	15 <sup>c</sup>	15 <sup>c</sup>		15 <sup>c</sup>	15 <sup>c</sup>
NC	13								18
ND	14	16			14				
OH									15
OK									15
OR						15			15
PA	14								14
RI									
SC		16				14			
SD									
TN	14	16		14	14				
TX	15								15
UT	14								14
VT	10			10	10	10			
VA	14								14
WA									
WV									16
WI	14	16		14	14	14	14		14
WY									

Example: Alabama permits judicial waiver for any delinquency case involving a juvenile 14 or older. Connecticut permits waiver of juveniles age 14 or older charged with certain felonies if they have been previously adjudicated delinquent.

Note: Analysis conducted 10/94; some provisions effective 1/1/95. Ages in the minimum age column may not apply to all the restrictions indicated, but represent the youngest possible age at which a juvenile may be waived to criminal court. For States with a blank minimum age cell, at least one of the offense restrictions indicated is not limited by age. When a provision is conditional on prior adjudications, those adjudications are often required to have been for the same offense type (e.g., class A felony) or a more serious offense.

<sup>a</sup> Waiver conditional on the juvenile being under commitment for delinquency.

<sup>b</sup> Waiver conditional on a previous commitment to the Department of Youth Services.

<sup>c</sup> Provisions differ from traditional judicial waiver in that juveniles are adjudicated in juvenile court and at disposition are "subject to adult or juvenile sanctions."

Source: Szymanski, L. (1994). *Waiver/transfer/certification of juveniles to criminal court: Age restrictions-crime restrictions (1994 update)*.

**Few States allow prosecutorial discretion, but many juveniles are tried as adults in this way**



In some States, prosecutors are given the authority to file certain juvenile cases in either juvenile or criminal court under concurrent jurisdiction statutes. Thus, original jurisdiction is shared by both criminal and juvenile courts. State appellate courts have taken the view that prosecutor discretion is equivalent to the routine charging decisions made in criminal cases. Thus, prosecutorial transfer is

considered an "executive function," which is not subject to judicial review and is not required to meet the due process standards established in *Kent*.

Prosecutorial discretion is typically limited by age and offense criteria. Often concurrent jurisdiction is limited to those charged with serious, violent, or repeat crimes. Juvenile and criminal courts often share jurisdiction over minor offenses such as traffic, watercraft, or local ordinance violations as well.

There are no national data at the present time on the number of juvenile cases tried in criminal court under concurrent jurisdiction provisions. There is, however, some indication that in States allowing such transfers, they are likely to outnumber judicial waivers. Florida, which has both judicial waiver and concurrent jurisdiction provisions, filed two cases directly in criminal court for each one judicially waived in 1981. By 1992 there were more than six direct filings for each case judicially waived.

**Several States allow prosecutors to try juveniles charged with serious offenses in either criminal or juvenile court**

Key:  Provision is specifically mentioned in State's Juvenile Code.  
 Provision applies only if the other condition similarly shaded is also met. See Example below for information on how to read the graphic.

State	Minimum age	Any criminal offense		Certain offenses					Prior felony adjudication
		Capital crimes	Murder	Person offenses	Property offenses	Drug offenses	Weapon offenses	Felony offenses	
AR	14		14	14	14				16
CO	14				14			14	14
DC	16			16 <sup>a</sup>	16 <sup>a</sup>	16 <sup>a</sup>			
FL		16 <sup>b</sup>	c	14	14	14		14	16
GA									
LA	15				15	16			
MI									
NE		16 <sup>b</sup>							
NH									
SD									
UT	16		16	16					16
VT	16	16							
WY	13	13							

Example: In Florida prosecutors have discretion to file in criminal court those cases involving juveniles 16 or older charged with felony offenses (or misdemeanors if they have prior felony adjudications). Juveniles of any age charged with capital crimes are tried in criminal court following grand jury indictment. In New Hampshire prosecutors may file in criminal court any juvenile case involving a felony charge.

Note: Analysis conducted 10/94; some provisions effective 1/1/95. Ages in the minimum age column may not apply to all the restrictions indicated, but represent the youngest possible age at which a juvenile's case may be filed directly in criminal court. For States with a blank minimum age cell, at least one of the offense restrictions indicated is not limited by age. When a provision is conditional on previous adjudications, those adjudications are often required to have been for the same offense type (e.g., class A felony) or a more serious offense.

<sup>a</sup> Statutory exclusion language interpreted as concurrent jurisdiction provision.

<sup>b</sup> Provision applies to misdemeanors only.

<sup>c</sup> Provision is conditional on grand jury indictment.

Source: Szymanski, L. (1994). *Concurrent jurisdiction (1994 update)*.

**Statutory exclusion accounts for the largest number of juveniles tried as adults in criminal court**

Legislatures "transfer" large numbers of young offenders to criminal court by statutorily excluding them from juvenile court jurisdiction. Although not typically thought of as transfers, large numbers of youth under age 18 are tried as adults in the 11 States where the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction is 15 or 16. An estimated 176,000 cases involving youth under the age of 18 were tried in criminal court in 1991 because they are defined as adults under State laws.

Many States exclude certain serious offenses from juvenile court jurisdiction. State laws typically also set age limits for excluded offenses. The serious offenses most often excluded are capital and other murders, as well as other serious offenses against persons. Several States exclude juveniles charged with felonies if they have prior felony adjudications or convictions. Minor offenses, such as traffic, watercraft, fish, or game violations, are often excluded from juvenile court jurisdiction in States where they are not covered by concurrent jurisdiction provisions.

Currently there are no national data on the number of juvenile cases tried in criminal court as a result of these types of statutory exclusions. In States where they are enacted, however, the number of youth affected may exceed those transferred via judicial waiver. For example, Illinois lawmakers amended the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts in 1982 to exclude youth aged 15 or older charged with murder, armed robbery, or rape. In the 7 years prior to 1982, the Cook County juvenile court judicially waived an average of 47 cases annually to criminal court. In the first 2 years following the enactment of the exclusion legislation, criminal prosecutions of juveniles more than tripled, climbing to 170 per year, 151 of which resulted from the exclusion provision.

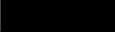
**Most States have at least some provision for transferring juveniles to criminal court for which no minimum age is specified**


Minimum possible transfer age specified in section(s) of juvenile code specifying transfer provisions							
No age minimum	7	10	13	14	15	16	
Alaska	Nebraska	New York	Vermont	Illinois	Alabama	Louisiana	Hawaii
Arizona	Nevada			North Carolina	Arkansas	New Mexico	
Delaware	New Hampshire				California	Texas	
District of Columbia	Ohio				Colorado		
Florida	Oklahoma				Connecticut		
Georgia	Oregon				Idaho		
Indiana	Pennsylvania				Iowa		
Illinois	Rhode Island				Kansas		
Maine	South Carolina				Kentucky		
Maryland	South Dakota				Minnesota		
Massachusetts	Washington				Missouri		
Michigan	West Virginia				New Jersey		
Mississippi	Wyoming				North Dakota		
Montana					Tennessee		
					Utah		
					Virginia		
					Wisconsin		

Note: Analysis conducted 10/94; some provisions effective 1/1/95.

Source: Szymanski, L. (1994). *Waiver/transfer/certification of juveniles to criminal court: Age restrictions-crime restrictions (1994 update)*. Szymanski, L. (1994). *Statutory exclusion of crimes from juvenile court jurisdiction (1994 update)*. Szymanski, L. (1994). *Concurrent jurisdiction (1994 update)*.

### Many States exclude certain serious offenses from juvenile court jurisdiction

**Key:**  Exclusion is specifically mentioned in State's Juvenile Code.

 } Exclusion applies only if the other condition similarly shaded is also met.  
See Example below for information on how to read the graphic.

State	Minimum age	Certain offenses							Previous	
		Murder	Person offenses	Property offenses	Drug offenses	Weapon offenses	Felony offenses	Capital crimes	Felony adjudication(s)	Criminal conviction
AL	16				16		16	16		
AK	16		16	16						
CT	14	14					14			
DE										
GA	13	13	13	15						
HI	16	16					16			
ID	14	14	14		14					
IL	15	15	15		15	15	15			
IN	16	16	16			16				
KS	16		16*	16*			16			
KY	14						14			
LA	15	15	15					14		
MD	14		16			16				
MN	14	16					14			
MS										
NV										
NM	16	16								
NY	7	13	13	13			7			
NC	13						13			
OH										
OK	16	16	16	16	16	16	16			
PA										
RI	16				16					
UT	16	16								
VT	14	14	14	14						
WA	16		16							

Example: In North Carolina, juveniles age 13 or older charged with certain felonies are excluded from juvenile court jurisdiction. In Hawaii, juveniles age 16 or older charged with murder are excluded if they have prior felony adjudications, as are those 16 or older charged with certain felonies who have prior felony adjudications.

Note: Analysis conducted 10/94; some provisions effective 1/1/95. Ages in the minimum age column may not apply to all the exclusions indicated, but represent the youngest possible age at which a juvenile may be excluded from juvenile court. For States with a blank minimum age cell, at least one of the exclusions indicated is not restricted by age. When an exclusion is conditional on previous adjudications, those adjudications are often required to have been for the same offense type (e.g., class A felony) or a more serious offense.

\* Exclusion applies only to juveniles charged with committing offenses while in custody in juvenile institutions.

Source: Szymanski, L. (1994). *Statutory exclusion of crimes from juvenile court jurisdiction (1994 update)*.

## Nearly half of all youth in public detention centers on February 15, 1991, were in four States — California, Florida, Michigan, and Ohio

### State variations in the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction influence detention center custody rates

Although State detention rate statistics control for upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction, comparisons made among States with different upper ages are problematic. While 16- and 17-year-olds constitute approximately 25% of the population ages 10-17, they account for more than 40% of youth arrests, delinquency court cases, and

juveniles in custody. If all other things were equal, one would expect higher juvenile custody rates in States where these older youth are under juvenile court jurisdiction.

Demographic variations should also be considered when making State comparisons. The urbanicity and economics of an area are related to crime and custody rates. For example, the District of Columbia's relatively high detention rate must be interpreted with the knowledge that the District is

largely urban, with a disproportionate segment of its youth population living in poverty (25% of those under age 18 compared with 18% nationwide).

State variations in the availability of detention beds also may have an impact on State detention rates. For example, just as a change in detention policy would have an effect on the detention rate in a jurisdiction, so a change in the bed space available to a jurisdiction could result in a fluctuation in the detention rate.

### Nationwide, 73 juveniles were held in public detention centers for every 100,000 juveniles in the population on February 15, 1991

	Number of juveniles on February 15, 1991	Detention rate		Number of juveniles on February 15, 1991	Detention rate		Number of juveniles on February 15, 1991	Detention rate
U.S. Total	18,986	73						
<b>Upper age 17</b>			<b>Upper age 17 (continued)</b>			<b>Upper age 16</b>		
Alabama	237	49	Nebraska	45	24	Georgia	855	129
Alaska	24	34	Nevada	169	130	Illinois	762	68
Arizona	410	98	New Hampshire	22	19	Louisiana	271	57
Arkansas	38	13	New Jersey	569	73	Massachusetts	90	18
California	5,754	178	New Mexico	82	42	Michigan	1,017	108
Colorado	355	96	North Dakota	5	7	Missouri	305	59
Delaware	35	50	Ohio	1,108	90	South Carolina	9	3
District of Columbia	220	478	Oklahoma	76	20	Texas	868	47
Florida	1,289	103	Oregon	196	60			
Hawaii	22	19	Pennsylvania	520	43	<b>Upper age 15</b>		
Idaho	29	20	Rhode Island	0	0	Connecticut	80	34
Indiana	351	54	South Dakota	35	40	New York	398	29
Iowa	56	17	Tennessee	147	27	North Carolina	163	31
Kansas	130	45	Utah	162	56			
Kentucky	81	18	Vermont	17	28			
Maine	0	0	Virginia	616	95			
Maryland	233	48	Washington	647	117			
Minnesota	177	35	West Virginia	56	26			
Mississippi	78	23	Wisconsin	177	31			
Missouri	305	59	Wyoming	0	0			
Montana	0	0						

Note: The detention rate is the number of juveniles in public detention centers on February 15, 1991, per 100,000 juveniles age 10 through the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction in each State.

Source: OJJDP. (1993) *Children in custody census 1990/91* [machine-readable data file].

## Federal mandate to deinstitutionalize status offenders appears to have been effective

### The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act prohibits secure placement of status offenders, nonoffenders

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, first enacted in 1974, states that, "juveniles ... charged with or who have committed offenses that would not be criminal if committed by an adult or offenses which do not constitute violations of valid court orders, or alien juveniles in custody, or such nonoffenders as dependent or neglected children, shall not be placed in secure detention facilities or secure correctional facilities...."

Subsequent rulings have interpreted the Act to permit accused status offenders and nonoffenders to be held in secure facilities for up to 24 hours following initial police or initial court contact.

### Fewer status offenders were held in secure public facilities in 1991 than in 1975

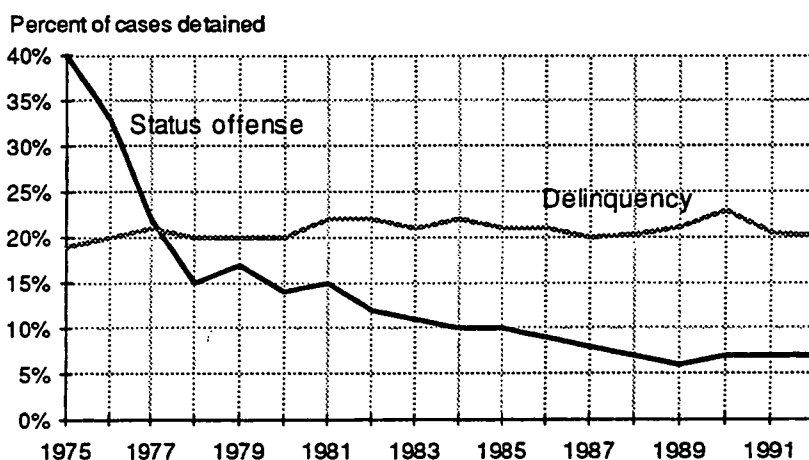
From 1975 to 1991 the number of status offenders and nonoffenders in secure facilities dropped 76%.

1-day count of status offenders and nonoffenders in secure public juvenile facilities:

Year	Number
1975	3,706
1977	1,946
1979	1,055
1983	1,001
1985	1,139
1987	1,061
1989	934
1991	881

Source: OJJDP. (1993). *Children in custody census 1975-1990/91* [machine-readable data files].

### Court data show a substantial decline in the use of detention in status offense cases



- In 1975 status offense cases were twice as likely as delinquency cases to involve secure detention between the time of referral to court and case disposition.
- By 1992 the likelihood that a status offense case would involve detention was less than half that for delinquency cases.
- In 1975 an estimated 143,000 status offense cases involved detention — in 1992 the figure was 24,300. It is not known how many of these cases were in violation of the 24-hour rule.

Source: NCJJ. (1994). *National Juvenile Court Data Archive: Juvenile court case records 1975-1992* [machine-readable data files].

### Three-quarters of securely detained status offenders were runaways or youth charged with violating a valid court order

Among status offenders detained in detention centers in 1991, those held for violation of a valid court order made up the largest proportion, followed by runaways.

Many of those charged with violating valid court orders were youth initially charged with running away who

subsequently ran from a court ordered placement.

Offense profile of 1991 detained status offenders in public detention centers:

Valid court order violation	42%
Running away	32
Incorrigibility	12
Truancy	11
Curfew	2
Liquor	1
Other status offense	1

Source: OJJDP. (1993). *Children in custody census 1990/91* [machine-readable data file].

## Nearly one-third of all juveniles held in public training schools on February 15, 1991, were in two States — California and Ohio

### State "upper age" variations influence custody rates

As with detention rates, State custody rates control for upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction. However, comparisons made among States with different upper ages are problematic. Because older youth have higher rates of offending than younger youth, one would expect higher juvenile custody rates in States where older youth are under juvenile court jurisdiction. In addition to upper age differences, custody rates are influenced by differences in age limits of extended jurisdiction. Some States may keep a

youth in custody for several years beyond the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction; others cannot. Demographic variations should also be considered when comparing State training school custody rates. Just as with detention rates, urbanicity and economics of an area are thought to be related to crime and custody rates.

### Variations in the use of private facilities also effects custody rates

In 1991 privately operated facilities accounted for nearly two-thirds of all juvenile custody facilities and held

nearly 40% of the juveniles in custody on any given day.

It is important to realize that juvenile courts often send juveniles to private facilities located in other States. For example, Pennsylvania's private facilities hold many juveniles committed by courts in other States. Out-of-State residents are counted according to the location of the facility rather than the jurisdiction(s) ordering the placement. Thus, private data do not support State comparisons — States can be compared only on public facility custody rates.

### Nationwide, 109 juveniles were held in public training schools for every 100,000 juveniles in the population on February 15, 1991

	Number of juveniles on February 15, 1991	Custody rate		Number of juveniles on February 15, 1991	Custody rate		Number of juveniles on February 15, 1991	Custody rate
U.S. Total	28,535	109						
<b>Upper age 17</b>			<b>Upper age 17 (continued)</b>			<b>Upper age 16</b>		
Alabama	403	83	Nebraska	248	131	Georgia	686	103
Alaska	193	277	Nevada	296	228	Illinois	1,267	113
Arizona	526	126	New Hampshire	86	75	Louisiana	649	136
Arkansas	243	85	New Jersey	659	85	Massachusetts	38	08
California	6,351	197	New Mexico	342	174	Michigan	729	78
Colorado	304	82	North Dakota	70	92	Missouri	400	78
Delaware	95	137	Ohio	2,359	192	South Carolina	613	170
District of Columbia	150	326	Oklahoma	178	48	Texas	1,439	78
Florida	151	12	Oregon	439	134			
Hawaii	62	52	Pennsylvania	611	50	<b>Upper age 15</b>		
Idaho	107	73	Rhode Island	150	157	Connecticut	210	89
Indiana	779	119	South Dakota	129	146	New York	1,800	131
Iowa	289	89	Tennessee	406	74	North Carolina	694	130
Kansas	469	163	Utah	66	23			
Kentucky	330	75	Vermont	0	0			
Maine	249	185	Virginia	624	96			
Maryland	353	73	Washington	483	87			
Minnesota	381	76	West Virginia	110	51			
Mississippi	322	94	Wisconsin	684	120			
Missouri	400	200	Wyoming	113	182			
Montana	200							

Note: The custody rate is the number of juveniles in training schools on February 15, 1991, per 100,000 juveniles age 10 through the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction in each State.

Source: OJJDP. (1993). *Children in custody census 1990/91* [machine-readable data file].



## The majority of juveniles held in long-term facilities are housed in crowded facilities

### Crowding and living space standards—

The broadest assessment of the adequacy of living space is through occupancy rates—population as a percent of reported design capacity. Practitioners note that as a facility's occupancy approaches 100%, operational functioning may become impaired.

Although there are no established occupancy rate standards, there are standards relating to the adequacy of living space. The 1989 American Correctional Association accreditation standards for juvenile facilities required that juveniles confined in one-person sleeping rooms have 70 square feet of floor space and that sleeping rooms housing three or more juveniles have 50 square feet per juvenile. The American Correctional Association standards also required that living units not exceed 25 juveniles.

In 1991 only 23% of juveniles in training schools and 31% of those in ranches were held in facilities that were not crowded by any of these measures. Twenty-nine percent of those in training schools and 6% of those in ranches were held in facilities that were crowded by each of these measures.

### A large proportion of training school residents are housed in rooms that are too small

In 1991 more training school residents slept in single rooms (36%) than in double rooms (23%), rooms for 3–10 (12%), or in dormitories with 11 or more residents (28%). Training school sleeping rooms ranged in size from 30 to 110 or more square feet per juvenile. Overall, 35% of juveniles in training schools slept in undersized

### 62% of residents of public long-term institutional facilities were in facilities operating above their design capacity on February 15, 1991

Public long-term institutional facilities with a design capacity of—	Facilities		Residents	
	Total	Percent operating above design capacity	Total	Percent held in facilities operating above capacity
Fewer than 111 residents	137	35%	5,705	38%
111–200 residents	50	54	7,210	56
201–350 residents	26	58	6,711	58
More than 350 residents	14	79	9,126	85
All public long-term institutional facilities	227	44	28,752	62

- In 1991, 44% of long-term institutional facilities housed more residents than they were constructed to hold; the 1983 figure was 32%.
- The larger a facility's design capacity, the more likely it was to house more residents than it was constructed to hold.
- Facilities designed to house fewer than 111 residents accounted for the largest number of over-capacity facilities.
- In 1991 over-capacity facilities designed for fewer than 111 residents made up 21% of long-term institutional facilities, but held 8% of long-term institutional facility residents.
- In 1991 over-capacity facilities designed for more than 350 residents constituted 5% of all long-term institutional facilities, but held 27% of long-term institutional facility residents.

Note: Data are for February 15, 1991. Design capacity is the number of residents a facility is constructed to hold without double bunking in single rooms and without housing residents in areas not designed as sleeping quarters.

Source: OJJDP. (1985 and 1993). *Children in custody census of public juvenile detention, correctional and shelter facilities 1982/83 and 1990/91* [machine-readable data file].

rooms. Of those in undersized rooms, most were in double rooms or dorms (35% for each), 24% were in single rooms, and 5% were in rooms sleeping 3–10 residents.

The pattern was similar in ranches, although ranch residents were most likely to be housed in dorms (42%). Overall, 23% of ranch residents slept in undersized rooms. As in training schools, most ranch residents in undersized rooms were in double rooms (44%) or dorms (32%), while 22% were in rooms sleeping 3–10 residents, and just 2% were in single rooms. In both types of facilities, most of these undersized rooms could meet

the square footage standards if they housed fewer juveniles.

### The number of juveniles in living units varied considerably

In 1991, 54% of juveniles held in training schools and 40% of those in ranches were in facilities where at least some of the living units housed more than 25 residents. Among facilities with living units exceeding the 25-person standard, the size of the largest units varied considerably. For both training schools and ranches, 15% of facilities had 36 or more residents in their largest units. Among training schools, only 1% of facilities had units with more than 80 residents; for ranches the figure was 5%.



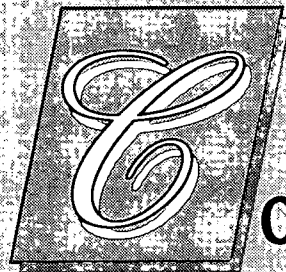


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Summary



Comprehensive  
Strategy for Serious,  
Violent, and Chronic  
Juvenile Offenders

Program Summary

A Publication of the  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

# Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

**Research and Program Development Division** develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

**Training and Technical Assistance Division** provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

**Special Emphasis Division** provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

**State Relations and Assistance Division** supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

**Information Dissemination and Planning Unit** informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit's activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

**Concentration of Federal Efforts Program** promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

**Missing and Exploited Children Program** seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 43 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

OJJDP provides leadership, direction, and resources to the juvenile justice community to help prevent and control delinquency throughout the country.

# Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders

## Program Summary

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## Introduction

The serious and violent crime rate among juveniles has increased sharply in the past few years. Juveniles account for an increasing share of all violent crimes in the United States. A small portion of juvenile offenders accounts for the bulk of all serious and violent juvenile crime. Simultaneously, the number of juveniles taken into custody has increased, as has the number of juveniles waived or transferred to the criminal justice system. Admissions to juvenile facilities are at their highest levels ever, and an increasing percentage of these facilities are operating over capacity. Unfortunately, the already strained juvenile justice system does not have adequate fiscal and programmatic resources to identify serious, violent, and chronic offenders and to intervene effectively with them.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has developed a comprehensive strategy for dealing with serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.\* This program can be implemented at the State, county, or local levels. The program background, rationale, principles, and components are set forth in this strategy paper.

Prior to developing this new program, OJJDP reviewed relevant statistics, research, and program evaluations. This review was conducted to develop a clearer understanding of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile delinquency issues, trends, and effective delinquency prevention, treatment, and control approaches. Detailed information on statistics, research, and program evaluations is set forth in the appendix. A brief overview follows.

## Statistics

### Violent delinquent behavior

**Violent juvenile crime has been increasing.** Nationwide self-reported measures of delinquent behavior indicate an increase in certain violent acts: aggravated assault and robbery (Osgood et al., 1989). National victimization surveys show that the rate of juvenile victimization for violent offenses has also increased during the latter part of the 1980's (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1993).

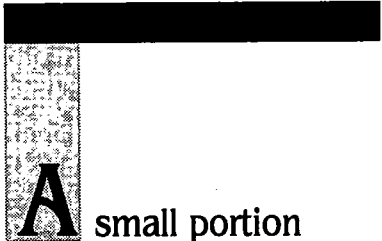
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\*Which juveniles are determined to be serious, violent, or chronic offenders is an important matter. The consequences of being placed in one of these categories are critical to the allocation of scarce treatment resources. In some jurisdictions, identification of a juvenile as a serious, violent, or chronic offender determines how a juvenile is "handled" in the system, for example, whether a juvenile is subject to established minimum periods of secure confinement or subject to criminal court jurisdiction. Generally, such determinations are made at the State and local levels.

OJJDP has developed the following definitions of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders for purposes of this program. Definitions used in various research and statistics-gathering efforts often vary.

Juvenile refers to a person under the age established by a State to determine when an individual is no longer subject to original juvenile court jurisdiction for (any) criminal misconduct. While this age is 18 in a majority of jurisdictions, it ranges from 16 to 19 years of age. Serious juvenile offenders are those adjudicated delinquent for committing any felony offense, including larceny or theft, burglary or breaking and entering, extortion, arson, and drug trafficking or other controlled dangerous substance violations. Violent juvenile offenders are those serious juvenile offenders adjudicated delinquent for one of the following felony offenses—homicide, rape or other felony sex offenses, mayhem, kidnapping, robbery, or aggravated assault. Chronic juvenile offenders are juveniles adjudicated delinquent for committing three or more delinquent offenses. These definitions include juveniles convicted in criminal court for particular offense types.

An informative discussion of the research and issues involved in formulating a working definition of these and related terms is found in Mathias, 1984, chapter two, "Strategic Planning in Juvenile Justice—Defining the Toughest Kids."



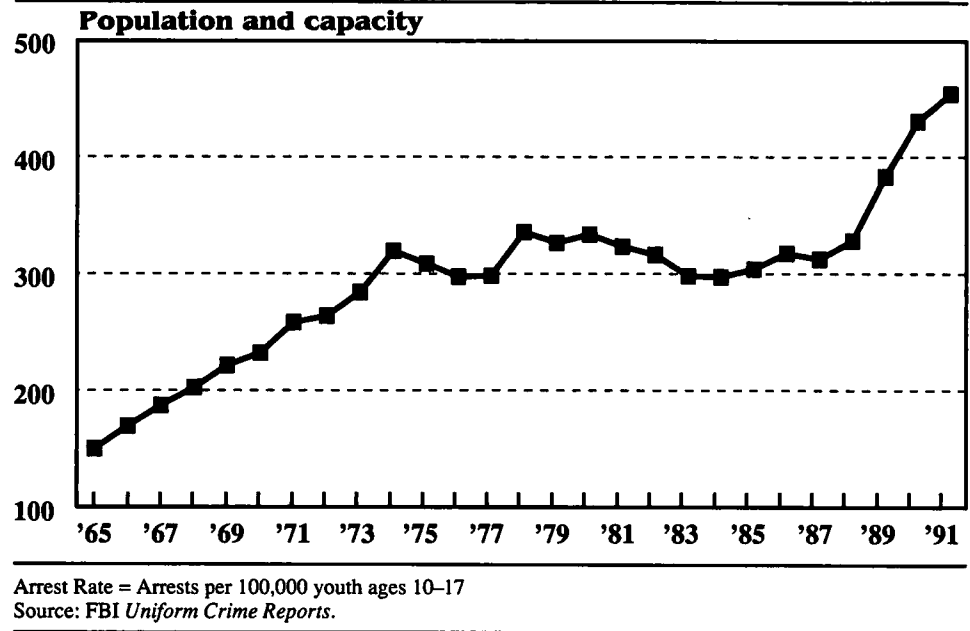
**A** small portion of juvenile offenders accounts for the bulk of all serious and violent juvenile crime.

**G**ang violence has risen drastically in a number of large cities.

### Arrests and crime rates

Juvenile arrests are increasing, particularly for violent offenses. Juvenile arrests for violent crimes increased 41 percent from 1982–1991. In 1991, the juvenile arrest rate for violent offenses reached its highest level in history. In the 10-year period between 1982 and 1991, the number of juvenile arrests for murder increased by 93 percent and aggravated assault arrests increased by 72 percent (Snyder, 1993). (See figure 1 for violent crime index arrest rates from the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* for the period 1965 to 1991.)

**Figure 1: Violent Crime Index Arrest Rates**



### Gang crime and drugs

The national scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem have increased sharply since the late 1970's and early 1980's. Gang violence has risen drastically in a number of large cities. Moreover, gangs have emerged in many middle-sized and smaller cities and suburban communities across the country. Youth gangs are becoming more violent, and gangs increasingly serve as a way for members to engage in illegal money-making activity, including street-level drug trafficking (Miller, 1982; Spergel et al., 1991).

### Juvenile court

Juvenile court caseloads are increasing, largely as a result of increasing violent delinquency. From 1986 through 1990, the number of delinquency cases actually disposed by juvenile courts increased 10 percent. During the

same period, juvenile courts disposed of 31 percent more violent cases, including 64 percent more homicide and 48 percent more aggravated assault cases (Snyder et al., 1993a).

## Confinement

Admissions to juvenile detention and corrections facilities are increasing, resulting in crowded facilities with attendant problems such as institutional violence and suicidal behavior. Admissions to juvenile facilities rose after 1984, reaching an all-time high in 1990 with the largest increase in detention (Krisberg et al., 1992). Forty-seven percent of confined juveniles are in detention and correctional facilities in which the population exceeds the facility design capacity. More than half of the detained and incarcerated population in 1991 were held for nonviolent offenses (Parent et al., 1993). (See figures 2, 3, and 4 for published statistics on juvenile confinement in public facilities and figure 5 for detained delinquency case trends by race and offense for 1985 and 1989.)

**M**ore than half of the detained and incarcerated population in 1991 were held for non-violent offenses.

**Figure 2: U.S. Juveniles in Custody in Public Juvenile Facilities  
1-Day Counts by Reason for Custody and Sex, 1991**

Public facilities	Total (N=57,661)	Males (N=51,282)	Females (N=6,379)
<b>Delinquent offenses</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>97.3%</b>	<b>80.7%</b>
1. Violent	19	20.5	10.3
2. Other personal	12	12.1	9.4
3. Serious property	24	24.4	17.1
4. Other property	12	12.5	12.9
5. Alcohol offenses	1	1.0	1.0
6. Drug-related offenses	10	10.4	5.3
7. Public order offenses	4	4.4	5.4
8. Probation/parole violations	8	7.2	12.9
9. Other	5	4.8	6.4
<b>Status offenses</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>12.9</b>
<b>Nonoffenders</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>4.2</b>
<b>Voluntary commitments</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>2.2</b>

Offense categories include the following offenses:

Violent: murder, nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault.

Other personal: negligent manslaughter, assault, sexual assault.

Serious property: burglary, arson, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft.

Other property: vandalism, forgery, counterfeiting, fraud, stolen property, unauthorized vehicle use.

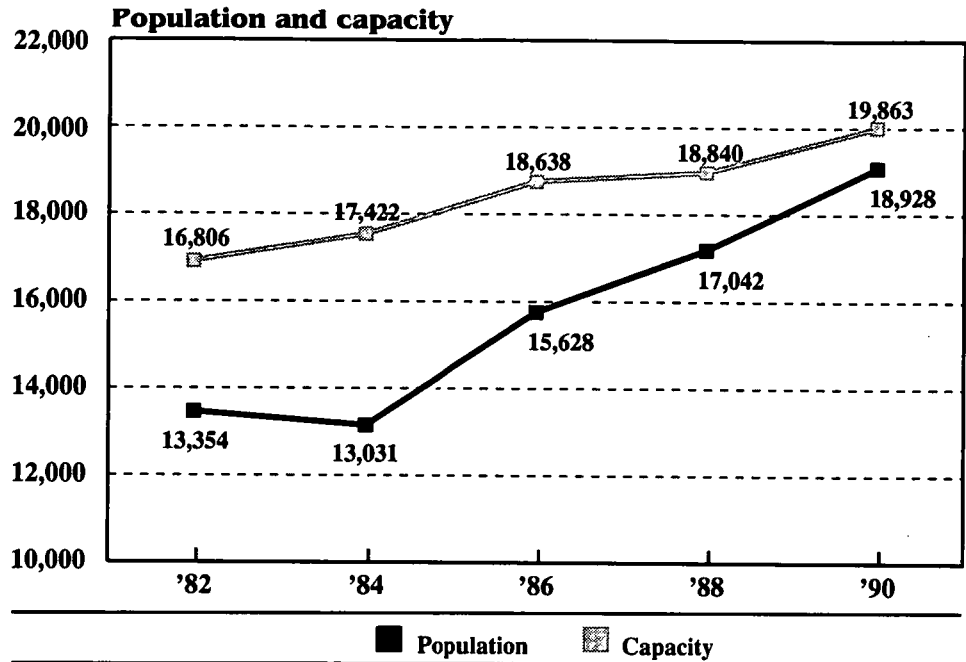
Public order: alcohol offenses, drug-related offenses, public order offenses.

Status: offenses not considered crimes if committed by adults.

Nonoffenders: dependency, neglect, abuse, emotional disturbance, retardation, other.

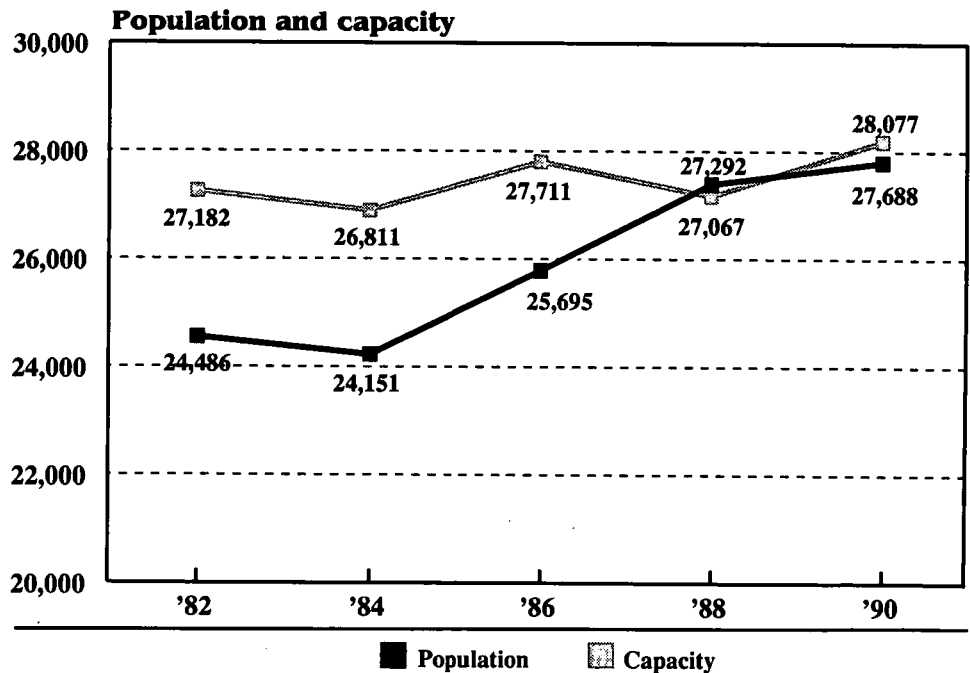
Source: 1991 Census of Public and Private Juvenile Detention, Correctional and Shelter Facilities:  
Census day 2/15/91.

**Figure 3: U.S. Public Detention Centers Capacity and Average Daily Population, 1982-1990**



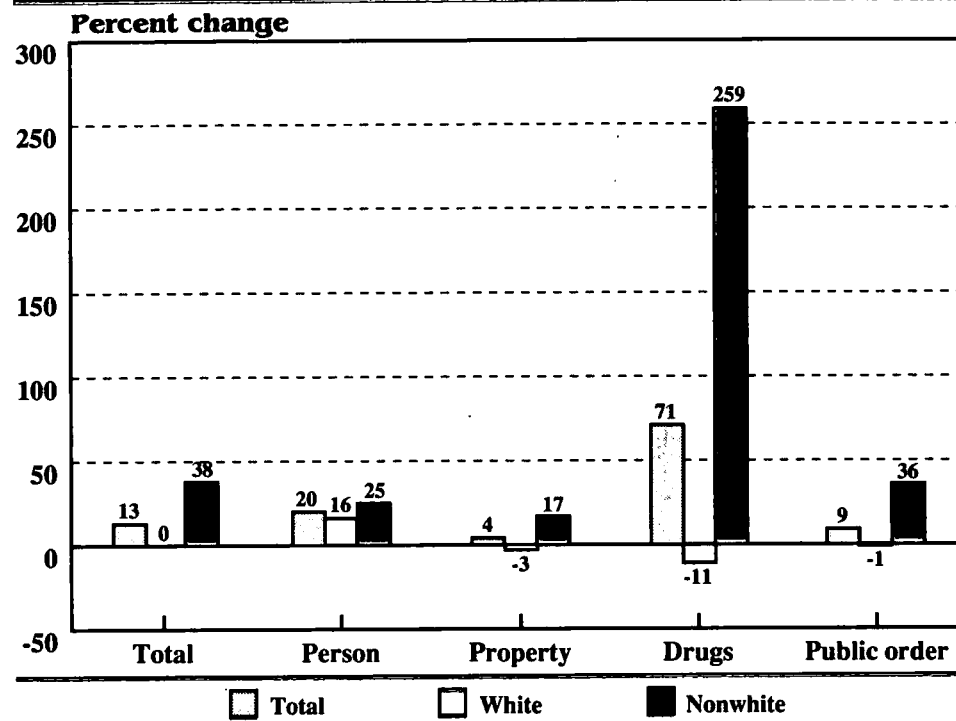
Source: 1983-1991 Census of Public Juvenile Detention, Correctional and Shelter Facilities.

**Figure 4: U.S. Public Training Schools Capacity and Average Daily Population, 1982-1990**



Source: 1983-1991 Census of Public Juvenile Detention, Correctional and Shelter Facilities.

**Figure 5: Detained Delinquency Case Trends by Race and Offense, 1985 and 1989**



Source: National Center of Juvenile Justice, a special analysis of 1989 data from the National Juvenile Court Data Archive.

**B**etween 1984 and 1990, the number of annual admissions of juveniles to adult prisons increased 30 percent, from 9,078 to 11,782.

## Waivers and imprisonment

Juvenile cases handled in criminal courts have increased, resulting in increased numbers of juveniles placed in crowded adult prisons. The number of juvenile cases handled in criminal courts is unknown, but it is estimated to be as many as 200,000 cases in 1990 (Snyder, 1993b). Judicial waivers to criminal court increased 78 percent between 1985 and 1989 (Snyder et al., 1993a). Between 1984 and 1990, the number of annual admissions of juveniles to adult prisons increased 30 percent, from 9,078 to 11,782 (OJJDP, 1991, 1993).

## Research

### Serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders

Evidence continues to mount that a small proportion of offenders commit most of the serious and violent juvenile crimes. The Philadelphia birth cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972), found that "chronic offenders" (five or more police contacts) constituted 6 percent of the cohort and 18 percent of the delinquents. They were responsible for 62 percent of all offenses and about two-thirds of all violent offenses. Other studies have found similar results (Strasburg, 1978; Hamparian et al., 1978; Shannon, 1988; Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, 1993).

**"S**erious violent offenders, on average, commit 132 delinquent offenses annually with 8 of them being "serious violent" offenses.

Analysis of self-reported measures of violent offending employed in the National Youth Survey (NYS) for the period 1976 to 1980 indicates that from ages 12 to 17, about 5 percent of juveniles at each age were classified as "serious violent" (a combination of both serious and violent offense categories) offenders. "Serious violent" offenders, on average, commit 132 delinquent offenses annually with 8 of them being "serious violent" offenses. Most serious and violent juvenile careers last about 1 year, and nearly 10 percent of "serious violent" offenders have a career length of 5 years or more (Elliott et al., 1986).

### Causes of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime

Recent research has documented the behavioral pathways and factors that contribute to serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime. OJJDP's Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency conducted a longitudinal study in three sites using common measures and oversampling of high-risk youth. The major factors influencing delinquency were identified as delinquent peer groups, poor school performance, high-crime neighborhoods, weak family attachments, and lack of consistent discipline and behavioral monitoring. The study identified three developmental pathways to chronic delinquency—overt pathway (from aggression, to fighting, to violence), covert pathway (from minor covert behavior, to property damage, to serious delinquency), and authority conflict pathway (from stubborn behavior, to defiance, to authority avoidance) (Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, 1992). This research provides the basis for designing prevention programs and intervention strategies.

#### Behavioral factors that contribute to serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Delinquent peer groups.   | <input type="checkbox"/> Weak family attachments.       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Poor school performance.  | <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of consistent discipline. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> High-crime neighborhoods. | <input type="checkbox"/> Physical or sexual abuse.      |

A link has also been found to exist between childhood victimization and delinquent behavior. Greater risk exists for violent offending when a child is physically abused or neglected early in life. Such a child is more likely to begin violent offending earlier and to be more involved in such offending than children who have not been abused or neglected (Widom, 1989; Smith and Thornberry, 1993).

### Program evaluations

Effective intervention strategies and programs for serious, violent, and chronic delinquents have been documented. A comprehensive delinquency prevention program model, called the "social development model," has been demonstrated to be effective in preventing serious and violent juvenile delinquency (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992). This model specifies programs that enhance protective factors, or buffers, against delinquent behavior for implementation at key points in the chronological or social development of the child. Interventions must begin early in family life.

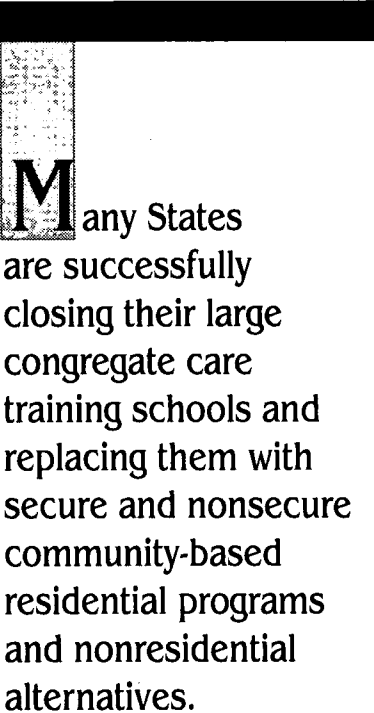


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A wide array of intervention models for delinquent juveniles has been found to be effective in treating and rehabilitating offenders. Intensive Supervision Programs have been found to be effective for many serious and violent juvenile offenders, obviating the need for secure incarceration (Krisberg et al., 1989a). OJJDP has also developed an intensive aftercare model designed to successfully reintegrate high-risk juvenile parolees back into the community (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1992).

Evaluations demonstrate that innovative programs, including secure and nonsecure community-based programs, can be used effectively as alternatives to incarceration for many serious and violent juvenile offenders. Examples of these types of programs include a day treatment and education program operated by Associated Marine Institutes (AMI); the Florida Environmental Institute's (FEI) wilderness camp for juveniles who would otherwise be sent to adult prisons; and intensive family-based, multisystemic therapy (MST) programs, which have been effective with serious juvenile offenders in several localities (Krisberg, 1992). OJJDP's Violent Juvenile Offender Program demonstrated that most violent juvenile offenders could be successfully rehabilitated through intensive treatment in small secure facilities (Fagan et al., 1984, 1984a; Fagan, 1990, 1990a). Other effective community-based programs include the Broward County, Florida, Home Detention Program; the Juvenile Alternative Work Service programs in Orange County and Los Angeles, California; the Seattle, Washington-based Homebuilders program; and the KEY Outreach and Tracking program in Massachusetts (National Coalition of State Juvenile Justice Advisory Groups, 1993).

Many States are successfully closing their large congregate care training schools and replacing them with secure and nonsecure community-based residential programs and nonresidential alternatives. Massachusetts was the first State to close its training schools in the 1970's and replace them with a network of decentralized community services and a few small secure-care units for violent juvenile offenders. As a consequence, Massachusetts has saved about \$11 million per year (Krisberg et al., 1989). Utah, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Florida have also closed training schools and begun to implement community-based systems (Lerner, 1990).



**M**any States are successfully closing their large congregate care training schools and replacing them with secure and nonsecure community-based residential programs and nonresidential alternatives.



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# Comprehensive strategy for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders

## General principles

The following general principles provide a framework to guide our efforts in the battle to prevent delinquent conduct and reduce juvenile involvement in serious, violent, and chronic delinquency:

- **Strengthen the family** in its primary responsibility to instill moral values and provide guidance and support to children. Where there is no functional family unit, a family surrogate should be established and assisted to guide and nurture the child.
- **Support core social institutions**—schools, religious institutions, and community organizations—in their roles of developing capable, mature, and responsible youth. A goal of each of these societal institutions should be to ensure that children have the opportunity and support to mature into productive law-abiding citizens. A nurturing community environment requires that core social institutions be actively involved in the lives of youth. Community organizations include public and private youth-serving agencies; neighborhood groups; and business and commercial organizations providing employment, training, and other meaningful economic opportunities for youth.
- **Promote delinquency prevention** as the most cost-effective approach to dealing with juvenile delinquency. Families, schools, religious institutions, and community organizations, including citizen volunteers and the private sector, must be enlisted in the Nation’s delinquency prevention efforts. These core socializing institutions must be strengthened and assisted in their efforts to ensure that children have the opportunity to become capable and responsible citizens. When children engage in “acting out” behavior, such as status offenses, the family and community, in concert with child welfare agencies, must take primary responsibility for responding with appropriate treatment and support services. Communities must take the lead in designing and building comprehensive prevention approaches that address known risk factors and target other youth at risk of delinquency.
- **Intervene immediately and effectively when delinquent behavior occurs** to successfully prevent delinquent offenders from becoming chronic offenders or progressively committing more serious and violent crimes. Initial intervention efforts, under an umbrella of system authorities (police, intake, and probation), should be centered in the family and other core societal institutions. Juvenile justice system authorities should ensure that an appropriate response occurs and act quickly and firmly if the need for formal system adjudication and sanctions has been demonstrated.
- **Identify and control the small group of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders** who have committed felony offenses or have failed to respond to intervention and nonsecure community-based treatment and rehabilitation services offered by the juvenile justice system. Measures to



**C**ommunities must take the lead in designing and building comprehensive prevention approaches that address known risk factors and target other youth at risk of delinquency.

**U**nder OJJDP's comprehensive strategy, it is the family and community, supported by our core social institutions, that have primary responsibility for meeting the basic socializing needs of our Nation's children.

address delinquent offenders who are a threat to community safety may include placements in secure community-based facilities or, when necessary, training schools and other secure juvenile facilities.

Under OJJDP's comprehensive strategy, it is the family and community, supported by our core social institutions, that have **primary** responsibility for meeting the basic socializing needs of our Nation's children. Socially harmful conduct, acting-out behavior, and delinquency may be signs of the family being unable to meet its responsibility. It is at these times that the community must support and assist the family in the socialization process, particularly for youth at the greatest risk of delinquency.

**Key principles for preventing and reducing juvenile delinquency**

- Strengthen families.
- Support core social institutions.
- Promote prevention strategies and programs.
- Intervene immediately and effectively when delinquent behavior occurs.
- Identify and control the small percentage of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.

The proposed strategy incorporates two principal components: (1) preventing youth from becoming delinquent by focusing prevention programs on at-risk youth; and (2) improving the juvenile justice system response to delinquent offenders through a system of graduated sanctions and a continuum of treatment alternatives that include immediate intervention, intermediate sanctions, and community-based corrections sanctions, incorporating restitution and community service when appropriate.

### Target populations

The **initial target population** for prevention programs is juveniles at risk of involvement in delinquent activity. While primary delinquency prevention programs provide services to all youth wishing to participate, maximum impact on future delinquent conduct can be achieved by seeking to identify and involve in prevention programs youth at greatest risk of involvement in delinquent activity. This includes youth who exhibit known risk factors for future delinquency; drug and alcohol abuse; and youth who have had contact with the juvenile justice system as nonoffenders (neglected, abused, and dependent), status offenders (runaways, truants, alcohol offenders, and incorrigibles), or minor delinquent offenders.

The **next target population** is youth, both male and female, who have committed delinquent (criminal) acts, including juvenile offenders who evidence a high likelihood of becoming, or who already are, serious, violent, or chronic offenders.

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## Program rationale

What can communities and the juvenile justice system do to prevent the development of and interrupt the progression of delinquent and criminal careers? Juvenile justice agencies and programs are one part of a larger picture that involves many other local agencies and programs that are responsible for working with at-risk youth and their families. It is important that juvenile delinquency prevention and intervention programs are integrated with local police, social service, child welfare, school, and family preservation programs and that these programs reflect local community determinations of the most pressing problems and program priorities. Establishing **community planning teams** that include a broad base of participants drawn from local government and the community (e.g., community-based youth development organizations, schools, law enforcement, social service agencies, civic organizations, religious groups, parents, and teens) will help create consensus on priorities and services to be provided as well as build support for a comprehensive program approach that draws on all sectors of the community for participation. Comprehensive approaches to delinquency prevention and intervention will require collaborative efforts between the juvenile justice system and other service provision systems, including mental health, health, child welfare, and education. Developing mechanisms that effectively link these different service providers at the program level will need to be an important component of every community's comprehensive plan.

Evidence suggests that a risk reduction and protective factor enhancement approach to prevention is effective. Risk factors include the family, the school, the peer group, the community, and characteristics of juveniles themselves. The more risk factors present in a community, the greater the likelihood of youth problems in that community as children are exposed to those risk factors. Prevention strategies will need to be comprehensive, addressing each of the risk factors as they relate to the **chronological development** of children being served.

Research and experience in intervention and treatment programming suggest that a highly structured system of graduated sanctions holds significant promise. The goal of graduated sanctions is to increase the effectiveness of the juvenile justice system in responding to juveniles who have committed criminal acts. The system's limited resources have diminished its ability to respond effectively to serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime. This trend must be reversed by empowering the juvenile justice system to provide accountability and treatment resources to juveniles. This includes gender-specific programs for female offenders, whose rates of delinquency have generally been increasing faster than males in recent years, and who now account for 23 percent of juvenile arrests. It will also require programs for special needs populations such as sex offenders, mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, and learning disabled delinquents.

The graduated sanctions approach is designed to provide immediate intervention at the first offense to ensure that the juvenile's misbehavior is addressed by the family and community or through formal adjudication and sanctions by the juvenile justice system, as appropriate. Graduated sanctions include a range of intermediate sanctions and secure corrections options to provide intensive



Research and experience in intervention and treatment programming suggest that a highly structured system of graduated sanctions holds significant promise.

**"The Courts must protect children and families when private and other public institutions are unable or fail to meet their obligations."**

treatment that serves the juvenile's needs, provides accountability, and protects the public. They offer an array of referral and dispositional resources for law enforcement, juvenile courts, and juvenile corrections officials. The graduated sanctions component requires that the juvenile justice system's capacity to identify, process, evaluate, refer, and track delinquent offenders be enhanced.

### **The juvenile justice system**

The juvenile justice system plays a key role in protecting and guiding juveniles, including responding to juvenile delinquency. Law enforcement plays a key role by conducting investigations, making custody and arrest determinations, or exercising discretionary release authority. Police should be trained in community-based policing techniques and provided with program resources that focus on community youth, such as Police Athletic Leagues and the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) Program.

The traditional role of the juvenile and family court is to treat and rehabilitate the dependent or wayward minor, using an individualized approach and tailoring its response to the particular needs of the child and family, with goals of: (1) responding to the needs of troubled youth and their families; (2) providing due process while recognizing the rights of the victim; (3) rehabilitating the juvenile offender; and (4) protecting both the juvenile and the public. While juvenile and family courts have been successful in responding to the bulk of youth problems to meet these goals, new ways of organizing and focusing the resources of the juvenile justice system are required to effectively address serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime. These methods might include the establishment of unified family courts with jurisdiction over all civil and criminal matters affecting the family.

A recent statement by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges (NCJFCJ) succinctly describes the critical role of the court:

The Courts must protect children and families when private and other public institutions are unable or fail to meet their obligations. The protection of society by correcting children who break the law, the preservation and reformation of families, and the protection of children from abuse and neglect are missions of the Court. When the family falters, when the basic needs of children go unmet, when the behavior of children is destructive and goes unchecked, juvenile and family courts must respond. The Court is society's official means of holding itself accountable for the well-being of its children and family unit (NCJFCJ, "Children and Families First, A Mandate for Change," 1993).

Earlier, NCJFCJ developed 38 recommendations regarding serious juvenile offenders and related issues facing the juvenile court system. These issues included confidentiality of the juvenile offender and his or her family, transfer of a juvenile offender to adult court, and effective treatment of the serious juvenile offender (NCJFCJ, 1984).

Finally, juvenile corrections has the responsibility to provide treatment services that will rehabilitate the juvenile and minimize his or her chances of

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reoffending. Juvenile courts and corrections will benefit from a system that makes a continuum of services available that respond to each juvenile's needs.

The juvenile justice system, armed with resources and knowledge that permit matching juveniles with appropriate treatment programs while holding them accountable, can have a positive and lasting impact on the reduction of delinquency. Developing effective case management and management information systems (MIS) will be integral to this effort. OJJDP will provide leadership in building system capacity at the State and local levels to take maximum advantage of available knowledge and resources.

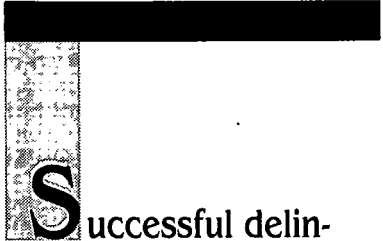
## **Delinquency prevention**

Most juvenile delinquency efforts have been unsuccessful because of their negative approach—attempting to keep juveniles from misbehaving. Positive approaches that emphasize opportunities for healthy social, physical, and mental development have a much greater likelihood of success. Another weakness of past delinquency prevention efforts is their narrow scope, focusing on only one or two of society's institutions that have responsibility for the social development of children. Most programs have targeted either the school arena or the family. Communities are an often neglected area. Successful delinquency prevention strategies must be positive in their orientation and comprehensive in their scope.

The prevention component of OJJDP's comprehensive strategy is based on a risk-focused delinquency prevention approach (Hawkins and Catalano, 1992). This approach states that to prevent a problem from occurring, the factors contributing to the development of that problem must be identified and then ways must be found (protective factors) to address and ameliorate those factors.

Research conducted over the past half century has clearly documented five categories of causes and correlates of juvenile delinquency: (1) individual characteristics such as alienation, rebelliousness, and lack of bonding to society; (2) family influences such as parental conflict, child abuse, and family history of problem behavior (substance abuse, criminality, teen pregnancy, and school dropouts); (3) school experiences such as early academic failure and lack of commitment to school; (4) peer group influences such as friends who engage in problem behavior (minor criminality, gangs, and violence); and (5) neighborhood and community factors such as economic deprivation, high rates of substance abuse and crime, and low neighborhood attachment. These categories can also be thought of as risk factors.

To counter these causes and risk factors, protective factors must be introduced. Protective factors are qualities or conditions that moderate a juvenile's exposure to risk. Research indicates that protective factors fall into three basic categories: (1) individual characteristics such as a resilient temperament and a positive social orientation; (2) bonding with prosocial family members, teachers, and friends; and (3) healthy beliefs and clear standards for behavior. While individual characteristics are inherent and difficult to change, bonding and clear standards for behavior work together and can be changed. To increase bonding,



**S**uccessful delinquency prevention strategies must be positive in their orientation and comprehensive in their scope.

**T**he risk-focused delinquency prevention approach calls on communities to identify and understand what risk factors their children are exposed to and to implement programs that counter these risk factors.

children must be provided with opportunities to contribute to their families, schools, peer groups, and communities; skills to take advantage of opportunities; and recognition for their efforts to contribute. Simultaneously, parents, teachers, and communities need to set clear standards that endorse prosocial behavior.

The risk-focused delinquency prevention approach calls on communities to identify and understand what risk factors their children are exposed to and to implement programs that counter these risk factors. Communities must enhance protective factors that promote positive behavior, health, well-being, and personal success. Effective delinquency prevention efforts must be comprehensive, covering the five causes or risk factors described below, and correspond to the social development process.

#### **Risk factors**

- Individual characteristics.
- Family influences.
- School experiences.
- Peer group influences.
- Neighborhood and community.

### **Individual characteristics**

Our children must be taught moral, spiritual, and civic values. The decline in inculcating these values has contributed significantly to increases in delinquent behavior. Therefore, opportunities for teaching positive values must be increased.

Youth Leadership and Service Programs can provide such opportunities and can reinforce and help internalize in children such positive individual traits as discipline, character, self-respect, responsibility, teamwork, healthy lifestyles, and good citizenship. They can also provide opportunities for personal growth, active involvement in education and vocational training, and life skills development.

A Youth Leadership and Service Program could consist of a variety of components targeted to the needs of grade school, junior high, and high school youth. Elementary and junior high school children could be assisted in achieving healthy social development through instillation in them of basic values. High school-aged youth could be supported in the development of leadership skills and community service in preparation for adulthood. The components of a Youth Leadership and Service Program may include the following types of program activities:

- Youth Service Corps.
- Adventure Training (leadership, endurance, and team building).
- Mentoring.
- Recreational.
- Summer camp.



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- Literacy and learning disability.
  - Law-Related Education.

A variety of prevention programs address individual growth and development, including:

- Head Start.
- Boys and Girls Clubs.
- Scouting.
- 4-H Clubs.
- Recreational activities.
- Leadership and personal development.
- Health and mental health.
- Career youth development.

### **Family influences**


The family is the most important influence in the lives of children and the first line of defense against delinquency. Programs that strengthen the family and foster healthy growth and development of children from prenatal care through adolescence should be widely available. These programs should encourage the maintenance of a viable family unit and bonding between parent and child, and they should provide support for families in crisis. Such programs should involve other major spheres of influence such as religious institutions, schools, and community-based organizations. By working together, these organizations will have a pronounced impact on preserving the family and preventing delinquency.

To have the greatest impact, assistance must reach families **before** significant problems develop. Therefore, the concept of **earliest point of impact** should guide the development and implementation of prevention programs involving the family. Researchers in the area of juvenile delinquency and the family have found that the following **negative family involvement factors** are predictors of delinquency:

- Inadequate prenatal care.
- Parental rejection.
- Inadequate supervision and inconsistent discipline by parents.
- Family conflict, marital discord, and physical violence.
- Child abuse.

The following programs directly address negative family involvement factors and how to establish protective factors:

- Teen Abstinence and Pregnancy Prevention.
- Parent Effectiveness and Family Skills Training.



The family is the most important influence in the lives of children and the first line of defense against delinquency.

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**O**utside the family, the school has the greatest influence in the lives of children and adolescents.

- Parent Support Groups.
- Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters.
- Family Crisis Intervention Services.
- Court Appointed Special Advocates.
- Surrogate Families and Respite Care for Families in Crisis.
- Permanency Planning for Foster Children.
- Family Life Education for Teens and Parents.
- Runaway and Homeless Youth Services.

### **School experiences**

Outside the family, the school has the greatest influence in the lives of children and adolescents. The school profoundly influences the hopes and dreams of youth.

Many of America's children bring one or more of the aforementioned risk factors to school with them, and these factors may hinder the development of their academic and social potential. School prevention programs, including traditional delinquency prevention programs not related to the school's educational mission, can assist the family and the community by identifying at-risk youth, monitoring their progress, and intervening with effective programs at critical times during a youth's development.

School-based prevention programs may include:

- Drug and Alcohol Prevention and Education.
- Bullying Prevention.
- Violence Prevention.
- Alternative Schools.
- Truancy Reduction.
- School Discipline and Safety Improvement.
- Targeted-Literacy Programs in the Primary Grades.
- Law-Related Education.
- Afterschool Programs for Latchkey Children.
- Teen Abstinence and Pregnancy Prevention.
- Values Development.
- Vocational Training.

Providing youth with structured opportunities to develop skills and contribute to the community in nonschool hours is particularly important for at-risk youth who have lower levels of personal and social support. Communities need to develop strategies and programs, such as those recommended by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, to address this need.

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## Peer group influences

Research on the causes and correlates of delinquency confirms that associating with delinquent, drug-using peers is strongly correlated with delinquency and drug use. These relationships are mutually reinforcing. Membership in a gang is strongly related to delinquency and drug use. Those who remain in gangs over long periods of time have high rates of delinquency, particularly during active gang membership.

Peer leadership groups offer an effective means of encouraging leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish friendships with more conventional peers. These groups have been established in schools, at all levels, across the country. As noted above, school-based afterschool programs for latchkey children also provide the same function for children at high risk for negative influences. Crime prevention programs that educate youth on how to prevent juvenile violence and crime and provide opportunities for youth to actually work on solving specific community delinquency problems are another effective way of encouraging peer leadership.


Promising approaches have been identified for combating juvenile gangs. "Community mobilization" appears to be effective in cities with chronic gang problems and in cities where the gang problem is just beginning. Other promising preventive options include efforts to dissolve associations with delinquent peers and develop alternative behaviors that promote moral development and reject violence as a means of resolving interpersonal disputes. Opportunities to achieve success in conventional, nondelinquent activities are also imperative.

The following programs reflect these principles:

- Gang Prevention and Intervention.
- Conflict Resolution–Peer Mediation.
- Peer Counseling and Tutoring.
- Self-Help Fellowship for Peer Groups.
- Individual Responsibility Training.
- Community Volunteer Service.
- Competitive Athletic Team Participation.
- Teens, Crime, and the Community.

## Neighborhood and community

Children do not choose where they live. Children who live in fear of drug dealers, street violence, and gang shootings cannot enjoy childhood. Children are dependent on parents, neighbors, and police to provide a safe and secure environment in which to play, go to school, and work. Community policing can play an important role in creating a safer environment. Community police officers not only help to reduce criminal activity but also become positive role models and establish caring relationships with the youth and families in a community. Onsite neighborhood resource teams, composed of community police officers, social workers, health-care workers, housing experts, and



Peer leadership groups offer an effective means of encouraging leaders of delinquency-prone groups to establish friendships with more conventional peers.

**T**he private-sector business community can make a major contribution through Private Industry Councils and other partnerships by providing job training, apprenticeships, and other meaningful economic opportunities for youth.

school personnel, can ensure that a wide range of problems are responded to in a timely and coordinated manner.

Also required are innovative and committed individuals, groups, and community organizations to work together to improve the quality of life in their communities and, if necessary, to reclaim the communities from gangs and other criminal elements. Such groups include youth development organizations, churches, tenant organizations, and civic groups. The private-sector business community can make a major contribution through Private Industry Councils and other partnerships by providing job training, apprenticeships, and other meaningful economic opportunities for youth.

Neighborhood and community programs include:

- Community Policing.
- Safe Havens for Youth.
- Neighborhood Mobilization for Community Safety.
- Drug-Free School Zones.
- Community Organization–Sponsored Afterschool Programs in Tutoring, Recreation, Mentoring, and Cultural Activities.
- Community and Business Partnerships.
- Foster Grandparents.
- Job Training and Apprenticeships for Youth.
- Neighborhood Watch.
- Victim Programs.

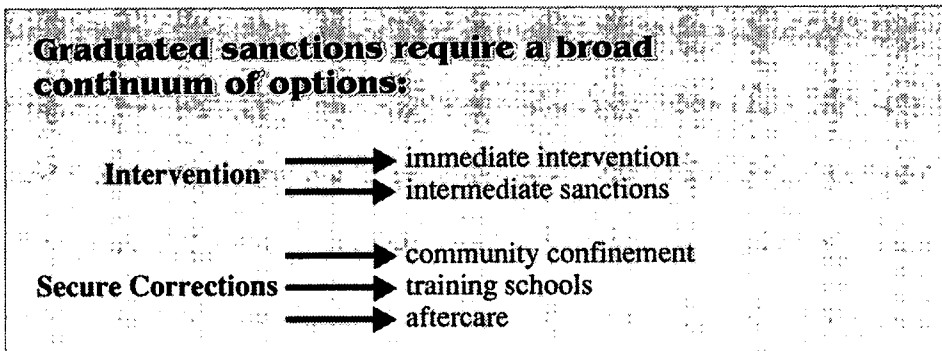
The Carnegie Council (1992), following an extensive study of adolescent development, concluded that community-based youth programs, offered by more than 17,000 organizations nationwide, can provide the critical community support necessary to prevent delinquency. This can be done, the Council concluded, through community organizations' contributions to youth development in conjunction with family- and school-focused efforts. Communities must be created that support families, educate adolescents for a global economy, and provide opportunities to develop skills during nonschool hours. The Council found that many adolescents are adrift during nonschool hours and can be actively involved in community-based programs that provide opportunities to develop a sense of importance, well-being, belonging, and active community participation. Through such programs, risks can be transformed into opportunities.

## **Graduated sanctions**

An effective juvenile justice system program model for the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent offenders is one that combines accountability and sanctions with increasingly intensive treatment and rehabilitation services. These graduated sanctions must be wide-ranging to fit the offense and include

both intervention and secure corrections components. The intervention component includes the use of immediate intervention and intermediate sanctions, and the secure corrections component includes the use of community confinement and incarceration in training schools, camps, and ranches.

Each of these graduated sanctions components should consist of sublevels, or gradations, that together with appropriate services constitute an integrated approach. The purpose of this approach is to stop the juvenile's further penetration into the system by inducing law-abiding behavior as early as possible through the combination of appropriate intervention and treatment sanctions. The juvenile justice system must work with law enforcement, courts, and corrections to develop reasonable, fair, and humane sanctions.



At each level in the continuum, the family must continue to be integrally involved in treatment and rehabilitation efforts. Aftercare must be a formal component of all residential placements, actively involving the family and the community in supporting and reintegrating the juvenile into the community.

Programs will need to use Risk and Needs Assessments to determine the appropriate placement for the offender. Risk assessments should be based on clearly defined objective criteria that focus on (1) the seriousness of the delinquent act; (2) the potential risk for reoffending, based on the presence of risk factors; and (3) the risk to the public safety. Effective risk assessment at intake, for example, can be used to identify those juveniles who require the use of detention as well as those who can be released to parental custody or diverted to nonsecure community-based programs. Needs assessments will help ensure that (1) different types of problems are taken into account when formulating a case plan; (2) a baseline for monitoring a juvenile's progress is established; (3) periodic reassessments of treatment effectiveness are conducted; and (4) a systemwide data base of treatment needs can be used for the planning and evaluation of programs, policies, and procedures. Together, risk and needs assessments will help to allocate scarce resources more efficiently and effectively. A system of graduated sanctions requires a broad continuum of options.

**T**he juvenile justice system must work with law enforcement, courts, and corrections to develop reasonable, fair, and humane sanctions.

**T**raditional probation services and sanctions have not had the resources to effectively target delinquent offenders, particularly serious, violent, and chronic offenders.

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## **Intervention**

For intervention efforts to be most effective, they must be swift, certain, consistent, and incorporate increasing sanctions, including the possible loss of freedom. As the severity of sanctions increases, so must the intensity of treatment. At each level, offenders must be aware that, should they continue to violate the law, they will be subject to more severe sanctions and could ultimately be confined in a secure setting, ranging from a secure community-based juvenile facility to a training school, camp, or ranch.

The juvenile court plays an important role in the provision of treatment and sanctions. Probation has traditionally been viewed as the court's main vehicle for delivery of treatment services and community supervision. However, traditional probation services and sanctions have not had the resources to effectively target delinquent offenders, particularly serious, violent, and chronic offenders.

The Balanced Approach to juvenile probation is a promising approach that specifies a clear and coherent framework. The Balanced Approach consists of three practical objectives: (1) Accountability; (2) Competency Development; and (3) Community Protection. Accountability refers to the requirement that offenders make amends to the victims and the community for harm caused. Competency Development requires that youth who enter the juvenile justice system should exit the system more capable of being productive and responsible citizens. Community Protection requires that the juvenile justice system ensure public safety.

The following graduated sanctions are proposed within the Intervention component:

**Immediate intervention.** First-time delinquent offenders (misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies) and nonserious repeat offenders (generally misdemeanor repeat offenses) must be targeted for system intervention based on their probability of becoming more serious or chronic in their delinquent activities. Nonresidential community-based programs, including prevention programs for at-risk youth, may be appropriate for many of these offenders. Such programs are small and open, located in or near the juvenile's home, and maintain community participation in program planning, operation, and evaluation. Community police officers, working as part of Neighborhood Resource Teams, can help monitor the juvenile's progress. Other offenders may require sanctions tailored to their offense(s) and their needs to deter them from committing additional crimes. The following programs apply to these offenders:

- Neighborhood Resource Teams.
- Diversion.
- Informal Probation.
- School Counselors Serving as Probation Officers.
- Home on Probation.
- Mediation (Victims).

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- Community Service.
  - Restitution.
  - Day-Treatment Programs.
  - Alcohol and Drug Abuse Treatment (Outpatient).
  - Peer Juries.


**Intermediate sanctions.** Offenders who are inappropriate for immediate intervention (first-time serious or violent offenders) or who fail to respond successfully to immediate intervention as evidenced by reoffending (such as repeat property offenders or drug-involved juveniles) would begin with or be subject to intermediate sanctions. These sanctions may be nonresidential or residential.

Many of the serious and violent offenders at this stage may be appropriate for placement in an Intensive Supervision Program as an alternative to secure incarceration. OJJDP's Intensive Supervision of Probationers Program Model is a highly structured, continuously monitored individualized plan that consists of five phases with decreasing levels of restrictiveness: (1) Short-Term Placement in Community Confinement; (2) Day Treatment; (3) Outreach and Tracking; (4) Routine Supervision; and (5) Discharge and Followup. Other appropriate programs include:

- Drug Testing.
- Weekend Detention.
- Alcohol and Drug Abuse Treatment (Inpatient).
- Challenge Outdoor Programs.
- Community-Based Residential Programs.
- Electronic Monitoring.
- Boot Camp Facilities and Programs.

### **Secure corrections**

The criminal behavior of many serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders requires the application of secure sanctions to hold these offenders accountable for their delinquent acts and to provide a structured treatment environment. Large congregate-care juvenile facilities (training schools, camps, and ranches) have not proven to be particularly effective in rehabilitating juvenile offenders. Although some continued use of these types of facilities will remain a necessary alternative for those juveniles who require enhanced security to protect the public, the establishment of small community-based facilities to provide intensive services in a secure environment offers the best hope for successful treatment of those juveniles who require a structured setting. Secure sanctions are most effective in changing future conduct when they are coupled with comprehensive treatment and rehabilitation services.



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**T**he concept of community confinement provides secure confinement in small community-based facilities that offer intensive treatment and rehabilitation services.

Standard parole practices, particularly those that have a primary focus on social control, have not been effective in normalizing the behavior of high-risk juvenile parolees over the long term, and consequently, growing interest has developed in intensive aftercare programs that provide high levels of social control and treatment services. OJJDP's Intensive Community-Based Aftercare for High-Risk Juvenile Parolees Program provides an effective aftercare model:

The Intensive Aftercare Program incorporates five programmatic principles: (1) preparing youth for progressive responsibility and freedom in the community; (2) facilitating youth-community interaction and involvement; (3) working with both the offender and targeted community support systems (e.g., families, peers, schools, and employers) to facilitate constructive interaction and gradual community adjustment; (4) developing needed resources and community support; and (5) monitoring and ensuring the youth's successful reintegration into the community.

The following graduated sanctions strategies are proposed within the Secure Corrections component:

**Community confinement.** Offenders whose presenting offense is sufficiently serious (such as a violent felony) or who fail to respond to intermediate sanctions as evidenced by continued reoffending may be appropriate for community confinement. Offenders at this level represent the more serious (such as repeat felony drug trafficking or property offenders) and violent offenders among the juvenile justice system correctional population.

The concept of community confinement provides secure confinement in small community-based facilities that offer intensive treatment and rehabilitation services. These services include individual and group counseling, educational programs, medical services, and intensive staff supervision. Proximity to the community enables direct and regular family involvement with the treatment process as well as a phased reentry into the community that draws upon community resources and services.

**Incarceration in training schools, camps, and ranches.** Juveniles whose confinement in the community would constitute an ongoing threat to community safety or who have failed to respond to community-based corrections may require an extended correctional placement in training schools, camps, ranches, or other secure options that are not community-based. These facilities should offer comprehensive treatment programs for these youth with a focus on education, skills development, and vocational or employment training and experience. These juveniles may include those convicted in the criminal justice system prior to their reaching the age at which they are no longer subject to the original or extended jurisdiction of the juvenile justice system.



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## Expected benefits

The proposed strategy provides for a comprehensive approach in responding to delinquent conduct and serious, violent, and chronic criminal behavior, consisting of (1) community protection and public safety, (2) accountability, (3) competency development, (4) individualization, and (5) balanced representation of the interests of the community, victim, and juvenile. By taking these factors into account in each program component, a new direction in the administration of juvenile justice is fostered.


### Delinquency prevention

This major component of the comprehensive strategy involves implementation of delinquency prevention technology that has been demonstrated to be effective. Prevention strategies within the major areas that influence the behavior of youth (individual development, family, school, peer group, and community) parallel the chronological development of children. Because addressing these five areas has been found to be effective in reducing future delinquency among high-risk youth, it should result in fewer children entering the juvenile justice system in demonstration sites. This would, in turn, permit concentration of system resources on fewer delinquents, thereby increasing the effectiveness of the graduated sanctions component and improving the operation of the juvenile justice system.

### Graduated sanctions

This major component of the comprehensive strategy is premised on a firm belief that the juvenile justice system can effectively handle delinquent juvenile behavior through the judicious application of a range of graduated sanctions and a full continuum of treatment and rehabilitation services. Expected benefits of this approach include:

- **Increased juvenile justice system responsiveness.** This program will provide additional referral and dispositional resources for law enforcement, juvenile courts, and juvenile corrections. It will also require these system components to increase their ability to identify, process, evaluate, refer, and track juvenile offenders.
- **Increased juvenile accountability.** Juvenile offenders will be held accountable for their behavior, decreasing the likelihood of their development into serious, violent, or chronic offenders and tomorrow's adult criminals. The juvenile justice system will be held accountable for controlling chronic and serious delinquency while also protecting society. Communities will be held accountable for providing community-based prevention and treatment resources for juveniles.
- **Decreased costs of juvenile corrections.** Applying the appropriate graduated sanctions and developing the required community-based resources should reduce significantly the need for high-cost beds in training schools. Savings from the high costs of operating these facilities could be used to provide treatment in community-based programs and facilities.



major component of the comprehensive strategy involves implementation of delinquency prevention technology that has been demonstrated to be effective.

**F**ollowup research and rigorous evaluation of programs should produce valuable information.

- **Increased responsibility of the juvenile justice system.** Many juvenile offenders currently waived or transferred to the criminal justice system could be provided opportunities for intensive services in secure community-based settings or in long-term treatment in juvenile training schools, camps, and ranches.
- **Increased program effectiveness.** As the statistical information presented herein indicates, credible knowledge exists about *who* the chronic, serious, and violent offenders are, that is, their characteristics. Some knowledge also exists about *what* can effectively be done regarding their treatment and rehabilitation. However, more must be learned about what works best for whom under what circumstances to intervene successfully in the potential criminal careers of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. Followup research and rigorous evaluation of programs implemented as part of this strategy should produce valuable information.

### **Crime reduction**

The combined effects of delinquency prevention and increased juvenile justice system effectiveness in intervening immediately and effectively in the lives of delinquent offenders should result in measurable decreases in delinquency in sites where the above concepts are demonstrated. In addition, long-term reduction in crime should result from fewer serious, violent, and chronic delinquents becoming adult criminal offenders.

# Overview of Comprehensive Strategy

Problem Behavior > Noncriminal Misbehavior > Delinquency > Serious, Violent, and Chronic Offending

## Prevention

Target Population: At-Risk Youth

Programs for At-Risk Youth



Programs for Youth at Greatest Risk



Trans-scientific Intervention



Inter-scientific Sanctions



Community Commitment



Training Sanctions



Aftercare

### Youth Development Goals:

- Healthy and nurturing families.
- Safe communities.
- School attachment.
- Prosocial peer relations.
- Personal development and life skills.
- Healthy lifestyle choices.

## Graduated Sanctions

Target Population: Delinquent Youth

### Youth Habilitation Goals:

- Healthy family participation.
- Community reintegration.
- Educational success and skills development.
- Healthy peer network development.
- Prosocial values development.
- Healthy lifestyle choices.

*Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*



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## Appendix

This appendix reviews statistics, research, and program information regarding serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime. The purpose of this review was to assist the development of a major Federal initiative that targets the subject group.

### Statistics

#### Delinquent behavior trends

National Crime Survey data indicate that between 1988 and 1990 victimizations of youth ages 12–18 for rape, robbery, and assault increased 7.5 percent, from 1,391,791 victimizations in 1988 to 1,496,416 offenses in 1990 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1993).

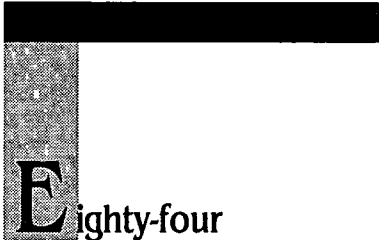
The only source of national self-reported delinquency is the “Monitoring the Future” study, an annual survey of high school seniors. This survey of 17-year-olds between 1975 and 1985 indicated a noticeable increase in assault rates and a sharp increase in robbery rates from 1981 to 1985. Measures of other forms of delinquency showed a stable or erratic trend during the study period (Osgood et al., 1989).

Analysis of self-reported measures of violent offending employed in the NYS, covering the period 1976 to 1980, indicates that (Elliott, 1986:483–503):

- From ages 12 to 17, approximately 5 percent of juveniles at each age were classified as serious violent offenders.
- Approximately 35 percent of males were classified as serious violent offenders for at least 1 year by the age of 21, compared with 11 percent of females.
- On the average, serious violent offenders commit eight serious violent offenses annually.
- On the average, each of these individuals commit 132 delinquent offenses annually, compared with 54 for serious nonviolent offenders.
- The mean length of serious violent careers is about 1 year.
- Nearly 10 percent of serious violent offenders have a career length of 5 years or more.
- Eighty-four percent of the most serious offenders had no official record.

#### Arrest trends

In 1991 there were an estimated 2.3 million arrests of juveniles. More than 100,000 of these arrests were for violent crimes, and more than 700,000 were for serious property crimes. These arrests represented 16 percent of all arrests,



**E**ighty-four percent of the most serious offenders had no official record.

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**J**uvenile arrests for violent crimes increased 41 percent from 1982 to 1991.

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33 percent of all burglary arrests, 26 percent of all robbery arrests, 16 percent of all rape arrests, 14 percent of all aggravated assault arrests, and 14 percent of all murder arrests (Snyder et al., 1993).

Juvenile arrests for violent crimes increased 41 percent from 1982 to 1991. Violent crimes with the greatest proportionate increase were murder (93 percent) and aggravated assault (72 percent). Arrests of juveniles for forcible rape increased 24 percent and robbery increased 12 percent during the 10-year period (Snyder, 1993).

Evidence exists that juveniles account for an increasingly larger share of violent crimes. The number of Violent Crime Index arrests of youth under age 18 increased 50 percent between 1987 and 1991 compared with a 25 percent increase for persons age 18 and older. Youth arrests for murder increased 85 percent compared with 21 percent for adults; youth rape arrests rose 16 percent compared with 7 percent for adults; youth robbery arrests rose 52 percent compared with 20 percent for adults; and youth aggravated assaults increased 52 percent compared with 29 percent for adults. As a result of this growth in recent years, the youth share of arrests for Violent Crime Index offenses has increased. In 1987 youth arrests accounted for less than 10 percent of all murder arrests but by 1991 youth arrests were 14 percent of the murder arrests. While the youth share of rape arrests remained constant between 1987 and 1991, the youth share of robbery arrests rose from 22 percent to 26 percent, and their share of aggravated assault arrests went from 13 percent to 14 percent. In 1991 the youth arrest rate for Violent Crime Index offenses reached its highest level in history (459 youth arrests per 100,000 youth ages 10–17) (Snyder, 1993).

### **Juvenile court trends**

The number of delinquency cases processed by juvenile courts increased 10 percent from 1986 through 1990. This translates into 50 cases for every 1,000 juveniles in the population. The delinquency case rate increased steadily from 1986 through 1990, so that by 1990 the rate was 13 percent greater. The number of cases involving Violent Crime Index offenses increased 31 percent between 1986 and 1990, including 64 percent more criminal homicide cases, 48 percent more aggravated assault cases, and 9 percent more robbery cases. In 16,900 delinquency cases handled in 1990, the juvenile court waived its jurisdiction, transferring the cases to criminal court—an increase of 65 percent in the number of cases waived. This does not include juveniles' cases filed directly in criminal court as a result of prosecutorial discretion or legislative exclusion. Among cases waived to criminal court in 1990, 46 percent were property cases, 35 percent were person offense cases, 14 percent were drug cases, and the remaining 6 percent were public order cases. Although drug cases did not account for a large portion of waived cases, the number of drug cases waived to criminal court increased 282 percent (from 600 to 2,300 cases) between 1986 and 1990, a greater percent change than any other offense category (Snyder et al., 1993a).

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## Confinement trends

The number of admissions into public and private juvenile custody facilities has increased 19 percent over the past decade—from 638,309 to 760,644 facility admissions (Krisberg et al., 1992). In 1978 there were 2,220 juvenile facility admissions for every 100,000 juveniles in the population; by 1988 the admission rate had increased 34 percent to 2,974. The vast majority of admissions in 1988 were public facility admissions (81 percent), although private facilities experienced a greater increase from 1978 through 1988 in the number of admissions (104 percent compared with a 9-percent increase for public facilities). Detention center admissions accounted for 81 percent of public facility admissions in 1988 and, although the detention center proportion of admissions was relatively stable, there was an 11 percent increase from 1978 through 1988 in the number of admissions to detention centers. There was also a substantial increase in private detention center admissions (373 percent, from just under 2,000 to more than 9,000).

## Criminal court handling

Nationwide data are not available to make a reliable estimate of the number of juveniles handled in criminal courts annually.\* The only national study in this area was conducted by White (1978) and his colleagues, who estimated that during 1978 more than 9,000 juveniles were judicially waived to criminal court; 2,000 were referred to criminal court under concurrent jurisdiction provisions; and an additional 1,300 were criminally charged under excluded offense provisions. An additional 250,000 youth under the age of 18 faced criminal court charges due to lower ages of criminal court jurisdiction in 11 States.

Since 1978, at least three States have enacted new statutory provisions to exclude serious offenses from juvenile court jurisdiction. Five States have enacted concurrent jurisdiction legislation that gives the prosecutor authority to file certain types of cases directly in criminal court. None has lowered its upper age limit for juvenile court jurisdiction.\*\* The National Center for Juvenile Justice has estimated that approximately 176,000 youth ages 16 and 17 were referred to criminal courts in 1990 due to lower ages of criminal court jurisdiction (Snyder, 1993b). In 1990 an estimated 17,000 juveniles were transferred to criminal court through judicial waiver or under concurrent jurisdiction provisions (Snyder et al., 1993a). If the estimated 17,000 transfers are combined with the 1990 estimated 176,000 cases of 16- and 17-year-olds handled in criminal courts due to age-related exclusions and a few thousand excluded offense cases, then about 200,000 cases involving youth below the age of 18 may have been handled by criminal courts in 1990.

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\*The General Accounting Office is currently conducting a study of juvenile waivers to criminal courts as required by the 1992 Amendments to the JJDP Act.

\*\*Eighteen States now have excluded offense provisions for serious or violent crimes; 12 have concurrent jurisdiction legislation. Fifteen is the upper age of juvenile court jurisdiction in 3 States, 16 in 8 States, 17 in 39 States and the District of Columbia, and 18 in 1 State (Wyoming) (National Center for Juvenile Justice, 1993).



Since 1978, at least three States have enacted new statutory provisions to exclude serious offenses from juvenile court jurisdiction.

Over the 27-year period from 1965 to 1991, arrest rates for females ages 10–17 have remained substantially lower than the rates for males.

## **Imprisonment trends**

Between 1984 and 1990, the number of annual admissions of juveniles to adult prisons increased 30 percent, from 9,078 to 11,782. Data from the 1987 National Correctional Reporting Program, which provided information on juvenile prison admissions for a sample of States, indicated that about 8 percent were convicted of murder or manslaughter; 40 percent were convicted of a personal offense (typically a robbery—18 percent); 48 percent were convicted for a property offense (more than half of those convicted for a property offense had burglary as their most serious offense); and about 5 percent were sentenced to prison for a drug crime (OJJDP, 1991, 1993).

## **Female delinquency**

Over the 27-year period from 1965 to 1991 arrest rates for females ages 10–17 have remained substantially lower than the rates for males (Snyder, 1993). Between 1987 and 1991 the increase in the number of robbery arrests involving females under age 18 was greater than the increase for male youth (88-percent increase for females compared with a 49-percent increase for males). Female arrests for Property Crime Index offenses increased more than male arrests for all offenses except arson. Overall, Property Crime Index arrests increased 14 percent for females compared with 7 percent for males. In 1991 females accounted for 23 percent of all youth arrests, 12 percent of Violent Crime Index arrests, and 22 percent of Property Crime Index arrests. For both males and females the volume of juvenile court cases increased 10 percent between 1986 and 1990 (Snyder et al., 1993a). The growth in person offense cases was comparable for males and females (29 percent and 32 percent respectively). For property cases, however, the growth in case volume among females was nearly double the increase among males (13 percent compared with 7 percent). In 1990 females accounted for 19 percent of delinquency cases processed and about the same proportion of person offense and property offense cases. Females, however, accounted for a somewhat smaller proportion of drug cases (13 percent). Female delinquency cases were less likely to involve detention during court processing than were cases involving males (17 percent compared with 24 percent in 1990). Between 1978 and 1988 the number of female admissions to public and private juvenile custody facilities increased 18 percent, about the same as for males (Krisberg et al., 1992).

## **Research**

### **Youth gangs**

In the late 1970's, Walter Miller conducted the first nationwide study of youth gangs (Miller, 1975, 1982). The study found youth gang problems in half of the Nation's large (more than 1 million population) metropolitan areas. The 10 largest gang-problem cities contained about half the gangs. Miller estimated that 300 U.S. cities and towns contained about 2,300 youth gangs, with nearly 100,000 members. About 3,400 youth gang-related killings were reported for about 60 cities during a 13-year period ending in 1980. Miller's major conclusions were:



- By 1980 there were more gang members in the United States than at any time in the past.
- Youth gangs were active in more cities than at any other time.
- Gang crime was more lethal than any time in history; more people were shot, stabbed, and beaten to death in gang-related incidents than during any previous decade.
- Members of gangs and other groups were more heavily armed than any time in the past. Such groups have always used weapons, but the prevalence and sophistication of firearms used in the 1970's was unprecedented.
- The amount of property destruction by gangs through vandalism and arson of schools, residential and commercial buildings, and automobiles was more extensive and costly than in any previous decade.

Research designed to estimate the numbers and characteristics of youth gangs in the United States has not been conducted since Miller's study. However, Spergel and his colleagues (Spergel et al., 1990, 1991) completed a nationwide assessment of promising approaches to preventing and intervening in youth gangs. In the course of this research Spergel made the following observations:

- The scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem nationally is not clearly or reliably known. Police officials in 35 emerging and chronic gang-problem cities estimated the presence of 1,439 gangs and 120,636 gang members.
- Based on law enforcement and media reports, criminal youth gangs or gang members are to be found in nearly all 50 States.
- Evidence exists of a general increase in gang-related violence in several cities, particularly on the west coast.
- Gang members with arrest records are responsible for a disproportionate amount of violent crime. At the same time, the proportion of total violent crime committed by gang members is very low.
- Gang violence is concentrated in certain categories of violent crime, such as homicide and aggravated assault, and is concentrated in certain neighborhoods.
- Historically, youth gangs have rarely engaged in drug dealing, especially hard drugs. Recently, some youth gangs have become involved in street sale of drugs.
- The age range of gang members has expanded in recent decades. Members remain in gangs longer. Extreme gang violence is concentrated in the older teen and young adult range. The average age of the arrested gang offender is 17 to 18. The average age of the gang homicide offender is 19 to 20.
- Several observers suggest a close relationship between youth gangs and organized crime. Youth gang structures, or cliques within gangs, are sometimes seen as subunits of organized crime and are employed for purposes of drug distribution, auto theft, extortion, and burglary.

**P**olice officials in 35 emerging and chronic gang-problem cities estimated the presence of 1,439 gangs and 120,636 gang members.

**A**dult courts were more than twice as likely to incarcerate the young adults as were juvenile courts to incarcerate juveniles.

Spergel's research revealed that five basic strategies have evolved in dealing with youth gangs: (1) **suppression**, (2) **social intervention**, (3) **social opportunities**, (4) **community mobilization**, and (5) **organizational development or change**. **Community mobilization**, including improved communication and joint policy and program development among justice, community-based, and grassroots organizations, appears to be an effective primary strategy in both emerging gang problem cities and in those with chronic gang problems.

### **Criminal (adult) court versus juvenile court**

Four noteworthy studies of juveniles handled by the criminal justice system have been conducted.

Hamparian and White's (et al., 1982) study was conducted nationwide. They found:

- Most juveniles referred to adult courts for trial were not charged with personal offenses.
- Most youth tried in adult courts were convicted or pled guilty.
- Youth tried in adult courts were more likely to receive community sentences (probation or fine) than incarceration, except for the excluded offense category.
- Youth convicted as adults and sentenced to adult corrections facilities could probably expect to do more time than they would under juvenile dispositions.

The research team concluded that:

"Our research to date revealed that adult courts in 1978 ordered fines and probation in half of the cases initiated against juveniles through judicial waiver or prosecutorial mechanisms. Further, where confinements were ordered, **maximum** sentences did not exceed 1 year in over 40 percent of the cases. All of these sanctions are normally within juvenile court dispositional powers (Hamparian et al., 1982:228)."

OJJDP funded a subsequent study (White et al., 1985) comparing the outcomes of cases involving juveniles charged with "dangerous" offenses (murder, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, and burglary) in the juvenile justice system with similar cases against young defendants in the criminal justice system. Comparisons were made in nine selected sites during 1980-81. Major findings:

- Juvenile courts waived about 5 percent of the dangerous cases filed with them.
- Adult courts were slightly more likely to find offenders guilty (77 percent versus 70 percent).
- Adult courts were more than twice as likely to incarcerate the young adults as were juvenile courts to incarcerate juveniles.
- Confined young adults served considerably more time in adult prisons than did juveniles in reformatories.

- Young adults recidivated 1-1/2 times more often than did juveniles.
- The best mechanism for discriminating between those juveniles who should be tried as adults and those who should be tried as juveniles appears to be judicial waiver.

Snyder and Hutzler (1981) analyzed the handling of 360,000 juvenile cases in 10 States in 1979 and compared the flow of 1,000 adult felony cases through the adult criminal system and 1,000 serious (UCR Part I) offenders over 15 years of age through the juvenile court system. They found:

- Most violent, serious, and repeat juvenile offenders are handled by the juvenile justice, rather than criminal justice, system.
- The more serious his present offense is and the more prior delinquency referrals a juvenile has, the more likely it is that he or she will be waived to criminal court, or, if adjudicated delinquent, institutionalized.
- The juvenile court deals most severely with violent, repeat offenders.
- Although the juvenile court is less likely to incarcerate, it is much more likely to impose some sanction or supervision upon persons over 15 referred for serious offenses than is the criminal justice system upon adults referred for felonies.

Fagan (1991) compared the severity and effectiveness of juvenile and criminal court sanctions for 1,200 adolescent felony offenders, ages 15–16, arrested for robbery and burglary during 1981–82 and 1986–87, in matched counties in adjacent States where they were handled in the juvenile justice and adult systems, respectively, because of different legislative requirements.

The results showed that sanctions were more certain and about as severe in the juvenile court as in the criminal court. Recidivism rates were lower for adolescents sanctioned in the juvenile court. They were rearrested less often, at a lower rate, and after a longer crime-free interval. Adolescents sanctioned in the criminal court had higher crime rates.

### **Chronic juvenile offenders**

The Philadelphia birth cohort study (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972) found that “chronic offenders” (five or more police contacts) constituted 6 percent of the cohort and 18 percent of the delinquents. They were responsible for:

- 62 percent of all offenses.
- 68 percent of the UCR Index offenses.
- About two-thirds of all violent offenses:
  - 61 percent of homicides.
  - 75 percent of rapes.
  - 73 percent of robberies.
  - 65 percent of aggravated assaults.
  - 66 percent of the offenses that involved injuries.

**T**he best mechanism for discriminating between those juveniles who should be tried as adults and those who should be tried as juveniles appears to be judicial waiver.

**C**ohort II males were much more likely than Cohort I to commit a violent index offense and showed a much higher probability of committing additional violent offenses.

A 15-year followup of a 10-percent sample of the original Philadelphia birth cohort (Wolfgang, Thornberry, and Figlio, 1987) examined the cohort's police records through age 30. This study provided important information on the extent to which chronic juvenile offenders maintained their deviant careers through their early adult years. The study found that offenses increased in seriousness into adulthood, arrests declined steadily after age 18 (providing initial documentation of the "maturation process"), and about one-quarter of the adults had no records as juveniles.

The replication study focused on the cohort of some 28,000 children born in Philadelphia in 1958 who attended school there between the ages of 10 and 17. Cohort II males were much more likely than Cohort I to commit a Violent Crime Index offense and showed a much higher probability of committing additional violent offenses. The offense rate of Cohort II members was higher and their delinquencies were more serious than those of the earlier cohort. The females studied in Cohort II showed less significant chronicity than did males (Tracy, Wolfgang, and Figlio, 1985).

The greatest immediate contributions of this research were its substantiation of the Cohort I findings regarding chronicity among males and its documentation of the increasing severity of delinquency among Philadelphia youths.

Shannon (1988, 1991, forthcoming) studied three youth cohorts born in 1942, 1949, and 1955 in Racine, Wisconsin. His research was designed, in part, to serve as a comparison to Wolfgang's and his colleagues' Philadelphia study. Central to Shannon's research was the question whether similar patterns of chronicity might be found in smaller metropolitan areas. Although he found slightly less concentration of crime among chronic offenders, the findings regarding criminal patterns were very similar to those of the Philadelphia research: from 8 percent to 14 percent of each cohort was responsible for 75 percent of all felonies. He also found that Racine youths' police contacts for serious crimes peaked earlier than was the case among Philadelphia juveniles.

Hamparian and her colleagues conducted a cohort analysis of 1,200 youth born in Columbus, Ohio, in 1956-60 who had at least one arrest for violent crime. This study found that violent juvenile offenders were a very small proportion (2 percent) of the total cohort; juvenile offenders did not typically progress from less to more serious crime, making it difficult to predict violent behavior; fewer than 10 percent of the cohort delinquents began their careers with a status offense; and recidivism increased following institutional confinement (Hamparian et al., 1978).

Hamparian conducted a followup study of the violent subgroup of the cohort into their mid-twenties. It showed that:

- Almost 60 percent of these individuals were arrested at least once as a young adult for a felony offense.
- The first adult arrest was very likely to be prior to age 20.
- Youths who were subsequently arrested as adults tended to have more arrests as juveniles, to have begun their delinquent acts earlier, to have

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continued them late into their juvenile years, and to have been involved in the more serious type of violent offenses as juveniles. They tended to have been committed at least once to a State juvenile correctional facility.

- A clear continuity exists between juvenile and adult criminal careers (Hamparian et al., 1985:3-4).

Snyder (1988) found that juveniles with four or more referrals made up 16 percent of offenders but were responsible for 51 percent of all juvenile court cases—61 percent of murder, 64 percent of rape, 67 percent of robbery, 61 percent of aggravated assault, and 66 percent of burglary cases.

These studies documented the size of the chronic and violent offender subset, the severity of their offenses, and the relationship of juvenile to adult criminal careers, providing the basis for targeting these offenders for delinquency prevention efforts and specialized juvenile justice system intervention.


### **Causes of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile crime**

A number of studies have documented the fact that chronic juvenile offenders tend to start their careers early and often continue them into adulthood (Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin, 1972; Hamparian et al., 1978; Farrington, 1983; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1986; Wolfgang, Thornberry, and Figlio, 1987; Shannon, 1988). More recently, several scholars have concentrated their attention on factors related to early onset of delinquent careers (Wilson and Hernstein, 1985; Farrington and West, 1990; Farrington et al., 1990; Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Farrington and Hawkins, 1991; Nagin and Farrington, 1992).

However, the most significant theoretical contribution to understanding the onset and maintenance of delinquent careers, and more important, delinquency prevention generally, has been made by the “social development” theory, pioneered by Hawkins (1981). This theoretical approach has been extended and elaborated recently by Elliott and Menard, 1988; Loeber and LeBlanc, 1990; Loeber et al., 1991; Hawkins et al., 1986; and Huizinga et al., 1991.

OJJDP’s Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Delinquency, conducted by Huizinga (Denver), Loeber (Pittsburgh), and Thornberry (Rochester) has examined a broad array of correlates and causal factors. This comprehensive study employed common measures in the three sites and oversampled high-risk youth. Findings from this landmark research (Huizinga, Loeber, and Thornberry, 1992) include the following:

- Most chronic juvenile offenders start their criminal career prior to age 12.
- Early onset offenders tend to come from poorer, inner-city disadvantaged neighborhoods.
- Coordination is often lacking among different agencies in their efforts to curtail the emerging delinquent career of early-onset offenders.
- Three pathways to chronic delinquency can be distinguished:



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**A**ny successful effort to reduce youth violence and juvenile delinquency clearly must deal with hard-core, chronic offenders.

**Overt pathway**—From aggression, to fighting, to violence.

**Covert pathway**—From minor covert behavior, to property damage, to serious delinquency.

**Authority conflict pathway**—From stubborn behavior, to defiance, to authority avoidance.

- While relatively few in number (15 percent of the Rochester sample), chronic violent delinquents self-reported committing 75 percent of all violent offenses.
- Any successful effort to reduce youth violence and juvenile delinquency clearly must deal with hard-core, chronic offenders.
- No current ability enables us to **accurately predict who** will be chronic offenders. The most promising approach is to use our knowledge of developmental pathways to identify youth already moving towards chronic offending.

- Characteristics of chronic violent offenders:

**Family**—The offenders are less attached to and less monitored by their parents.

**School**—The offenders have less commitment to school and attachment to teachers.

**Peers**—They have more delinquent peers and are more apt to be gang members.

**Neighborhood**—They are more likely to reside in poor, high-crime-rate areas.

The authors drew the following inferences:

- Because there is no single cause of youth violence, intervention programs need to be comprehensive, dealing with the above multiple causes of delinquency.
- Particular attention needs to be focused on peer networks.
- Delinquent behavior should not be left unattended because it leads to the deterioration of prosocial skills and to the acquisition of other problem behaviors.
- Because of the co-occurrence of problem behaviors and their interlocking relationships, the transition to adulthood for chronic offenders is questionable.
- Intervention and treatment are imperative.

The study directors offered the following objectives for treatment programs:

- A clear need exists for integrated and holistic treatment programs.
- Treatment programs need to be tailored to the unique set of risk and causal factors associated with each youth.

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- Service delivery systems need to be tightly integrated because of the co-occurrence and “stacking” of problem behaviors.
  - Treatment programs, it appears, often need to start early.

### **Conditions of confinement**

A 1991 national study of conditions of confinement in juvenile detention and correctional facilities (Parent et al., 1993) found that institutional crowding was a pervasive problem. Thousands of juvenile offenders, more than 75 percent of the confined population, were housed in facilities that violated one or more standards related to living space (facility design capacity, sleeping areas, and living unit size). Between 1987 and 1991, the percentage of confined juveniles living in facilities in which the daily population exceeded design capacity increased from 36 percent to 47 percent. Crowding was found to be associated with higher rates of institutional violence, suicidal behavior, and greater reliance on the use of short-term isolation. Sixty-five percent of all juvenile correctional administrators interviewed said their facilities had crowding problems.


The study found that the percentage of minority juveniles in detention and correctional facilities is increasing. Between 1987 and 1991, the minority population in detention and correctional facilities grew from 53 percent to 63 percent of the confined population.

The study also found that many confined juveniles are held in public facilities that are under court orders or consent decrees. Twenty-three percent of juveniles held in public facilities were confined in a facility under a court order or consent decree. Juveniles in public training schools and reception centers were much more likely to be confined in a facility under a court order or consent decree (34 percent and 65 percent respectively), compared with public detention centers (8 percent). More than 50 percent of detention centers reported they were under court orders or consent decrees for crowding (Parent et al., 1993).

This study was required by Congress in the 1988 amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act. It is the first such nationwide investigation of conditions in secure juvenile detention and correctional facilities. Using nationally recognized correctional standards, the research team assessed how juvenile offenders’ basic needs are met, how institutional security and resident safety are maintained, what treatment programming is provided, and how juveniles’ rights are protected.

### **Program evaluations**

In 1971 Massachusetts closed its training schools and replaced them with a network of decentralized community-based services and a few, small secure-care units for violent juvenile offenders. This constituted the most sweeping reform in youth corrections in the United States since the establishment of juvenile training schools and juvenile courts in the 19th century. Massachusetts demonstrated that juvenile corrections need not be centered around large training schools.



1991 national study of conditions of confinement in juvenile detention and correctional facilities found that institutional crowding was a pervasive problem.

**Y**outh under community-based supervision in Massachusetts accounted for a small fraction of crimes in the State, and there was a tendency over time for these youth to commit less serious crimes.

Several evaluations of Massachusetts' community-based programs have found them to be effective. The initial study, conducted by Ohlin and his colleagues (Coates, Miller, and Ohlin, 1978) did not find dramatic differences. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency conducted a 10-year followup study in 1984–1985. Designed to examine the effectiveness of current youth services for delinquent youth, it compared the Massachusetts' juvenile corrections programs with those of California. It revealed that youth who spent 5 months in a Massachusetts program followed by supervision in the community had a rearrest rate of 51 percent, while youth who spent 14 months in a California institution had a rearrest rate of 70 percent. Of those released from Massachusetts correctional programs, only 23 percent were reincarcerated while 62 percent were reincarcerated in California. This study also found that youth under community-based supervision in Massachusetts accounted for a small fraction of crimes in the State, and that there was a tendency over time for these youth to commit less serious crimes (Krisberg, Austin, and Steele, 1989).

Other States have followed Massachusetts' lead in closing large training schools and replacing them with community-based programs. Pennsylvania has closed its training school and provided a combination of programs run by the State and private organizations. Utah has opted for community-based programs in lieu of training schools. Maryland has closed one training school and reduced the population of the remaining one. Florida has reduced its training school population and developed a variety of community-based programs (Lerner, 1990).

In the early 1980's, Utah closed its single large juvenile institution in favor of a community-based approach to juvenile corrections. Small secure units were built for chronic and violent juvenile offenders, who averaged 30 prior convictions. These maximum security treatment facilities housed 30–40 youth per facility. Three evaluations have found the small secure facilities to be effective. One of these studies found that only 6 percent of released offenders were charged with violent crimes during a 12-month followup period. Most of the felony crime was property oriented (Krisberg, 1992).

A national assessment of community-based interventions for the serious juvenile offender was conducted in the early 1980's (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1984). The study was designed to identify programs which, in the view of State and local authorities, effectively provided services to the target group. It found that programs perceived by authorities to be effective were characterized by case management, extensive aftercare, active client program involvement, control and security, education, and counseling. Those programs perceived as effective for more serious juvenile offenders established and maintained security through smaller numbers of clients, adequate staff, and program content rather than through dependence on high levels of mechanical and physical constraints. All of the effective residential programs used graduated systems of control and supervision and placed greater degrees of responsibility on youth as they moved toward complete reintegration into the community.

In 1985 the RAND Corporation examined the effectiveness of private-sector programs for dealing with serious juvenile offenders. One of these, Ohio Paint Creek Youth Center (PCYC), funded by OJJDP as a private-sector alternative, provides residential services for up to 34 male youth ages 15–18 who have been



convicted of first- or second-degree felonies. PCYC was found to effectively combine treatment, education, employment, life skills, and specialized counseling and support services into one coordinated approach, in addition to providing staff and residents with a secure setting through intensive staff and peer supervision and influence (OJJDP, 1988).

The Unified Delinquency Intervention Services (UDIS) Program, a Chicago experiment designed and funded by the State of Illinois, provided a system of "graduated sanctions" for chronic inner-city juvenile offenders. Level I sanctions consisted of less drastic interventions, such as arrest and release, temporary detention, and informal supervision. Level II comprised the UDIS Program, consisting of community-based services provided for those who recidivated at Level I. Level III, for those who failed at the second level, consisted of commitment to the Illinois Department of Corrections.

In 1979 Murray and Cox conducted a followup study of the "suppression effects" of each level of sanctions. This research sought to determine the effectiveness of each type of sanction in reducing recidivism and suppressing additional crimes. It reveals that:

- Both the UDIS Program and incarceration through the Department of Corrections had a substantial impact on postprogram arrests, court appearances, and violent offenses among the chronic offenders.
- The effects of least drastic interventions, such as arrest and release, temporary detention, and supervision on chronic offenders were minimal.
- The costs of the UDIS Program and Department of Corrections programs were about the same (Murray and Cox, 1979).

This research added to the body of knowledge that community-based programs can be effective in treating high-risk offenders. At the same time, it supported program development for chronic, violent juveniles by demonstrating that programs that incorporate a system of graduated sanctions have a higher likelihood of success.

OJJDP's Violent Juvenile Offender Research and Development Program, Part I, was established in 1981. It was designed to test the capability of the juvenile justice system to deal with the chronic, serious, violent offender in an innovative fashion as compared with traditional juvenile justice and adult court intervention. A specific goal of the effort was to test an intervention model for the treatment and reintegration of violent juvenile offenders, designed to reduce violent crimes through an individually-based case management strategy with strong emphasis on planned, integrated aftercare.

A total of 244 males were assigned to treatment or "control" groups. Those provided treatment had been charged with an average of nearly eight prior offenses, resulting in an average of more than three prior adjudications each. One-fourth had previously been incarcerated.

**T**he effects of least drastic interventions, such as arrest and release, temporary detention, and supervision on chronic offenders were minimal.

**T**he statistics indicate that juveniles responsible for serious and violent delinquency are presenting a growing problem for overloaded juvenile justice and criminal justice systems.

Evaluation results (Fagan et al., 1984, 1984a, 1987) showed that:

- The case management approach helped identify appropriate treatment and ensured a consistent reward structure.
- Case managers felt that the violent offenders whose treatment they managed made progress in virtually all treatment areas while still in the program.
- Treatment youth showed the most consistent progress in strengthened family relations.

Had the funded jurisdictions not experienced implementation problems, there is every reason to believe that this program would have been successful. The evaluation showed program effectiveness where implementation progressed smoothly, and many of the program elements have been found to be successful in other studies. These include:

- Case management systems to ensure a consistent reward structure and appropriate treatment.
- Comprehensive diagnostic assessment and availability of a variety of services to meet individual needs.
- A correctional system of graduated sanctions.
- Small residential treatment settings.
- A multiphased approach to gradually moving serious offenders from more secure settings back into the community, with postprogram reintegration services.

Another OJJDP-funded program, the Serious Habitual Offender Program, began in 1983. This program was based largely on the results of the studies by Wolfgang, Shannon, and Hamparian. It focused on 20 cities in which police, prosecutors, schools, welfare, and probation workers were organized to gather, maintain, and share information on their worst juvenile offenders—those with three or more serious (UCR Part I) offenses. These “serious habitual offenders” (SHO’s) were given priority attention for arrest and prosecution. The strategy was to “throw the book” at them and, through escalating penalties, to lock them up through their crime-prone years. In the 20 cities, SHO’s included less than 2 percent of all arrested juveniles. Oxnard, California, has probably had the most success with the strategy. Recent claims attribute to the program a 38-percent drop in violent crimes (including a 60-percent drop in murders) and a 29-percent decrease in burglaries (Methvin, 1991:4).

See Krisberg (1992) and Greenwood and Zimring (1985) for other evaluations of community-based alternatives to large training schools.

## Summary

This brief review of statistics, research, and program evaluations highlights the scope and magnitude of the serious, violent, and chronic juvenile delinquency problem. The statistics indicate that juveniles responsible for serious and violent

delinquency are presenting a growing problem for overloaded juvenile justice and criminal justice systems. This is all the more troubling when considered in light of the fact that the size of the juvenile-aged population will continue to increase in the 1990's as a result of the "baby boom echo." Consequently the volume of juvenile crime can be expected to increase and, coupled with evidence that juvenile crime is becoming more violent, the public perception of a crisis in juvenile crime can be expected to grow.

The research demonstrates that a small proportion of juveniles accounts for the bulk of serious and violent juvenile delinquency. Recent research has shed light on factors that push juveniles down pathways to chronic delinquency. The link between child abuse and neglect and later serious, violent, and chronic delinquency offers an additional target for delinquency prevention programs.

Our review of the program evaluation literature focused primarily on the alternatives to large congregate-care correctional facilities, which have not proven to be effective. Examination of the program evaluation literature indicates that nonresidential community-based alternatives to incarceration and small secure confinement options are the most promising alternatives. Programs that appear to work best are also characterized by graduated systems of control and supervision, use of multidisciplinary case management techniques, risk-needs assessments, and highly structured treatment delivery coupled with intensive aftercare.

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Program Summary

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# OJJDP Update on Programs

Shay Bilchik, Administrator

June 1995

## Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has developed a guide for communities to use in dealing with the problem of growing juvenile violence. The *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders* constitutes an indepth resource tool for carrying out this OJJDP strategy, which was first outlined in the 1993 *Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders: Program Summary* (Wilson and Howell).

OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy provides communities with a framework

for preventing delinquency, intervening in early delinquent behavior, and responding to serious, violent, and chronic offending. As set forth in the 1993 *Program Summary*, the Comprehensive Strategy is guided by five principles:

- Strengthen the family in its role to instill moral principles and provide guidance and support to children.
- Support core social institutions (schools, religious organizations, youth service agencies, community organizations) in their role to develop capable, mature, and responsible youth.

- Recognize that delinquency prevention is the most cost-effective approach in combating youth crime.
- Intervene immediately and effectively when delinquent behavior first occurs. Ensure that appropriate sanctions for misconduct are delivered in a timely fashion.
- Identify and control the small group of serious, violent, and chronic offenders through a range of graduated sanctions, including placement in secure facilities.

The Comprehensive Strategy is based on a "risk-focused" prevention

### From the Administrator

Juvenile violence is increasing in America. The FBI's most recent data published in the *Uniform Crime Reports* show that from 1992 to 1993 juvenile (under age 18) arrests for violent crimes increased nearly 6 percent, while adult violent crime arrests decreased. Juvenile arrests for homicide increased 14 percent and juvenile arrests for weapons violations increased 12 percent during this 1-year period, while adult arrests increased 2 percent for homicides and 7 percent for weapons offenses. Alarmed by these increases, America is desperately demanding solutions to escalating violent juvenile crime.

OJJDP's *Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile*

*Offenders* provides a framework for strategic responses at the community, city, State, and national levels. OJJDP's *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders* provides the necessary tools and program information to systematically and comprehensively address rising violent juvenile crime. Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy, however, will require a true national commitment to improving our juvenile justice system and providing appropriate prevention and programmatic interventions for our youth.

While this is being accomplished, and to the extent that the juvenile justice system is currently not able to handle some of the more violent or intractable juvenile

offenders, the criminal justice system must be relied upon to protect society from those individuals. We must begin immediately, however, to strengthen the juvenile justice system so that it will be in a better position to effectively address the needs of the juvenile offender population and take its proper role in working effectively with delinquent youth and securing public safety. The *Comprehensive Strategy* and the *Guide* are significant tools for communities to both begin and enhance this work.

Shay Bilchik  
Administrator



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model, which makes it possible to examine communities for known risk factors associated with youth violence. These risk factors exist at the individual, family, school, peer, and community levels. Using community planning and mobilization methods, the Comprehensive Strategy helps community leaders identify activities that can reduce risk factors and increase protective factors for at-risk youth.

The Comprehensive Strategy includes an intervention component that incorporates a continuum of graduated sanctions and treatment options for juvenile offenders. The continuum includes immediate sanctions for first-time and minor offenders, intermediate sanctions for serious and repeat offenders, and secure care for violent and chronic offenders who present a danger to their communities. Aftercare must be a formal component of all residential placements, involving the family and the community in supporting and reintegrating the juvenile into the community.

Under an OJJDP grant, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) and Developmental Research and Programs, Inc. (DRP) have identified effective and promising programs from across the Nation that are consistent with the framework of the Comprehensive Strategy. They organized these programs into three categories:

- Prevention programs from conception to age 6.
- Prevention programs from age 6 through adolescence.
- Graduated sanctions programs.

Key juvenile justice tools, called risk assessment and classification instruments, are included in the *Guide* to assist juvenile justice, health, and welfare agencies in providing treatment for their clients. NCCD and DRP have developed an operations plan in the *Guide*, which gives communities a blueprint for implementing the Comprehensive Strategy.

## Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy

Communities across America can use the *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders* as a tool for addressing the problem of juvenile delinquency. This update presents an overview of the *Guide*, which consists of four major parts.

### A Blueprint for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders (Part I)

The heart of the *Guide*, this part provides a step-by-step process by which a community can implement the Comprehensive Strategy. The Blueprint focuses primarily on system-level issues that should prompt communities to move away from traditional, single-factor programs toward a more comprehensive approach.

Part I incorporates the principles, rationale, and components of the Comprehensive Strategy, drawn from OJJDP's 1993 *Program Summary*. This part addresses prevention planning based on the Communities That Care approach, juvenile justice planning based on a risk-focused continuum of graduated sanctions, and implementation, management, and evaluation of Comprehensive Strategy programs.

The Communities That Care prevention process begins by acquainting key community leaders with risk-focused prevention strategies to assess their community's readiness for a comprehensive prevention effort. These leaders form a community prevention board or name an existing group to serve this function. Once established, the board is trained to collect data on risk indicators and assess existing programs.

After completing the assessment, the community prevention board identifies the most pressing risk factors and program gaps and reviews effective approaches for reducing risk factors. The board then develops a plan to

implement and evaluate a comprehensive risk reduction strategy tailored to the community's unique risk and resource profile.

The intervention section of the Blueprint lays out a sequential process for developing a model juvenile justice system, graduated sanctions approach, and risk-focused classification system. This section explains how to develop risk and needs assessment instruments and a program matrix. By applying the classification instruments and program matrix to selected offender populations, community leaders can determine the adequacy of existing programs and develop a plan to fill the gaps in sanctions.

The Blueprint concludes with a look at the implementation, management, and evaluation of programs based on the Comprehensive Strategy. This portion of the Blueprint examines coordination of the prevention and intervention components; the importance of securing broad support for a comprehensive community-based approach, including interagency cooperation; case management and management information systems; and staff selection. Suggestions are provided for evaluating a community's comprehensive strategy to design and implement a continuum of care for juveniles, including a recommendation that the community undertake process and outcome evaluations.

### Preventing Serious, Violent, and Chronic Delinquency and Crime (Part II)

This part presents a risk-focused prevention strategy concentrating on two age spans: conception to age 6 and from age 6 through adolescence. Here the *Guide* describes promising and effective prevention programs for children and youth.

Prevention approaches seek to interrupt the processes that cause problem behavior. Research over the past 30 years has identified precursors to delinquency and violence, called risk factors, as well as protective factors that

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determine how many youth, and which ones, to place at each level of the continuum. Risk assessment and classification are used for this purpose in the Comprehensive Strategy. Broadly defined, risk assessment and classification in juvenile justice refer to the process of estimating an individual's likelihood of continued involvement in delinquent behavior and determining the most appropriate type of intervention, given the identified level of risk.

Historically, risk assessment and classification have been informal, highly discretionary procedures carried out by individuals with varying philosophies, different levels of experience and knowledge, and different assessment criteria. Recently, juvenile justice officials have shown an increasing interest in more formalized procedures to assist them in their decisionmaking.

Part IV discusses risk assessment at the prevention stage, including community risk assessment and risk assessment in child welfare agencies. It also addresses risk assessment at different decision points in the juvenile justice system, including detention, placement, probation or parole supervision, and institutional custody.

As used here, risk assessment instruments refer to those that are designed to estimate the likelihood that a juvenile offender will subsequently commit another offense within a specified followup period and are based on the statistical relationship between youth characteristics and recidivism. These instruments are used to determine the level of supervision required for probationers and parolees, although they have also been integrated into classification systems used to decide sentencing or placement.

The literature repeatedly has identified a core set of variables as a recidivism predictor for juvenile offenders, and these are the most likely factors to appear on risk assessment instruments. The variables include the following:

- Age at first referral or adjudication.
- Number of prior referrals or arrests.

- Number of out-of-home placements or institutional commitments.
- Academic achievement.
- School behavior and attendance.
- Substance abuse.
- Family stability.
- Parental control.
- Peer relationships.

Another widely used assessment tool is the placement assessment or custody assessment instrument. This instrument differs from risk assessment instruments because it does more than simply assess the likelihood that an offender will commit a new offense. These instruments are generally driven by policy considerations rather than research results, even though they frequently include some predictive items. Placement or custody assessments may be used in three ways: as a guide for judges or State corrections officials in determining the appropriate placement or level of security; as a screening tool to determine whether a youth should be placed into detention pending an adjudicatory hearing; or as a method for determining the custody needs of incarcerated youth.

The factors used to decide placement or custody are different from those used in risk assessment because the goals are different. For example, in making placement decisions, judges and corrections officials must assess the juvenile's likelihood of reoffending, but they also need to consider "just desserts" and public sensitivity issues. If a "pure" risk instrument were used to guide placement decisions, it would fail to capture several relevant factors.

Detention screening instruments are another set of tools with a unique purpose. They focus on the short-term threat to public safety and the likelihood that the juvenile will abscond prior to an adjudicatory hearing. These tools typically contain measures of the severity of current and prior offenses, the frequency and recency of past offenses, and stability measures such as a history of escapes or runaways.

Correctional facilities also use custody assessments, primarily to gauge the risk that juveniles pose to themselves or others while in the institution. This assessment helps determine whether a youth needs a maximum, moderate, or minimum security living environment.

The methods used to develop placement and custody instruments are often based on consensus rather than empirical evidence. This is particularly true for placement assessment instruments, where policy concerns are predominant. Developing the instruments involves a cross-section of juvenile justice decisionmakers who determine what items will be included in the scale and how they will be weighted, how the seriousness of offenses will be ranked, and what types of placements will be associated with various assessment scores.

This part concludes with a discussion of needs assessment instruments, which are frequently completed along with the risk or placement/custody scales. Needs assessments are used to systematically identify critical offender problems, and they typically measure these factors:

- Substance abuse.
- Family functioning or relationships.
- Emotional stability.
- School attendance and behavior.
- Peer relationships.

Many needs assessment instruments also include measures of health and hygiene, intellectual ability or achievement, and learning disability. Needs assessments inform treatment planning decisions and serve as a foundation for development of individual treatment plans.

Given the recent increased emphasis on public protection and offender accountability, needs assessment results are often not given high enough priority in classification decisions. Instead, risk or custody assessments are used to decide the level of supervision or type of placement, while needs assessments are used to determine the specific program

interventions to be delivered within the designated custody or supervision level.

## Next Steps

In addition to publishing the *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*, OJJDP is furthering the Comprehensive Strategy through a series of dissemination efforts and through intensive technical assistance in communities that are implementing the Comprehensive Strategy. This continuation effort has the following goals:

- Disseminate OJJDP Comprehensive Strategy resources to elected officials, foundation executives, the media, and juvenile justice professionals.
- Provide indepth training in the Comprehensive Strategy for United States Attorneys, Federal regional representatives from the Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Energy, and Labor, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy, as well as selected legislators and governors' staff members across the Nation.
- Provide limited technical assistance to participants in regional training sessions to develop their own

approaches for implementing the OJJDP Comprehensive Strategy.

- Provide extensive technical support to at least nine communities that will be funded by OJJDP to implement the Comprehensive Strategy.
- Refine the resource materials and create an evaluation design for testing the Comprehensive Strategy.

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To obtain a free copy of OJJDP's *Guide for Implementing the Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*, or for information about online access to the *Guide*, write or call:

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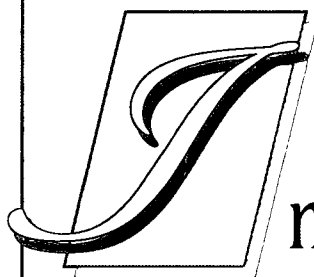
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# Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: A Community Care Model

Program Summary

Summary

A Publication of the  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

# Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

**Research and Program Development Division** develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

**Training and Technical Assistance Division** provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies, educational institutions, and community organizations.

**Special Emphasis Division** provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

**State Relations and Assistance Division** supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

**Information Dissemination and Planning Unit** informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit's activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

**Concentration of Federal Efforts Program** promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

**Missing and Exploited Children Program** seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 43 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

OJJDP provides leadership, direction, and resources to the juvenile justice community to help prevent and control delinquency throughout the country.

# Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: A Community Care Model

## **Program Summary**

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# Foreword


Crowded juvenile correctional centers are symptomatic of the problems challenging a growing number of American communities. Constructing new correctional facilities is difficult in a time of competing demands for scarce tax dollars.

More difficult still is constructing sound solutions that address the underlying causes of juvenile reoffending. But as is often the case, the hardest course may prove to be the most rewarding.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention believes that intensive community-based aftercare—in coordination with graduated sanctions where needed—offers a substantive contribution to this quest.

This summary reports the interim results of OJJDP's research and development initiative to assess, test, and disseminate information on intensive aftercare program models that are theory driven and based on risk assessment. Publication of this summary reflects our continued commitment to sharing this important information with the juvenile justice community.

Working together, I believe that we can build something far more lasting than brick and mortar—a better future for our youth and for our Nation.



**John J. Wilson**  
*Acting Administrator*  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention



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## Introduction

Growing concerns about crowding in secure juvenile correctional facilities, high rates of recidivism, and escalating costs of confinement have fueled renewed interest in bringing change and innovative programming to juvenile aftercare/parole philosophy and practice. Unfortunately, the juvenile corrections field has compiled a dismal record in its effort to reduce the repeat offender rate of juveniles released from secure confinement. Research indicates that failure occurs disproportionately with a subgroup of released juvenile offenders who have established a long record of misconduct that began at an early age. Such high-risk youth not only exhibit a persistent pattern of justice system contact (for example, arrests, adjudications, placements), but they also are plagued by a number of other need-related risk factors. Frequently these risk factors involve a combination of problems associated with family, negative peer influence, school difficulties, and substance abuse. In addition to these common need-related risk factors, high-risk youth often exhibit a variety of important ancillary needs and problems. Although these factors are not generally predictive of repeat offenders, they must be addressed because these conditions are still present in some, and at times, many high-risk youngsters. For example, although there is widespread consensus that learning disabilities and emotional disturbance are not causally linked to delinquency, these conditions should not be ignored when present.

Responding to these concerns, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) in the U.S. Department of Justice issued a request for proposals, Intensive Community-Based Aftercare Programs, in July 1987. The purpose of this research and development initiative was to assess, test, and disseminate information on intensive juvenile aftercare program models for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders who initially require secure confinement.

Effective aftercare programs focused on serious offenders which provide intensive supervision to ensure public safety, and services designed to facilitate the reintegration process may allow some offenders to be released earlier, as well as reduce recidivism among offenders released from residential facilities. This should relieve institutional overcrowding, reduce the cost of supervising juvenile offenders, and ultimately decrease the number of juveniles who develop lengthy delinquent careers and often become the core of the adult criminal population (Federal Register, 1987:26238–26239).



**T**he juvenile corrections field has compiled a dismal record in its effort to reduce the repeat offender rate of juveniles released from confinement.

**A** risk-based, theory-driven prototype will guide the development and implementation of intensive community-based aftercare programs.

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## Project design

The intensive aftercare project includes the following stages:

- Stage 1: Assessing programs currently in operation or under development and relevant research and theoretical literature on the implementation and operation of community-based aftercare programs for chronic juvenile offenders released from residential correctional facilities.
- Stage 2: Developing program models and related policies and procedures to guide State and local juvenile correctional agencies and policymakers.
- Stage 3: Using the prototype designs, including policies and procedures, to create a training and technical assistance package for use in organized and independent training.
- Stage 4: Implementing and testing the prototypes in selected jurisdictions.

The Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies conducted this multi-stage project in collaboration with the Division of Criminal Justice at California State University in Sacramento. Project staff have completed the first three stages, including a comprehensive literature review focused on research, theory, and programs; a national mail survey of juvenile corrections officials to identify innovative or promising programs and approaches; telephone interviews with the directors of 36 recommended programs; onsite factfinding at 23 programs in 6 States including 3 statewide systems; formulation of a risk-based, theory-driven prototype intended to guide the development and implementation of intensive community-based aftercare programs; development of an intensive aftercare program training curriculum; and selection and training of action planning teams comprising senior level managers from 8 States. Selected through a competitive RFP process, the eight participating States are Virginia, New Jersey, North Carolina, Colorado, Texas, Pennsylvania, Nevada, and Michigan. The results of these tasks are presented in four project documents: *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: An Assessment* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1990); *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: A Community Care Model* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994); *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: Policies and Procedures* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994); *Intensive Community-Based Aftercare Programs: Training Manual for Action Planning Conference* (Altschuler and Armstrong, eds., 1992).

*An Assessment* focuses on three key aspects of project activities: an update of issues critical to the design and operation of intensive aftercare programs, a description of innovative and promising programs identified through a national mail survey and followup telephone interviews, and a discussion of intensive aftercare approaches and practices examined during a series of site visits. *Policies and Procedures* describes the theory-driven, risk assessment-based Intensive Aftercare Program (IAP) model, which is specifically designed for application in a wide variety of settings and jurisdictions. The *Training Manual* (for availability, see page 17) presents in modular form the key aspects and components of the IAP model, providing examples and illustrations of various

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ways in which intensive aftercare can be implemented. The *Community Care Model* summarizes the major findings of the assessment and describes the framework for the prototype proposed for field testing.

## **Assessing critical issues in intensive aftercare**


### **The juvenile intensive supervision movement**

The interest in intensive juvenile aftercare can be traced to experiences during the past decade in adult probation supervision and, subsequently, to experiments with intensive supervision in juvenile probation (Armstrong, 1991). The recent development of a nationwide juvenile intensive probation supervision movement (JIPS) has important implications for the design and operation of juvenile intensive aftercare programs (Clear, 1991; Wiebush and Hamparian, 1991; Steenson, 1986). Although based on enhanced surveillance and heightened social control over offenders living in the community settings, JIPS has taken a number of forms. They include various combinations of intensified surveillance/monitoring and highly specialized treatments and supportive service provision.

The growing interest in juvenile intensive aftercare programs throughout the Nation is linked to an awareness by juvenile correctional administrators that standard parole practices have been largely unsuccessful in normalizing the behavior of high-risk juvenile parolees in the community over the long term (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1990, 1991; Palmer, 1991). Intensive supervision efforts that focus almost entirely on social control have not been effective. Consequently, recent experiments in juvenile intensive aftercare and probation have directed equal attention to the close monitoring of severely delinquent juvenile offenders and the provision of specialized services to them. Accordingly, the proposed IAP model assumes that any attempt to lower rates of recidivism with high-risk juvenile offenders on parole must include a substantial intensification of intervention strategies providing social control and service provision.

Much of the current insight into design and implementation of intensive aftercare has been drawn from the movement to expand and improve on noncustodial correctional alternatives prevalent during the 1960's and 1970's. Some of the approaches and techniques that proved useful in diverting offenders from secure confinement are prime candidates for use in highly structured and programmatically rich aftercare settings. The following were among such innovations:

- Involvement of private agencies and citizens, as well as noncorrectional public agencies, in the community corrections process through the use of both volunteers and paraprofessionals and through purchase of service agreements.



**I**ntensive supervision efforts that focus almost entirely on social control have not been effective.

**P**rior research suggests that it is largely property offenders, not violent offenders, who are more likely to repeat their crimes.

- Adoption of a new stance by community corrections agencies stressing resource brokerage and advocacy rather than direct delivery of all services to offenders.
- Development of specific techniques such as team supervision and drug/alcohol testing to ensure higher levels of surveillance and control over high-risk offenders.
- Formulation of classification procedures to gauge the likelihood that a juvenile will commit a crime in the future and to assess service needs to match individual offenders with appropriate correctional resources and maximize the effective use of scarce correctional resources.

## Target populations

A subgroup of institutionalized juvenile offenders exhibits the highest rate of failure after release. The implication is that identification of individuals at the highest risk of becoming repeat offenders is critical. Such youths usually have established a long record of criminal misconduct beginning at an early age and are a focus of great concern by the juvenile correctional system and society (Wolfgang et al., 1972; Hamparian et al., 1978; Shannon, 1978; McCord, 1979). Prior research suggests that it is largely property offenders, not violent offenders, who are more likely to repeat their crimes (Armstrong and Altschuler, 1982; Strasburg, 1984; Zimring, 1978; Bleich, 1987). Research has shown that traditional and conventional intervention strategies are not effective for high-rate offenders (Coates, 1984; Gadow and McKibbin, 1984; Agee, 1979).

Another subgroup of juvenile offenders who can be considered for inclusion in certain forms of intensive aftercare are delinquents who exhibit particular problems and needs requiring highly specialized forms of treatment. These offenders evidence a number of emotional, cognitive, and other developmental problem areas that hinder normal psychological, social, intellectual, and career development. They have a poor prognosis for successful community reintegration and adjustment. Their special problems need to be addressed through intensified programming and service provision as well as monitoring. Often these special-needs youth are multiproblem individuals whose challenges may coincide with serious, violent, and chronic delinquent behaviors. Consequently, this poses an even more difficult problem. The set of special-needs subpopulations receiving increased attention in the juvenile correctional system includes youngsters with learning disabilities and drug and alcohol dependencies. Other youngsters requiring additional attention are sex offenders, those with mental health problems, and those with neurophysiological impairments, or developmental disabilities, such as mental retardation (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1992).

## Assessment of risk and need

The origins of classification in juvenile justice can be traced to one of the founding precepts of the juvenile court movement—the goal of providing individualized assessment for each youth entering this system (Maloney et al.,


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1988). This goal is based on the seminal idea that each youth and his or her social environment, background, talents, deficiencies, and problem behaviors all need to be examined on a case-by-case basis, to ensure that the appropriate corrective steps are taken. The current diversity of classification systems for juvenile offenders reflects the recent trend toward stricter crime control and the emphasis on providing tougher sanctions for serious juvenile offenders. Nevertheless, treatment and rehabilitation continue to exert a strong influence on determining the nature of the specific intervention with each youth. As a result, most formal classification schemes employ procedures to assess risk and need factors.

A key task faces correctional systems that propose to identify and intervene more intensively with juvenile offenders most at risk of becoming repeat offenders upon release from secure correctional confinement. The challenge is to develop or adopt a validated risk assessment instrument. Risk assessment instruments are based on aggregate characteristics, indicating that they do not predict exactly which individuals within a subgroup of individuals will become repeat offenders, but rather predict failure rates for each subgroup as a whole. Growing interest across the United States in developing such instruments is a positive step in helping officials make the following decisions: Which offenders should receive priority for intensive aftercare supervision? How many levels of supervision are needed? What contact standards should entail? Which cutoff scores should be used to designate how many cases can be realistically handled by aftercare workers? How can aftercare resources—including field staff—be used most effectively?

Although quantitative, validated risk-assessment instruments have been reasonably successful in distinguishing among groups of offenders exhibiting different levels of risk of becoming repeat offenders, devising scales for predicting recidivism among juvenile offenders is complicated because youth are frequently volatile and impulsive. Often they experience rapidly changing personal characteristics and needs, and they are unlikely to have developed longstanding patterns of behavior on which to predict future misconduct. Nonetheless, the soundest risk assessment scales generally contain some combination of need-related predictors (for example, family, peer group, schooling, and substance abuse) and offense-related predictors. For example, age at first adjudication, number of prior justice system referrals, and number of prior commitments have been shown to be among the best offense-related predictors of future delinquency (Baird, 1986; Baird and Heinz, 1978; Baird et al., 1984).

A common source of confusion in conducting risk assessment has been the difficulty in distinguishing between seriousness of crime and the risk of future criminal activity. Prediction research has repeatedly shown that the relationship between seriousness of the current offense and the likelihood of committing future offenses is extremely weak if not inverse (Clear, 1988; Petersilia et al., 1977; Zimring and Hawkins, 1973). Consequently, the inclusion of a youth who has only committed one serious offense into a risk-based aftercare program may well be regarded as a misuse of risk-based aftercare, although under certain circumstances it can still occur. For instance, certain types of offenders who are not eligible on the basis of validated risk factors can be included in intensive after-



**C**orrectional systems that propose to identify and intervene with juvenile offenders must develop or adopt a validated risk assessment instrument.

**C**losely linked to risk assessment is generic need assessment and procedures to classify juvenile offenders based on their problems and deficits.

care on the basis of the override or aggravating circumstance option. In the same vein, mitigating overrides are sometimes used to assign a risk level category that is lower than the risk score would indicate. However, because overrides can potentially inundate intensive aftercare with more youth than the system can handle, they must be approached with great caution. At the same time, if reasonable allowances are not made to accommodate aggravating circumstances, there is a risk of encouraging erroneous scoring in order to ensure a predetermined outcome.

Closely linked to risk assessment is generic need assessment and procedures to classify juvenile offenders based on their problems and deficits. Assessing individuals according to need is crucial because ancillary and "common denominator" need factors must be considered. Furthermore, these factors may have little to do with which need-related factors "predict" recidivism for groups of securely confined delinquents. Much of the burgeoning interest in developing schemes to classify need has centered on making the correct match between the offender's underlying problems and the appropriate intervention strategy. Decisionmaking for this purpose has been characterized by efforts (based largely on technical advances in evaluative and diagnostic procedures) to subdivide juvenile offenders into carefully defined subpopulations. This classification is useful in providing more specialized and appropriate interventions.

Unlike risk assessment instruments, generic need assessment devices do not depend on the use of predictive scales. They are usually developed from staff efforts to initiate case management procedures through a structured process of analyzing problems frequently encountered in clients. Need scales should not be complicated and, in most cases, are rather straightforward systems for rating the severity of common, potential problem areas. Since these instruments tend to address generic problem areas, they are generally transferable among jurisdictions. However, minor modifications may be required to reflect differences in targeted populations.

The following are commonly evaluated in need assessment instruments:

- Vocational skills.
- Drug/chemical abuse.
- Learning disabilities.
- Academic achievement.
- Family problems.
- Parent problems.
- Recreation/leisure time.
- Residential stability.
- Communication skills.
- Sexual adjustment.
- Cognitive ability.
- Alcohol abuse.
- Emotional stability.
- School attendance.
- Employment/work performance.
- Parental control.
- Peer relationships.
- Health.
- Life skills.
- Residential living skills.
- Financial management.
- Relationships with opposite sex.

These need scale items are usually weighted through a rank ordering process. However, the basis for assigning weights varies among jurisdictions. Basing weights on workload factors is the most common approach (that is, the amount of time required to deal with a particular need). Another approach is to base



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weights on whether or not each problem's resolution is related to the success or failure of aftercare. Based upon the cumulative rank ordering of the most heavily weighted items from need scales used in juvenile probation agencies in California, Illinois, Montana, and Wisconsin, it has been noted that the relative priority assigned to common need items in descending order is as follows:

1. Substance abuse.
2. Emotional stability.
3. Family problems.
4. School problems.
5. Intellectual impairment (Baird et al., 1984).

Some of the common need items can be found among the need-related risk factors that predict recidivism.

## **Identification of promising programs**

### **Mail survey and telephone interviews**

The mail survey and telephone interviews were designed to identify innovative, promising, or commendable intensive aftercare programs and were used to gather policy and program information. The mail survey generated 36 recommended programs. These programs were contacted and a detailed telephone interview was administered. Based on the information obtained from these interviews, a program typology was developed reflecting three possible models of supervision and service delivery: (1) institution-based (prerelease) programs, (2) integrated institutional/aftercare programs, and (3) residential and nonresidential community-based programs that serve youth after their release from institutional confinement. (See Altschuler and Armstrong, 1990, for a detailed description of these programs.)

Three institution-based programs, which operated out of State-run correctional facilities, were identified in the survey. Each stressed independent living skills, education, and vocational training. The second type of identified program consisted of institutional prerelease programs in which aftercare components were more fully integrated with community-based programs. Four of these programs were identified in the survey. Staff in these programs were often involved in both pre- and postinstitutional confinement activities. The third program type noted in the survey was community-based aftercare; not surprisingly the largest number of programs (29) fell into this category. These programs provided a wide array of services. A number contracted for tracking and, in several cases, electronic monitoring were used to ensure compliance.

In summary, the survey indicated that the idea of "promising" or "innovative" differed greatly among the contacted jurisdictions. Moreover, this idea appeared to depend primarily upon the level of attention and amount of resources generally being directed to juvenile aftercare in the jurisdiction. Innovation and promise are determined by customary practice in the jurisdiction, and, thus, anything different will likely be conceived as innovative or promising. Additionally, because few of the surveyed programs were even haphazardly evaluated, it was impossible to say with any precision whether the programs were successful. This dilemma poses considerable difficulty for deciding whether a program that appears to be working

**T**he success of past aftercare programs is difficult to determine because few programs were adequately evaluated.

**I**nnovative intensive aftercare programs had been largely concentrated among a small group of jurisdictions.

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well is actually effective and should be considered for adoption elsewhere. By the same token, it underscores the importance of developing an overall program model for doing intensive aftercare. Having a sound evaluation mechanism that can determine program integrity and measure outcomes based on a control or matched comparison group is important.

The identified aftercare programs were diverse in goals, methods, resource levels, and populations served. In fact, there was a lack of uniformity on what constituted the primary components of intensive aftercare supervision. Few programs maintained any degree of meaningful staff continuity across the institutional aftercare boundary and even rudimentary continuity of care was not evident. Consequently, these shortcomings make the design and implementation of intensive aftercare a goal worthy of achievement rather than an existing reality. The institutional aftercare chasm remains vast because most of the recommended programs, which were community based, had limited if any involvement with youth or no dependable information about them before their release from institutional confinement.

### **Site-visit factfinding**

The major dimensions of the model emerged from the assessment work, which included the literature review, the mail survey and resulting telephone interviews, and information provided by policymakers, administrators, practitioners, researchers, and youth corrections professionals. Subsequently, criteria were developed to select the sites for more detailed, firsthand program observation. The staff recognized early in the project that intensive aftercare programs which embraced the key criteria would be identified as possible candidates for site-visit factfinding. Strategies targeted for further inquiry included: encouraging the development of new community resources through purchase-of-service arrangements with private sector providers, ensuring continuity of care and case management across the institution-aftercare continuum, initiating assessment and classifications systems, and devising a network of coordinated services and system of supervision suitable for inner-city and rural environments.

When the final determination of sites was undertaken, project staff discovered that innovative intensive aftercare programs had been largely concentrated among a small group of jurisdictions. Within these jurisdictions, for a number of reasons, the momentum for change in juvenile aftercare had led to experimentation and reform. For example, in Florida the Bobby M. Consent Decree had forced the State to restructure juvenile corrections in fundamental ways, including the approach being taken in the provision of aftercare. On the other hand, in Pennsylvania the Juvenile Court Judges Commission's Aftercare Project spurred the development of numerous aftercare programs that operated through county probation. This effort included experimentation with intensive aftercare.

It became clear during site screening that for aftercare to provide such things as continuity of care and staged reentry incorporating graduated sanctions and positive reinforcement, a systemwide perspective was essential. This broader approach would involve traditionally separate and sometimes rival justice system components such as courts, corrections, parole, and community resources, and human service system components including corrections, mental health, and education. Consequently, the selection of sites was determined by the decision to focus more on programming that possessed a systemwide orientation (that is,

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entire States or regions, multicounty efforts, countywide initiatives) rather than a single aftercare program.

The resulting approach that was employed during site-visit factfinding was to maximize efforts to document different practices by targeting six jurisdictions and then visiting as many recommended programs as possible. Twenty-three different programs in six States were visited. This number included three States that were analyzed in considerable detail regarding the development and operation of their statewide aftercare approaches.

## **Intensive aftercare program model**

The project's review of research revealed risk factors that frequently predict reoffending behavior generally include both justice system factors (for example, age of youth at first justice system contact and number of prior offenses) and need-related factors (family, peers, school, substance abuse). A variety of other special need and ancillary factors, although not necessarily predictive of recidivism, remain relatively common among juvenile recidivists (for example, learning problems, low self-esteem). Finally, a small minority of juvenile offenders appears to have still other very serious problems, such as diagnosed emotional disturbance.

## **Theory, principles, and goals**

Given the range and nature of both offense- and need-related risk factors, as well as of other special need and ancillary factors, the challenge becomes one of how to link this array of factors with a sufficiently broad-based, practical strategy that holds promise in combating recidivism. It is through the intensive juvenile aftercare program model that the project has arrived at just such a strategy. A schematic of this model is shown in figure 1. Linking the risk factors and problems with a broad-based strategy is accomplished by a theory-driven, empirically based program model that establishes a clear set of comprehensive guiding principles; specific, tangible program elements; and a set of needed services.

The IAP model's central requirement is that it fit the conditions of each jurisdiction that attempts to reduce the recidivism of its own juvenile parolee population. Organizational characteristics, the structure of juvenile justice and adolescent service delivery systems, the size and nature of offender populations, and resource availability differ widely among States. In addition, managing identified high-risk juvenile parolees requires the pursuit of multiple goals. These goals include maintaining public protection both in the short and long run, assuring individual accountability, and providing treatment/support services. Exactly how these goals can be achieved may vary in jurisdictions across the country. Moreover, because of current economic constraints on State governments in general, and correctional budgets in particular, all three goals must be achieved with limited resources.

The principles, elements, and services that establish IAP parameters can be, and indeed must be configured and applied in different ways. The IAP model offers a promising direction that holds great potential if the form it takes remains clear

**R**isk factors that predict reoffending behavior include the age of the youth, number of prior offenses, and the influence of family, peers, and school.

**T**he IAP model must fit the conditions of each jurisdiction that attempts to reduce recidivism.

and consistent with IAP specifications. As important, IAP also offers a challenge to the professional community because it requires an unequivocal commitment by the major juvenile justice, child-serving, and community agencies and associations. They must develop a plan detailing who will assume responsibility for particular tasks and how and when the tasks will be carried out.

The plan must be guided by an underlying conception of the fundamental nature of the problem. Deficiencies in conceptual or theoretical underpinnings of programs have consequences. If a program's philosophy is ambiguous or absent, it is difficult for staff, participants, and others to understand which practices should be pursued and how they should be accomplished.

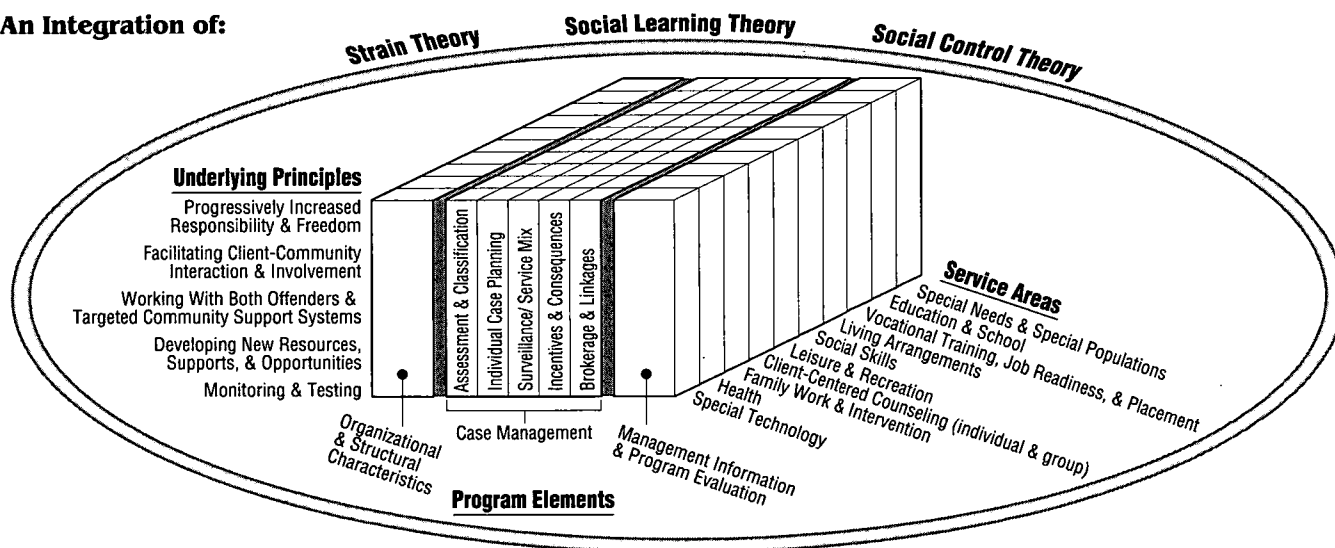
Previous efforts to develop a framework for intervention with serious, chronic juvenile offenders recognized the multifaceted nature of the problem and recommended integrating formerly freestanding theories, notably social control, strain, and social learning theories (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Conger, 1976; Elliott et al., 1979, 1985; Weiss and Hawkins, 1981; Fagan and Jones, 1984). The IAP model is grounded in a similar integration. Distinctive to the IAP model, however, is its focus on the numerous issues and concerns arising out of the mostly disconnected and fragmented handling of offenders. This handling covers all decisions and actions during court disposition, institutionalization, parole, aftercare supervision, and discharge.

Properly designed and implemented, the IAP model addresses two of the acknowledged deficiencies of the current system of secure correctional commitment: (1) that institutional confinement does not adequately prepare youth for return to the community, and (2) that lessons and skills learned in secure confinement are neither monitored nor reinforced outside the institution.

Integrated theory and research on risk factors provide a sound basis and rationale for the identification of the model's general goals, elements, and specific

**Figure 1: Intervention Model for Juvenile Intensive Aftercare**

An Integration of:



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services. The problem of high-risk juvenile recidivism must be approached with a comprehensive, coordinated plan that transcends institutional and professional boundaries. Five principles of programmatic action requisite to the IAP model embody its theoretical assumptions and the empirical evidence regarding the multiple causes of and behavioral changes associated with repeat offenders.

1. Preparing youth for progressively increased responsibility and freedom in the community.
2. Facilitating youth-community interaction and involvement.
3. Working with both the offender and targeted community support systems (for example, families, peers, schools, employers) on qualities needed for constructive interaction and the youth's successful community adjustment.
4. Developing new resources and supports where needed.
5. Monitoring and testing the youth and the community on their ability to deal with each other productively.

These principles, which flow from the integrated theoretical framework, collectively establish a set of fundamental operational goals for the IAP model. Generally, these principles allow a reasonable degree of flexibility in how the goals will be achieved. The overall aim is to identify and help high-risk juvenile offenders make a gradual transition from secure confinement into the community and thereby lower the high rate of failure and relapse. It is essential to give planners, administrators, and staff sufficient latitude to consider a range of components, features, and processes that best suit the needs of both their own communities and confined youth. Therefore, three major elements and five sub-elements must be taken into account as planners and practitioners translate IAP theory and principles into actual practice.

## **Organizational factors and the external environment**

The administration and organization of juvenile parole varies substantially in jurisdictions across the country. Differences comprise such factors as State law and institutional arrangements involving the role of the judiciary, youth authorities, independent boards, and other agencies. Jurisdictions also differ in level of resources available, number and location of involved youth, and degree of urbanization. Other differences include reliance upon private providers and purchase-of-service contracts, civil service and unionization, and community attitudes. These different factors establish an organizational and environmental climate within which juvenile parole must function. A complicating characteristic of intensive aftercare is that it must transcend traditional agency boundaries and professional interests. Consequently, if IAP is to work, a commitment and sense of ownership is required by the major agencies and interests that play a role. These agencies include the courts, institutions, aftercare, education, child mental health and social service, employment and vocational training, and substance abuse treatment.

**T**he overall aim is to identify and help high-risk juvenile offenders make a gradual transition from secure confinement into the community.

**O**verarching case management is required for high-risk delinquents to make the transition from secure confinement to intensive aftercare.

Understanding juvenile parole as it functions within the juvenile justice system, the child welfare service delivery system and the private provider child-serving system is a crucial first step in an IAP action planning and development process. The goal is to develop a formal mechanism (such as a steering committee) through which oversight of planning, managing, implementing, and assessing the IAP will be maintained. Participants should include senior managers from each of the major interests identified through an initial assessment of juvenile parole. This is vital to instilling a collective sense of ownership, partnership, and investment.

Having the support of all potentially involved interests is a necessity since the IAP can assume a number of different organizational forms, representing variations of the generic model. Possibilities include a collaborative, publicly run program; a jointly funded purchase-of-service demonstration; or some other venture based on interagency agreements. In some jurisdictions, the aftercare agency uses extensive purchase-of-service contracts with private providers, while in others, the aftercare agency is directly responsible for providing most of the supervision and service available to parolees. In other cases, the agency primarily makes referrals to community resources (for example, county mental health, big brother, local recreation program) that provide service for little or no charge. Whichever approach IAP uses in a given jurisdiction, incorporating the experience and recommendations of the major child-service providers is recommended as a way to build community support for IAP.

## **Overarching case management**

In general terms, overarching case management is the process required for high-risk delinquents to make the transition from secure confinement to intensive aftercare. The process involves several aspects: coordinated and comprehensive planning, information exchange, continuity, consistency, service provision and referral, and monitoring. Particular attention is focused on five discrete components or sub-elements that define the specific areas of responsibility that key staff must coordinate and jointly plan. Key staff include people who are involved with the designated high-risk cases from the point of secure care disposition until discharge from parole status. Case management components include:

- Assessment, classification, and selection criteria.
- Individual case planning incorporating a family and community perspective.
- A mix of intensive surveillance and services.
- A balance of incentives and graduated consequences coupled with the imposition of realistic, enforceable conditions.
- Service brokerage with community resources and linkage with social networks.

These components require the active involvement of the aftercare counselor as soon as secure confinement begins. Aftercare providers must initiate some form of service before discharge from secure confinement. The lack of meaningful involvement on the part of the aftercare worker until the final phase of confinement, if then, is among the more serious problems that have confronted after-

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care. Other problems include little coordination, transitioning, continuity, or consistency between what occurs inside a secure facility and after. Furthermore, family concerns receive negligible attention during most of the confinement period and frequently afterwards. Another problem is sporadic monitoring of parolees and aftercare service providers.

None of these problems will surprise parole or institution staff. Indeed, these are the problems they have recited for years. The following conditions contribute to the problem:

- A scarcity of correctional funding devoted to aftercare.
- A paucity of community programs and resources.
- Large caseload sizes and inadequate staffing.
- Fragmented lines of authority.
- Unrealistic coverage (for example, traditional business hours and no weekends).
- A lack of differential supervision standards and an associated workload management system.
- Insufficient attention to prerelease planning and staff capability.
- Excessive distance between institution and home community.
- Professional and organizational rigidity.
- Rivalry and turf battling.
- A crisis-driven mode of operation.

As a result, the courts, correctional facilities, parole agencies, and aftercare service providers often have been unable or unwilling to work together on reintegration and prerelease planning, transitional services, and aftercare supervision and support. A commitment to jointly planned and shared funding of aftercare is needed. Case management, as detailed in the IAP model, provides specific guidance on goals and how they can be achieved.

### **Assessment, classification, and selection criteria**

The target population for IAP is that group of institutionalized juveniles who pose the highest risk of becoming repeat offenders in the community. Placing lower risk juveniles in intensive aftercare is inefficient and impractical. Indeed, growing evidence suggests that intensive supervision of lower risk offenders leads to increased technical violations and subsequent reincarceration. Objectively determining which juveniles are at high risk of chronic delinquency requires the design of a risk-screening device that can classify local juvenile offenders according to their probability of rearrest or reconviction. As previously noted, a number of risk measures seem predictive of continued criminal involvement across jurisdictions. Even with these measures, however, decisions on how much weight each risk measure should be given (such as scoring), what cutoff points should be used to differentiate the various levels of risk, and how many risk levels to use are not the same everywhere. As a result, these questions will have major implications for how many staff will be needed and what they

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**M**atching IAP youth with programs and people in the community requires a clear understanding of each potential program's intervention strategy.

can realistically accomplish. These implications mean that assessment and classification tools must be validated in the jurisdiction and that projections must be made regarding the size of the IAP population that will be served.

### **Individual case planning incorporating a family and community perspective**

Individualized planning related to intensive aftercare needs to begin as soon as a youth is committed to a secure correctional facility. Once high-risk youth are identified for participation in IAP, individualized case planning involving institutional and aftercare staff is required to determine: (1) how identified need-related risk factors will be addressed in the secure facility and through aftercare programming and supervision; (2) the special needs of youth, with particular attention to needs linked to the offender's social network (for example, family, close friends, peers in general) and community (for example, schools, workplace, church, training programs, specialized treatment programs); and (3) how the total set of risks, needs, and associated circumstances will be addressed during a phased transition from secure facility to aftercare.

The matching of IAP youth with programs and people in the community requires a clear understanding of each potential program's intervention strategy (that is, degree of change sought and range of attributes targeted for attention) and organizing model (that is, specific components, features, and processes such as how reinforcers and sanctions are used, how limits are set, how client movement or progression through a program is directed, etc.). Certain community programs target limited problem areas and employ specific approaches. Transition cannot occur without interconnecting aftercare with the IAP youth's activities while in the secure facility. To preserve gains made while in secure confinement, aftercare must build on them. Accordingly, whether aftercare service providers begin working with IAP youth while they are still inside the secure facility or while on prerelease furloughs, contact must be initiated before discharge. This process can only happen if the secure facility and aftercare providers are accessible to each other and if the community provider is located nearby. This requires individualized planning for aftercare early in secure confinement.

### **A mix of intensive surveillance and services**

Although closer and more frequent monitoring and supervision of juvenile parolees is an important aspect of IAP, services and support are integral as well. As noted, common risk factors include offense and need-related items. A strictly surveillance-oriented approach does not address need-related risk factors. If need-related risk factors are linked principally to the family and the home, school and learning difficulties, negative peer influences, and substance abuse, the challenge for IAP is clear: ensuring that core services are used and that families and friends are involved on a regular basis in activities, events, and programs. Day programming that extends into weekends and attention to evening activity is key. Such programming can be tied to work, chores, assignments, volunteer work, community service, recreation, arts and crafts, etc. Although it is unlikely that any one program would provide the full range of



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services, the IAP model requires that a comprehensive system of services be established and that the primary aftercare case manager oversee their delivery.

Within the context of IAP, surveillance and supervision are not viewed as merely a means to deter misconduct. The various approaches used to monitor the movement and behavior of high-risk parolees provide IAP staff with the means: (1) to recognize immediately when infractions, as well as achievements, have taken place, (2) to know beforehand when circumstances may be prompting misconduct or leading to problems, and (3) to respond accordingly by relying on both reward and graduated sanctions. Thus, the limits of electronic monitoring and drug testing are apparent. They do not provide an early warning signal; they do not address precipitating circumstances; and they do not detect accomplishments. While technological innovations have a valuable role to perform in surveillance, their limits must be explicitly noted. Swift and certain response on the reward and sanction side requires more than new technology.

### **A balance of incentives and graduated consequences coupled with realistic, enforceable parole conditions**

The involvement of meaningful incentives and graduated consequences as part of IAP is a recognition of the fact that juvenile aftercare has often been burdened with unrealistic and unenforceable parole conditions and devoid of any positive reinforcement, rewards, or inducements. Restrictions and limitations generally imposed at the initiation of aftercare afford little room to impose proportionately more stringent sanctions short of revocation.

Although it is widely recognized that tangible and symbolic rewards and praise play an important role in demonstrating to individuals the benefits and satisfactions that can be derived from socially acceptable accomplishments, recognition of achievement is all too rare in aftercare. A number of different approaches have been employed by various programs to routinely monitor progress, reinforce prosocial conduct, and guide advancement. These approaches range from relatively simple mechanisms involving frequent case reviews incorporating other peers and family, to elaborately structured token economies in which particular privileges or rewards are tied to the attainment of specific goals.

Because IAP is designed to intensify the number, duration, and nature of contacts aftercare workers have with paroled youth and collaterals (family, peers, school staff, employers, other involved service providers), it is inevitable that more infractions, technical violations, and instances of noncompliance will surface. With the absence of guidelines on a hierarchy of consequences at their disposal, aftercare workers may tend to do nothing—which undermines their authority—or to impose sanctions disproportionate to the violation. Reincarcerating technical violators contributes to the institutional crowding that plagues many communities. It is little wonder that some observers regard intensive supervision as much a cause of the crowding problem as a potential solution. Besides having a graduated system of sanctions, jurisdictions considering IAP should review their juvenile revocation policy for possible revisions. These changes could take the form of restricting reincarceration only to IAP youth

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with new offense convictions and creating a special short-term residential backup facility for IAP technical violators.

### **Service brokerage with community resources and linkage with social networks**

It is unrealistic to expect that comprehensive and intensive service provision coupled with close supervision and monitoring can be provided without the active involvement of a variety of community support systems. It is impractical to expect that the primary aftercare worker could spend all the time required with each youth and be capable of providing the full range of needed services. Thus, referral and brokerage become crucial functions, which in turn means that program monitoring and quality control are paramount concerns. Linkage with social networks is key. As prior research on risk factors suggests, youth who have family problems, who associate with negative peer groups, and who are disruptive in school are at the highest risk of becoming repeat offenders. Accordingly, programming must focus on: (1) improving the family situation, (2) intervening with the peer group, and (3) reversing the cycle of school failure. These goals require linkage with major social networks.

A number of different brokerage and linkage approaches described in *An Assessment* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1990) are being pursued by various jurisdictions across the country. Regardless of how brokerage and linkage is approached, the keys to IAP are first to involve a variety of community support systems in service delivery and to see that for each youth there is a staff person who is actively working on reinforcing, or if necessary, developing a supportive network. Second, it is essential to devise a process to ensure coordination and continuity in work being done on a case and to monitor the extent and quality of the service provision.

### **Management information and program evaluation**

The final program element in the model emerges from all other elements as well as from the underlying principles. It is imperative to maintain close oversight over implementation and quality control and to determine the overall effectiveness of the program. With regard to process evaluation, an ongoing management information system is required to ensure the operational integrity of IAP. This entails the collection of appropriate data to assess day-to-day operations and performance. No test of the model is possible if implementation diverges from design principles and elements. The availability of timely information enables needed adjustments and changes to be made before the program has veered substantially off course. Besides collecting basic information on who is served and in what ways, it is also important to assess and document staffing patterns and selection, job responsibilities, staff turnover, and job performance.

Assessing outcome can be quite complex and should be assigned to well-qualified individuals. Although random assignment may not be feasible, a sound evaluation design must be part of the IAP initiative. The research design should focus on finding an appropriate comparison group, including multiple

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measures of recidivism and cognitive, behavioral, and emotional outcomes. These outcomes should be followed for at least a year after discharge from IAP. Moreover, it is important to serve enough high-risk cases to provide IAP with a large enough sample for reliable data analysis.

## Next steps

To date, four reports, *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: An Assessment* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1990); *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: A Community Care Model* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994); *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: Policies and Procedures* (Altschuler and Armstrong, 1994); and *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: Training Manual for Action Planning Conference* (Altschuler and Armstrong, eds., 1992) have been submitted to OJJDP. Project staff worked closely with a group of national experts on developing a detailed IAP training curriculum that was used in training the action planning teams from the eight jurisdictions. The training manual presents the entire IAP model, relying on step-by-step instruction that outlines the theoretical underpinnings, underlying principles, program elements, and array of services.

Based on submitted concept papers from interested States and localities, eight jurisdictions were selected to participate in action planning conferences held in late 1992 and 1993. The training was designed for senior- and mid-level administrative staff from jurisdictions interested in adapting, implementing, and managing pilot IAP programs modeled on the prototype. Currently the eight States are at various stages in the development and implementation of their pilot IAPs.

Beyond the initial training, technical assistance, and testing of the model, the long-term goal for this project over the next decade is to alter substantially the way in which juvenile aftercare has been traditionally designed and managed across the United States. The unacceptable rates of failure that have characterized high-risk juvenile offenders on parole must begin to be addressed through a fundamental rethinking. The focus should be on the basic structures, procedures, and goals that define how more severely delinquent youth are handled at the points of correctional confinement and transition back into the community. It is hoped that the eight States that received the training, as well as other jurisdictions, will test versions of the generic IAP model that are appropriate to their local environments; subsequently, they should move to incorporate these pilot efforts as part of their larger juvenile correctional systems. If this occurs, the primary result will be a major transformation in how juvenile parole for high-risk offenders is conducted in this country.

For a copy of *Intensive Community-Based Aftercare Programs: Training Manual for Action Planning Conference*, write David M. Altschuler, Ph.D., The Johns Hopkins University, Institute for Policy Studies, Wyman Building, 3400 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218, or call 410-516-7177. The cost of the manual is \$20.00.

**T**he long-term goal over the next decade is to alter substantially the way juvenile aftercare has been traditionally designed and managed across the Nation.

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- Researchers
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More detailed information about this study and issues surrounding intensive community-based aftercare programs is available through the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

The full report *Intensive Aftercare for High-Risk Juveniles: An Assessment* discusses in detail the study's findings and its design and research methodologies. The full report is useful for conducting further research, making planning decisions, or drafting policy.

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# OJJDP Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator

FACT SHEET # 4 August 1993

## Serious, Violent, and Chronic Juvenile Offenders: A Comprehensive Strategy

by John J. Wilson & James C. Howell, Ph.D.

### Introduction

Serious and violent juvenile crime has increased dramatically over the past few years, straining America's juvenile justice system. Violent offenses adjudicated in juvenile courts have risen 31% since 1986. Juvenile detention and correctional populations have grown significantly, as has the number of juveniles waived or transferred to the adult criminal justice system. Evidence continues to mount that a small proportion of juvenile offenders account for most serious and violent juvenile crimes.

Unfortunately, the already stressed juvenile justice system lacks adequate fiscal and programmatic resources to identify and intervene effectively with serious, violent, and chronic offenders. The Department of Justice and its Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) have called for an unprecedented national commitment of public and private resources to reverse the trends in juvenile violence, juvenile victimization, and family disintegration in our Nation.

### Principles

Building on a strong foundation of basic research and capitalizing on promising approaches in delinquency prevention, intervention, and treatment, OJJDP has developed a comprehensive strategy for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders. Key principles for preventing and reducing at-risk behavior and delinquency include:

- ◆ Strengthen families in their role of providing guidance and discipline and instilling sound values as their children's first and primary teachers.
- ◆ Support core social institutions, including schools, churches, and other community-based organizations,

to alleviate risk factors and help children develop to their maximum potential.

- ◆ Promote prevention strategies that reduce the impact of risk factors and enhance the influence of protective factors in the lives of youth at greatest risk of delinquency.
- ◆ Intervene with youth immediately when delinquent behavior first occurs.
- ◆ Establish a broad spectrum of graduated sanctions that provides accountability and a continuum of services to respond appropriately to the needs of each juvenile offender.
- ◆ Identify and control the small segment of serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.

Implementation of this comprehensive strategy will require all sectors of the community to take part in determining local needs and in planning and implementing programs to meet those needs.

### Delinquency Prevention

Prevention is the most cost-effective means of dealing with delinquency. The prevention component of OJJDP's comprehensive strategy is based on a risk-focused approach. It recognizes that protective buffer programs must be established to counter major risk factors, such as 1) delinquent peer groups, 2) poor school performance, 3) high-crime neighborhoods, 4) weak family attachments, 5) lack of consistent discipline, and 6) physical or sexual abuse.

OJJDP's risk-focused approach to delinquency prevention intervenes according to the child's chronological and developmental stage, beginning with prenatal care. It calls on communities to systematically assess their delinquency problem, to identify local risk factors, and to implement programs to counteract them. One proven prevention strategy available to guide communities through this critical process is called "Communities that Care".

## Graduated Sanctions

An effective model for the treatment and rehabilitation of delinquent offenders must combine accountability and sanctions with increasingly intensive treatment and rehabilitation. The objective of graduated sanctions is to stop the juvenile's further slide into criminality by stimulating law-abiding behavior as early as possible. To fit the offense, graduated sanctions should encompass a broad range of nonresidential and residential alternatives. At each level in the continuum, the family must be integrally involved in treatment and rehabilitative efforts.

### Intervention

The intervention component comprises a range of options that include immediate interventions (for first-time offenders involved in misdemeanors and nonviolent felonies) and intermediate sanctions (for offenders who are first time serious or violent offenders, or repeat offenders who fail to respond to immediate intervention).

Community policing shows considerable promise as a means of early intervention. The juvenile court plays an important role in the provision of treatment and sanctions, with probation being the court's principal vehicle for the delivery of treatment services and community supervision. Continuous case management is crucial to ensuring timely treatment. A continuum of community-based care should be provided to meet the multiple service needs of each juvenile offender.

The intervention component calls for extensive use of non-residential community-based programs, including referral to prevention programs for most first time offenders. Intermediate sanctions use both nonresidential and residential placements, including intensive supervision programs for more serious and violent offenders.

### Secure Corrections

The criminal behavior of some serious, violent and chronic offenders mandates the use of secure corrections to hold them accountable for their delinquent acts, while providing a structured treatment environment. As large congregate care facilities, such as training schools, have proven to be generally ineffective, greater use of smaller, community-

based facilities offers the best hope for successful treatment of juveniles requiring a structured setting. Training schools, camps, and ranches should be used exclusively for juveniles who require enhanced security to protect the public and for those who have failed to respond to appropriate community-based sanctions and treatment. Intensive aftercare programs are critical to the success of juveniles once they return to their neighborhoods and communities.

## Expected Benefits

The anticipated benefits of adopting this comprehensive strategy include: 1) increased prevention of delinquency with fewer young people entering the juvenile justice system, 2) enhanced responsiveness from the juvenile justice system, 3) greater accountability on the part of youth, 4) decreased costs of juvenile corrections, 5) a more responsible juvenile justice system, 6) better program effectiveness, and 7) less crime as fewer serious, violent, and chronic delinquents become adult criminals.

## Next Steps

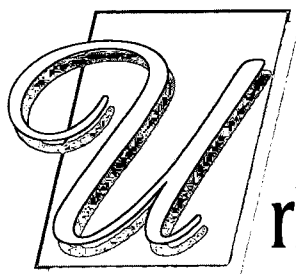
Implementing this comprehensive strategy for serious, violent and chronic juveniles is a major program priority for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. By September 1993 OJJDP will select a grantee to identify a variety of effective prevention and intervention program models and to provide interested jurisdictions with a blueprint for assessing their present juvenile justice systems and for planning new programs that respond to community needs. OJJDP anticipates that funds will be available in Fiscal Year 1994 to award competitive grants to a limited number of jurisdictions to carry out the assessment, planning, and implementation process. Training and technical assistance will be provided to participating communities.

## Additional Information

This fact sheet is based on a detailed exposition of the strategy and supporting research, statistics, and program evaluation information entitled, *A Comprehensive Strategy for Serious, Violent and Chronic Juvenile Offenders*, written by John J. Wilson, and James C. Howell, Ph.D. It can be obtained by calling the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse toll free at (800) 638-8736.

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This fact sheet was prepared by John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator, OJJDP; James C. Howell, Ph.D., Director of Research, OJJDP; and Jonathan Budd, Program Manager, OJJDP.



# Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse

## Initial Findings

## Research Summary

# RESEARCH SUMMARY

A Publication of the  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

# Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) was established by the President and Congress through the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act of 1974, Public Law 93-415, as amended. Located within the Office of Justice Programs of the U.S. Department of Justice, OJJDP's goal is to provide national leadership in addressing the issues of juvenile delinquency and improving juvenile justice.

OJJDP sponsors a broad array of research, program, and training initiatives to improve the juvenile justice system as a whole, as well as to benefit individual youth-serving agencies. These initiatives are carried out by seven components within OJJDP, described below.

**Research and Program Development Division** develops knowledge on national trends in juvenile delinquency; supports a program for data collection and information sharing that incorporates elements of statistical and systems development; identifies how delinquency develops and the best methods for its prevention, intervention, and treatment; and analyzes practices and trends in the juvenile justice system.

**Training and Technical Assistance Division** provides juvenile justice training and technical assistance to Federal, State, and local governments; law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections personnel; and private agencies; educational institutions, and community organizations.

**Special Emphasis Division** provides discretionary funds to public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals to replicate tested approaches to delinquency prevention, treatment, and control in such pertinent areas as chronic juvenile offenders, community-based sanctions, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in the juvenile justice system.

**State Relations and Assistance Division** supports collaborative efforts by States to carry out the mandates of the JJDP Act by providing formula grant funds to States; furnishing technical assistance to States, local governments, and private agencies; and monitoring State compliance with the JJDP Act.

**Information Dissemination and Planning Unit** informs individuals and organizations of OJJDP initiatives; disseminates information on juvenile justice, delinquency prevention, and missing children; and coordinates program planning efforts within OJJDP. The unit's activities include publishing research and statistical reports, bulletins, and other documents, as well as overseeing the operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

**Concentration of Federal Efforts Program** promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program primarily carries out this responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, an independent body within the executive branch that was established by Congress through the JJDP Act.

**Missing and Exploited Children Program** seeks to promote effective policies and procedures for addressing the problem of missing and exploited children. Established by the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, the program provides funds for a variety of activities to support and coordinate a network of resources such as the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children; training and technical assistance to a network of 43 State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys; and research and demonstration programs.

OJJDP provides leadership, direction, and resources to the juvenile justice community to help prevent and control delinquency throughout the country.



# Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse

Initial Findings

## **Research Summary**

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Prepared by

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Pittsburgh Youth Study

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Rochester Youth Development Study

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March 1994

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Points of view or opinions expressed in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

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# Foreword




Delinquency and drugs infect communities across America. Like the biological viruses they resemble, these social plagues resist our best efforts at inoculation and treatment.

Though we know they differ, it is difficult to draw distinctions between delinquency's causes and correlates. In keeping with the tradition of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention of supporting long-term research that contributes to long-term solutions, OJJDP has sponsored multiple longitudinal studies under its research program on the Causes and Correlates of Juvenile Delinquency.

This research summary—one of the three interrelated documents arising from the program—presents initial findings regarding urban delinquency and substance abuse.

It is our hope that the information it provides will enhance the effectiveness of our preventive and therapeutic juvenile justice interventions.



**John J. Wilson**  
*Acting Administrator*  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention



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## Introduction

Serious delinquency and drug use are major problems in American society. Casual observation of city streets and daily newspapers attests to this. Delinquency and drug use, however, are not new problems. They have plagued societies throughout history. In fact, delinquency and drug use are among the most resistant forms of problem behavior we know. Despite our best efforts, society has so far failed to make a substantial reduction in them.

That does not mean that we have not made progress. We have. Our understanding of delinquency and drug use, and of ways to prevent and treat them, has improved and continues to improve under the leadership of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP). OJJDP has advanced on at least two fronts in this battle. First, the agency led the way in designing and implementing action programs that provide much needed services to troubled youth. Second, OJJDP has been in the forefront of supporting basic, long-term research that provides the hard empirical information needed to design effective action programs.


Past research indicates that many variables correlate with delinquency and that many factors tend to increase the risk of later delinquent behavior. Among these risk factors are birth trauma, child abuse and neglect, ineffective parental discipline, family disruptions, conduct disorder and hyperactivity in children, school failure, learning disabilities, negative peer influences, limited employment opportunities, inadequate housing, and residence in high-crime neighborhoods.

We also know that neither correlates nor risk factors can be equated with causal factors.

## Difficulties in drawing causal inferences

Researchers have not yet been able to establish clear distinctions between causal and other factors. Neither have researchers been able to delineate the constellations of causes that are most crucial in explaining delinquency. Indeed, it is not easy to determine causality for any human behavior, especially in the natural environment, where, in contrast to laboratory science, controls are not easy to achieve. We cannot simply presume that every child who experiences a risk factor such as child abuse will automatically become delinquent; many children who experience abuse never engage in delinquent behavior. Each individual brings to a given situation unique personal characteristics that have been influenced by a host of factors in the arenas of the family, school, peer context, and community environment.

Overall, research findings support the conclusion that no single cause accounts for all delinquency and that no single pathway leads to a life of crime. To date, however, we have not clearly identified all the causal pathways that lead to delinquency or the factors that cause different individuals to take different paths. This state of affairs is due, in large part, to limitations in the methodologies previously employed and an inadequate understanding of the theoretical bases for causal relationships.



**N**either correlates  
nor risk factors equate  
with causal factors.

**T**o study changes in individual offending allows us to examine causal factors that may influence those changes.

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## **Why longitudinal research is needed**

Longitudinal studies, in contrast to cross-sectional studies, respond to many of the problems identified in earlier research designs. Such studies offer many opportunities to better discriminate among correlates, risk factors, and causes. There is general agreement among social scientists and policymakers that longitudinal studies are the best way to gain information on the causes of delinquency. This type of investigation involves repeated contacts with the same individuals so that patterns of development can be studied. In particular, the study of changes in individual offending allows us to examine potential causal factors that may influence those changes.

The strength of the longitudinal investigation is that it permits researchers to sort out which factors precede changes in offending, to predict such changes, and to do so independent of other factors. With the aid of repeated measures, it is possible to identify pathways to delinquency, each with unique causal factors that, like delinquency itself, may change over time. Successfully accomplishing this will provide the information needed to develop truly effective intervention programs.

## **Current program of research**

The most recent example of OJJDP's support for long-term research is its Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Juvenile Delinquency. Three research teams were competitively selected to participate in this program, launched in fall 1986. The teams are located at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany, the University of Colorado, and the University of Pittsburgh, with study sites in Rochester, New York; Denver, Colorado; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, respectively.

The research teams collaborated extensively in designing the studies, identifying key theoretical concepts, and developing "core" measures for these concepts. The culmination of this effort is the use of a body of common measurements in the surveys of the three projects. The following are examples of content areas addressed in the core measures:

- Official and self-reports of delinquent behavior.
- Self-reports of drug use.
- Characteristics of the community and neighborhood.
- Demographic characteristics of the family.
- Parental attitudes and child-rearing practices.
- Youth/child attitudes, school performance, and perceived consequences of delinquency.
- Peer delinquency and conventional activities.

We believe that these collaborative efforts represent a milestone in criminological research because they constitute the largest shared-measurement approach ever achieved in delinquency research. This research will enable us to aggregate data across projects and also to replicate findings across sites, thus ensuring that



findings apply in more than one specific site. In addition to the common measures, each project also collects unique measurements that are expected to add special yields to the findings from each site.

## Study designs and samples

**Denver Youth Survey.** This longitudinal survey involves annual interviews with a probability sample of five different birth cohorts and their parents selected from areas of Denver that display high risk for delinquency. They include both boys and girls who were 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15 years old when the study began. During the course of the study, these birth cohorts will permit an examination of developmental sequences across the full age span from 7 to 19. Including the younger cohorts (ages 7 and 9) should facilitate assessment of the developmental outcome of early problem behavior on later delinquency.

The sampling procedure is also designed to ensure enough serious, chronic offenders for an analysis of their development and, at the same time, provide

OJJDP provided each project a unique opportunity to secure additional funding for specialized studies.

## Related projects

Because of the scope and design of the research program, OJJDP provided each of the projects with a unique opportunity to secure additional funding for specialized studies. Currently, the following special projects have been added:

### ***Denver Youth Survey***

"Children, Youth and Drugs," National Institute on Drug Abuse.

"The Denver Neighborhood," The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

### ***Pittsburgh Youth Study***

"Neuropsychology, Behavior Disorder, and Delinquency," National Institute of Mental Health.

"Attention Deficits, School Dysfunction, and Lead Exposure," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

"Risk, Development, and Outcome of Disruptive Behavior," National Institute of Mental Health.

### ***Rochester Youth Development Study***

"A Social Network Approach to Drug Use of Minority Youth," National Institute on Drug Abuse.

"The Inclusion of Parent Interviews in the Rochester Youth Development Study," National Science Foundation.

"Examining Delinquency and Drug Use During Later Adolescence," National Science Foundation.

**T**o maximize the number of serious, chronic offenders, the sample includes more youth from high-crime areas.

control data on normal developmental patterns. From a random selection of more than 20,000 households within high-risk neighborhoods, risk was determined by a social ecology analysis that identified areas with housing and population characteristics associated with delinquency and by official crime rates. Survey respondents are all eligible children and parents in families living in the sampled households.

**Pittsburgh Youth Study.** The survey selected, in two phases, boys attending grades 1, 4, and 7 in Pittsburgh schools. About 83 percent to 85 percent of the families contacted agreed to participate. Cohort 1 acquired about 750 subjects during the spring of 1987, and cohort 2 acquired the remainder, another 1,800, during the spring of 1988.

Of the 2,550 subjects, a screening procedure selected 1,500 for followup. Half of the 1,500 are considered high risk while the other half are lower risk. The first followup of the earliest acquired subjects occurred in fall 1987; subsequent followups continued at regular intervals until fall 1992. These followups involved the subjects, their teachers, and parents (one parent per subject).

Because at the beginning, the three groups of boys were in the first, fourth, and seventh grades, the completed study will have covered the age range from 6 to 18 years, in which most of the onset of delinquent activity is likely.

**Rochester Youth Development Study.** The Rochester Youth Development Study started with a sample of 1,000 boys and girls in the seventh and eighth grades of the Rochester public schools. To maximize the number of serious, chronic offenders available for the study, the sample includes more youth from high-crime areas and fewer from low-crime areas. The entire range of seventh and eighth grade students, however, is represented.

At 6-month intervals, a survey staff member interviewed one of the student's parents, most typically the mother, in the home, and interviewed the student in a private space in the school. Over a 4 1/2-year period, this provided nine data collection points. If the family moved or if the child left school, they remained in the study and continued to be interviewed. Each interview lasted approximately 1 hour. In addition, data were collected from a variety of Rochester agencies including the schools, the police, the courts, and social services. Overall, this provided quite a thorough picture of adolescent development during the junior and senior high school years.

## **Anticipated outcomes**

This research program is a unique collaborative effort to create new knowledge about individual offending and the causes of changes in offending. Each study examines factors operating prior to the major onset of delinquent activity, and each is likely to document predictive factors that can help identify youth most likely to become delinquent. The studies also document individuals' development of offending as evident from self-reports and official records. Delinquency is examined here as part of a broader context of nonconforming behavior—drug use, school failure, and the like—that requires simultaneous attention. This is especially important if these behaviors are mutually reinforcing. A close study

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of delinquency and other nonconforming behaviors will help to document whether a single path or multiple paths exist toward different serious delinquent and antisocial outcomes.

Another major contribution of the studies will be identification of causal factors of offending. The studies will clarify the sequence of causal factors and changes in them that influence offending in different periods of youngsters' lives. The three studies all include both youngsters exposed to known risk factors for delinquency and youngsters who can serve as controls. Thus the studies can better help to distinguish between correlates, risk factors, and causal factors. At the same time, the studies will examine which causal factors are mostly associated with the initiation of delinquency, its maintenance, and later, its desistance. The common measures among the studies will permit multiple replications of the findings, thereby enhancing the scientific yield of the research program.

A major expected outcome is a better understanding about preventive, therapeutic, and juvenile justice-system interventions. Interventions may occur at different points along the developmental paths toward delinquency, each with different targets for modification. That in itself will be an advance over current interventions, which usually lack a solid empirical knowledge about the nature of delinquency and its causes. The three studies will provide an empirical foundation, creating new knowledge about the causes of delinquency, and therefore pave the way for a new generation of preventive, judicial, and therapeutic interventions.

## Scope of report

This report—the *Initial Findings*—is one of three interrelated reports submitted to OJJDP under the Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Juvenile Delinquency. The second is called the *Technical Report* and the third is a set of *Technical Appendices*. These reports provide initial findings and provide a start toward the future outcomes just described.

The *Technical Report* provides a full description of the Program of Research and its three projects. It also describes the full design and methodology of the projects. Its major purpose is to present in detail the initial empirical results that form the basis for this summary report. In contrast, these *Initial Findings* briefly present only selected findings. Readers interested in more indepth information are referred to the *Technical Report*. A useful place to start would be its first two chapters, which describe the Program of Research and the projects, and the summary (chapter 19). All chapter numbers used in this report refer to chapters in the *Technical Report*. The summary provides a comprehensive recapitulation of the findings and implications from each other chapter. It also discusses common themes that cut across the individual chapters.

## Methodological issues

A full discussion of the research methods appears in chapter 2. A few general issues are discussed here.

**C**urrent interventions usually lack solid empirical knowledge about the nature of delinquency and its causes.

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All the results are correctly weighted to represent the general age-grade populations.

Each of the three projects of the Program of Research is longitudinal in design. That means that each study selected a sample of youngsters and is following them over time. This report uses information from the first 3 years of data collection. The purpose was to chart the social and psychological development of these youngsters and then to relate that to the development of delinquency and drug use.

Each study selected a large number of youngsters to study. In Denver there are 1,500 subjects divided equally among boys and girls. At the beginning of the study they were divided equally among ages 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15. In Pittsburgh there are 1,500 boys divided equally among first, fourth, and seventh graders at Year 1. In Rochester there are 1,000 subjects; 75 percent are boys and 25 percent are girls. They were divided equally among seventh and eighth graders at Year 1.

In order to obtain enough serious, chronic offenders for research, each study oversampled youngsters at high risk for serious delinquency and drug use. All the results reported here are correctly weighted to represent the general age-grade populations in major segments of the three cities. For Rochester, the results are representative of the whole city; for Pittsburgh, results are representative of certain high- and low-risk areas, for Denver, the results are representative of only certain high-risk areas.

The projects collect comprehensive information on each of the subjects. Most of the information comes from face-to-face interviews conducted with each youngster and his or her primary caretaker—usually the mother. In Denver the interviews are conducted annually and in Pittsburgh and Rochester, semiannually. For this report the Pittsburgh and Rochester data have been combined into annual periods and the results cover the first 3 years of data collection. All three studies had excellent retention of subjects over this time period—90 percent or better.

Although many measures of delinquency and drug use are available in these studies, we concentrate on two summary scales in this report. Delinquency is usually measured by Street Crimes—an index that includes 13 serious forms of delinquency that are currently of great concern and which have been shown in prior research to be of greater seriousness in the view of the public at large. Street crimes include offenses such as robbery, major theft, gang fights, and the like, as listed in table 1. Drug use is usually measured by an index that combines the use of marijuana and eight “harder” drugs. Different versions of these scales are used for the child (ages 6–10) and youth respondents (ages 11–17). The content of the child delinquency measures is similar to the content of the youth scales; they may perhaps be viewed as precursors to later behaviors. Only alcohol and marijuana use are included in the child drug use measure. Other delinquency measures used in this report are “Other Serious Crimes” that include offenses often considered serious but not with the same concern as Street Offenses, and a Minor Offense measure that involves behaviors considered even less serious. (The specific items in these scales can be found in chapter 3 of the *Technical Report*.)

**Table 1: Measures of Street Crime and Drug/Alcohol Abuse**

Street Delinquency Offenses	Alcohol and Drug Use
<b>Youth measure</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Theft, \$50 to \$100</li><li>2. Theft, over \$100</li><li>3. Theft, motor vehicle</li><li>4. Burglary</li><li>5. Aggravated assault</li><li>6. Robbery</li><li>7. Rape</li><li>8. Gang fighting</li><li>9. Purse snatching/pickpocketing</li><li>10. Theft from an automobile</li><li>11. Sold marijuana</li><li>12. Sold hard drugs</li><li>13. Fencing (selling, buying stolen goods)</li></ol>	<b>Alcohol use</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Drank beer</li><li>2. Drank wine</li><li>3. Drank hard liquor</li></ol> <b>Marijuana use</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Used marijuana or hashish</li></ol> <b>Other drug use</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Used tranquilizers</li><li>2. Used barbiturates</li><li>3. Used amphetamines</li><li>4. Used hallucinogens</li><li>5. Used cocaine (other than crack)</li><li>6. Used crack</li><li>7. Used heroin</li><li>8. Used angel dust or PCP</li></ol>
<b>Child measure</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Theft of bicycle or skateboard</li><li>2. Theft from school</li><li>3. Burglary</li><li>4. Theft from an automobile</li><li>5. Hit an adult at school</li><li>6. Physical fights with other kids</li><li>7. Purse snatching/pickpocketing</li></ol>	

About a quarter of the older males but only about a tenth of the older females report committing street offenses.

## Results: delinquency and drug use

This section presents descriptive data about the extent of delinquency and drug use in the three studies. It also discusses other forms of problem behaviors that are associated with delinquency and drug use.

### Self-reported delinquency and drug use

The three projects use identical items to measure self-reported rates of delinquency and drug use. The results are reported in chapter 3 of the *Technical Report*.

Figure 1 presents the prevalence rate, or the percentage of subjects who commit street crimes, in each city. Data on “youth” samples refer to older subjects, from 11 to 17 years of age, while data on “child” samples refer to younger subjects, from 6 to 10 years of age.

Within age and gender categories there is a very high degree of similarity in these prevalence rates across cities. As expected, males report more involvement in street crimes than females. About one-quarter of the older males but only about one-tenth of the older females report committing street offenses. Older subjects report more involvement than younger subjects. Indeed, the rate of street offending continues to increase up to the age of 17 (see figure 2).

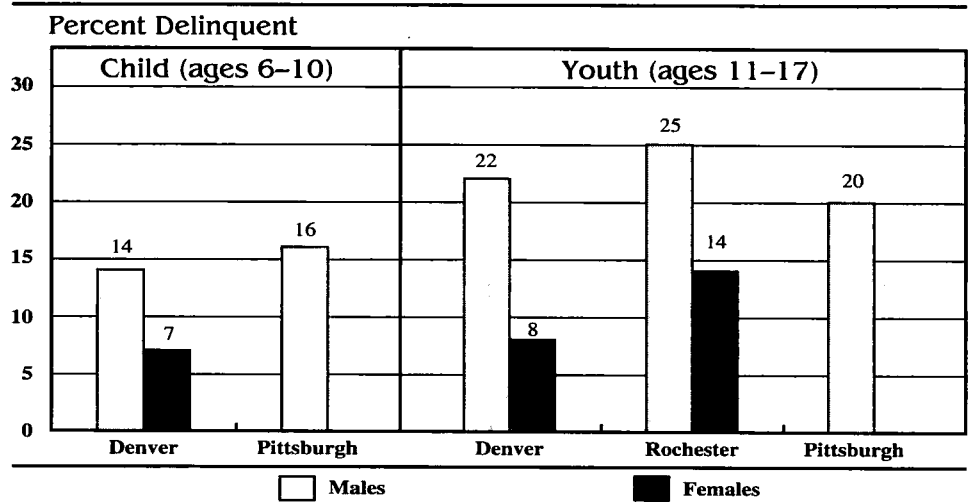
About 15 percent of the youngest boys in Denver and Pittsburgh report some involvement in street crimes. The rate of involvement in these serious forms of

Racial differences become more pronounced as seriousness of offending increases.

delinquency by the youngest subjects indicates a very early age of initiation of these behaviors. By age 7, one-tenth of the boys report having committed at least one of these street offenses.

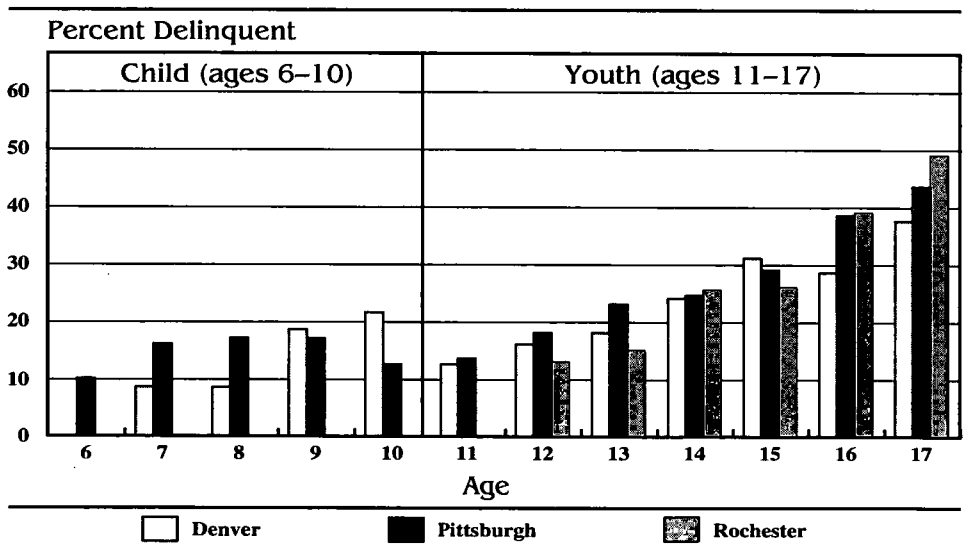
Although there is some inconsistency across sites in the rank order of prevalence rates by race, it does appear that racial differences become more pronounced as seriousness of offending increases. As illustrated in figure 3, whites generally have a lower prevalence rate of street offenses than other groups. It should be noted that because other variables such as social class are not controlled in these analyses, explanation of racial differences may not depend

**Figure 1: Prevalence Rates for Street Crimes by Age Group and Gender**



Note: Pittsburgh sample includes only males. Rochester sample includes only youth (ages 11-17).

**Figure 2: Annual Prevalence Rates for Street Crimes by Age, for Males**



Note: Rochester sample includes only youth (ages 11-17).

on race. Instead they may be simply indicators of other social processes and conditions.

Rates of drug use are also quite high. Alcohol use begins early and by age 16, half of the boys and girls use alcohol regularly. Marijuana use begins later and fewer youth use this drug; about one-quarter of the subjects use marijuana at age 16. Use of other drugs begins even later and prevalence rates never exceed 10 percent. Although use of marijuana and other drugs is of concern, clearly alcohol remains the "drug of choice" among American adolescents, and greater attention to the abuse of alcohol seems needed.

**A**lcohol remains the "drug of choice" among American adolescents.

## Arrest Data

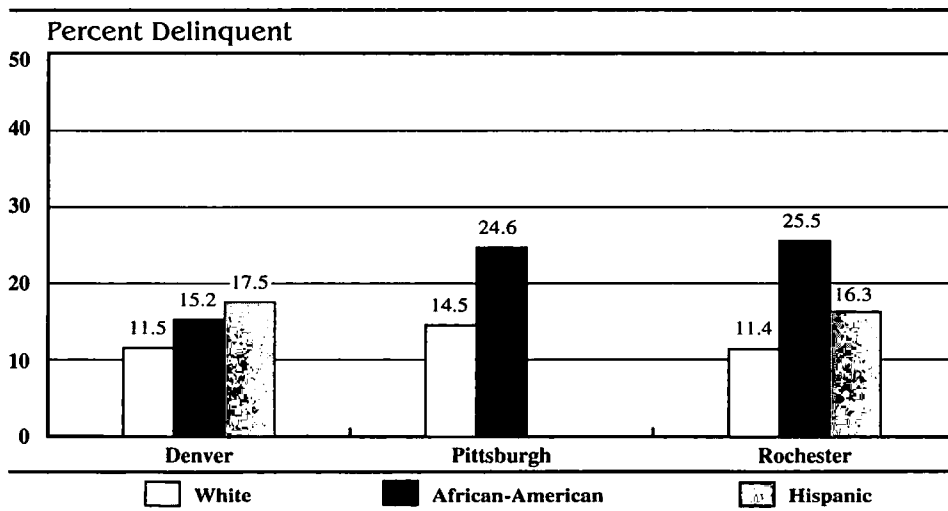
In addition to self-reported data, the projects also collect information about arrests and contacts with the juvenile justice system. Chapter 4 examines this issue with data from Denver and Rochester.

Being arrested in urban areas, especially for males, is relatively common. For example, among the 17-year-olds in Denver, 41 percent report having been arrested at least once. In general, the probability of being arrested increases with age (see figure 4).

A greater percentage of males (19 percent in Denver and 31 percent in Rochester) are arrested than females (10 percent in Denver and 22 percent in Rochester). In Denver, where self-reports of arrests are used, there are no racial/ethnic differences, but in Rochester, where official data are used, African-Americans have higher rates of arrest than whites or Hispanics.

In general, there is a reasonable overlap between self-reported delinquency and arrest rates. Most of those who are arrested are classified as being either street offenders or "other serious" offenders (figure 5). Even though those arrested

**Figure 3: Annual Prevalence Rates of Delinquency by Race for Youth, Time 2**



**E**ven though those arrested seem to be relatively serious offenders, the charges on which they are arrested are often quite minor.

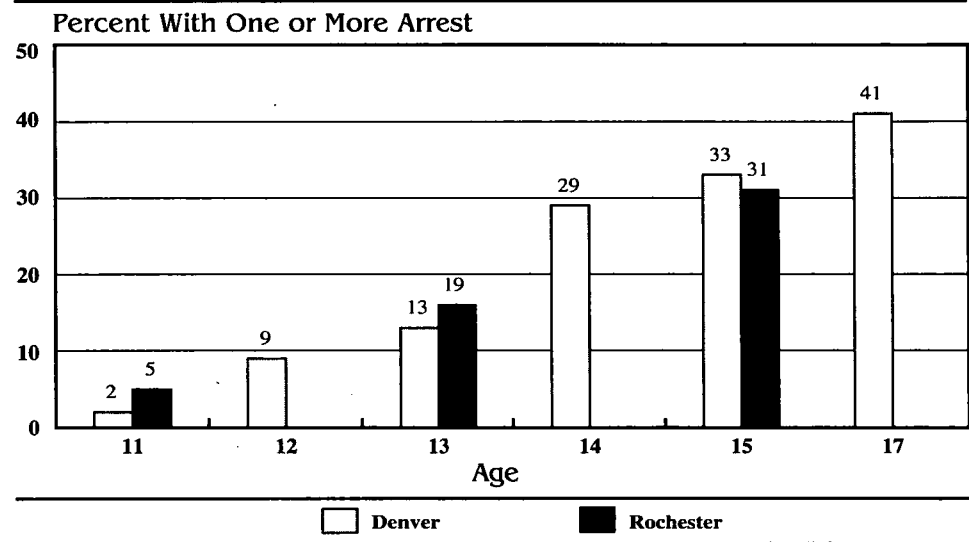
seem to be relatively serious offenders, the charges on which they are arrested are often quite minor.

A large number of serious and street offenders are not arrested during years in which they report being active offenders. As a result, an emphasis on both prevention and treatment programs appears needed.

## Results: overlap of problem behaviors

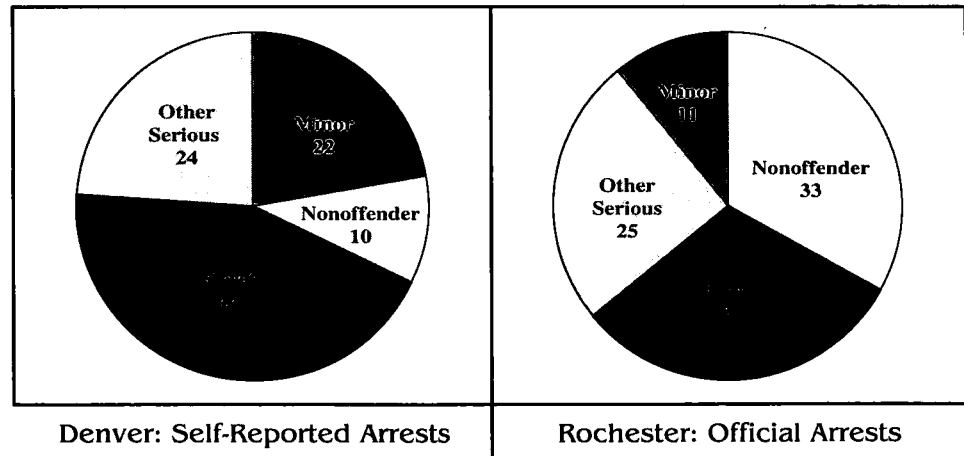
The next set of issues concerns the overlap or co-occurrence of problem behaviors. They are discussed in chapters 5 to 7 of the *Technical Report*.

**Figure 4: Arrest Rates by Age**



Note: Data for age 16 unavailable.

**Figure 5: Arrest Rates by Delinquency Type**





## Delinquency and substance use

Substance use and involvement in delinquent behavior are clearly interrelated. They are the major dependent variables in this research, and they clearly overlap. The more serious the youth's involvement in drug use, the more serious is his or her involvement in delinquency, and vice versa. This is observed across age, gender, and ethnic groups.

When the substance use/delinquency relationship is examined over time, prior changes in substance use are found to have a larger impact on subsequent changes in delinquency, while prior changes in delinquency have a somewhat smaller impact on subsequent drug use. Thus, over time, it seems that substance use stimulates more changes in delinquency than the reverse.

## Sexual activity and delinquency

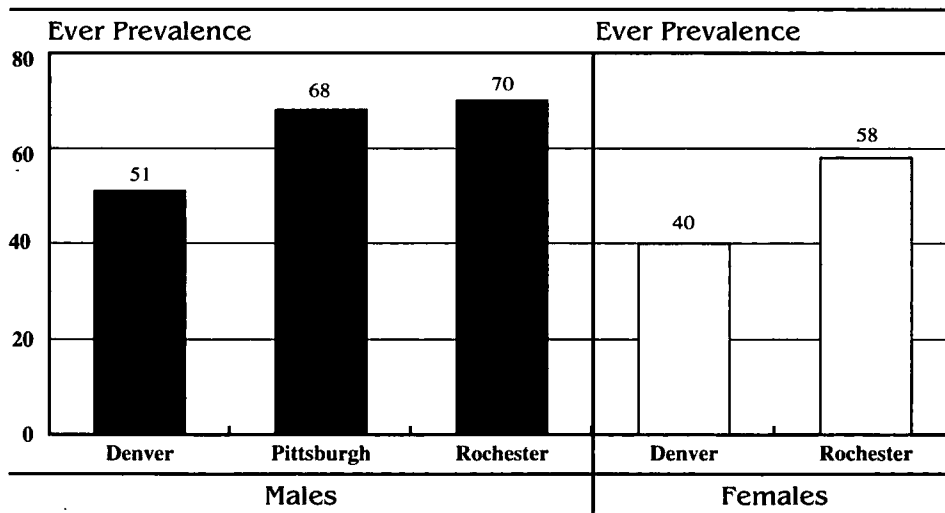
These subjects report a high rate of sexual activity and pregnancy. Figure 6 shows that for the older subjects (13 to 17 years), well over half of the boys and almost half of the girls have engaged in sexual intercourse. In the most recent year, most of them were sexually active.

Teenage pregnancy is quite common. Almost half of the oldest girls in Denver and a third in Rochester have been pregnant at least once.

Precocious sexual activity relates strongly to both delinquency and drug use. Youth who are sexually active or who become pregnant are much more likely to be involved in some form of delinquency and more likely to use alcohol or other drugs. Girls who have been pregnant report substantially higher rates of alcohol and drug use, which may provide concern for the children of these young mothers.

Substance use stimulates more changes in delinquency than the reverse.

**Figure 6: Ever Prevalence of Sexual Intercourse for Subjects Ages 13 to 17**



Note: Pittsburgh data not available for females.

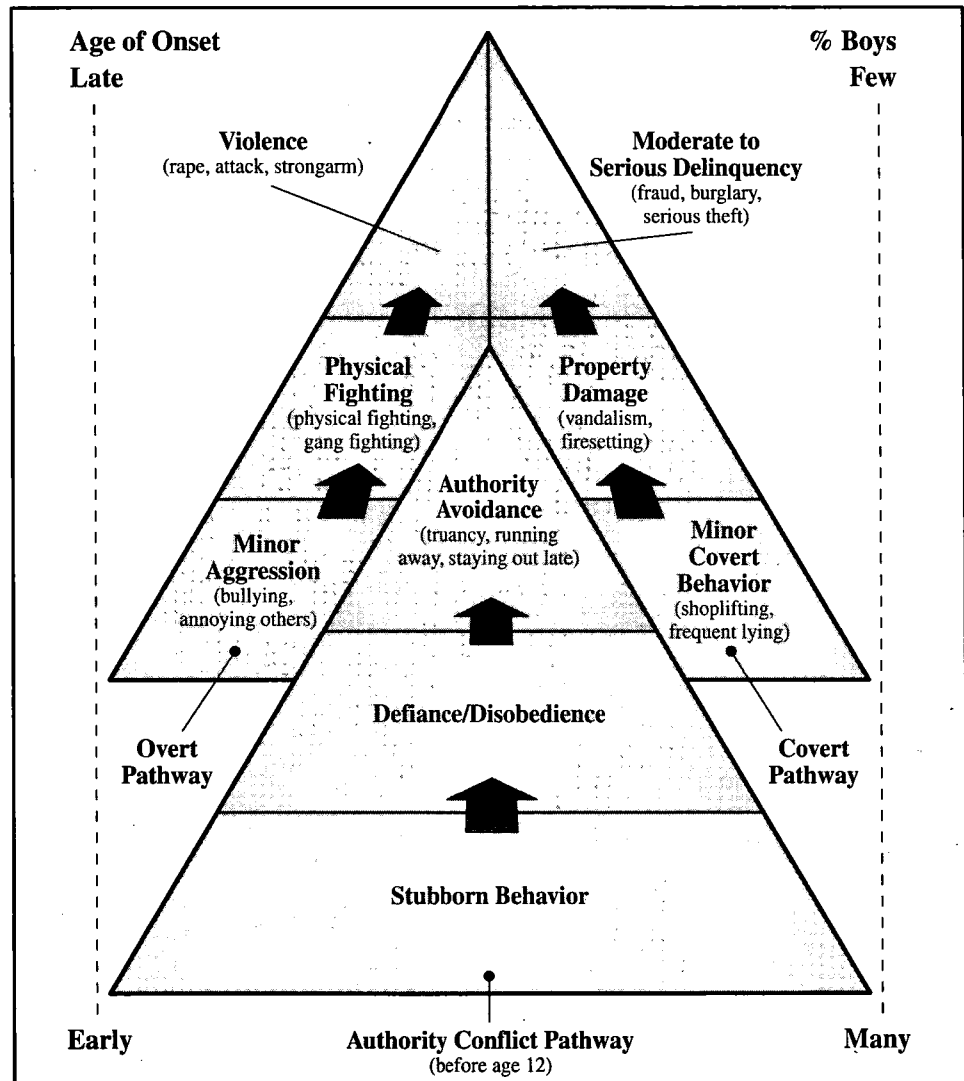
**S**tarting at relatively early ages, boys exhibited the onset of stubborn behavior.

## Developmental pathways

While many youth experience many problem behaviors, the development of these problems tends to occur in an orderly progression. Chapter 7 examines this issue. Both retrospective and prospective tracings in the middle and the oldest samples of the Pittsburgh Youth Study revealed developmental sequences in disruptive behavior from childhood to adolescence. Figure 7 shows the age at which a variety of problem behaviors begin for boys in the oldest sample. It also depicts the relative percentage of boys involved in different behavioral pathways.

Starting at relatively early ages, boys exhibited the onset of stubborn behavior (median age 9) and minor covert acts, such as frequent lying and shoplifting (median age 10). This tends to be followed, around ages 11 and 12, by defiance, minor aggression (annoying others and bullying), and property damage

**Figure 7: Three Pathways to Boys' Problem Behavior and Delinquency**



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(firesetting, vandalism). After that, more serious forms of delinquency were likely to begin, but also physical fighting and authority avoidance (truancy, staying out late at night, running away).

Analyses indicated that three developmental pathways could be distinguished, each with three successive steps (Figure 7): (a) an early Authority Conflict Pathway prior to age 12, starting with stubborn behavior, followed by defiance, and subsequently followed by authority avoidance; (b) a Covert Pathway, starting with minor covert behaviors, followed by property damage, and subsequently followed by moderate to serious forms of delinquency; and (c) an Overt Pathway, starting with minor aggression, followed by fighting, and subsequently followed by violence.

Boys can progress to different positions on a pathway. Most reach only the first step of a pathway, fewer reach the second step, and even fewer reach the last step. Most boys, entering a pathway, did so at the first step in a pathway, fewer entered at the second step, and fewest entered at the last step. Most of those who reached the third step had gone through the preceding steps earlier in life in the order specified in the pathway model.

Some boys were in a single pathway, while others were in multiple pathways. Those boys who escalated in the Overt Pathway were more likely to escalate in the Covert Pathway, compared to boys escalating in the Covert Pathway showing an escalation in the Overt Pathway. Thus, boys' engagement in aggressive behaviors appeared to stimulate their engagement in covert delinquent acts more than the reverse. Escalation in the Authority Conflict Pathways was not associated with escalation in either the Overt or the Covert Pathways.

Boys' rate of self-reported delinquency was highest for those in triple pathways (Covert, Overt, and Authority Conflict) or in certain dual pathways (Covert and Overt; Covert and Authority Conflict). However, by age 16, those in the triple pathways displayed the highest rate of offending. The rate of violent offenses was also highest for those in the triple pathways and for those in the Overt and Covert Pathways. Results based on court petitions largely supported these findings. Lowest rates of offending were observed for boys in the Overt and Authority Conflict Pathways.

## **Results: explanatory factors and delinquency**

The remaining topics in this report concern the relationship between a variety of explanatory factors and the prevalence of delinquency and drug use. These topics are discussed in chapters 8 through 18 of the *Technical Report*.

### **Families and delinquency**

Two types of family effects are examined. The first concerns family attachment, the emotional bond between parent and child. The second concerns various

**B**oys' engagement in aggressive behaviors appeared to stimulate their engagement in covert delinquent acts.

**G**reater risk exists for violent offending when a child is physically abused or neglected early in life.

forms of parenting behavior, especially parent communication and supervision, and conflict between parents and their children.

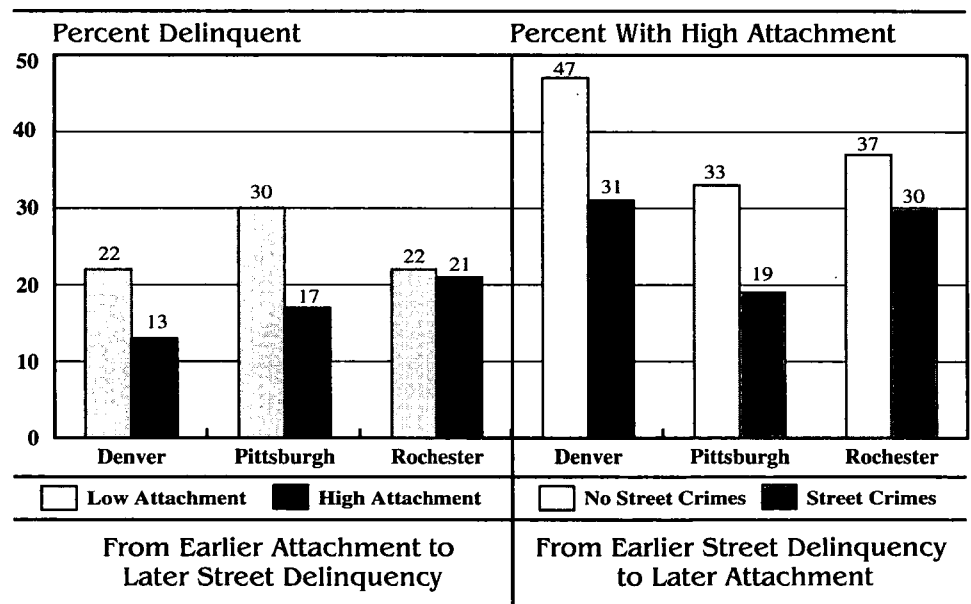
Poor family attachment relates to both delinquency and drug use. That is, youth who do not feel a strong emotional bond with their parents are more likely to commit street crimes and to use drugs.

Poor parenting behavior—failure to communicate with and monitor children—relates to both delinquency and drug use. Parental conflicts—inconsistency of punishment and avoidance of discipline—relate only to delinquency.

All of these interrelationships are examined over time. Prior poor levels of family attachment and poor parenting behaviors associate with subsequent higher levels of delinquency and drug use. Prior high levels of delinquency and drug use also associate with subsequent poor levels of family attachment and poor parenting behaviors. Figure 8 shows these reciprocal relationships, using data about family attachment and street delinquency. It seems that poor family life makes delinquency worse and high delinquency makes family life worse.

None of the relationships involving the family factors and delinquency/drug use are particularly strong, however. Indeed, the overall impact of family effects, at least as measured in the Program of Research, appears somewhat weak. A link has been found to exist between childhood victimization and delinquent behavior. Greater risk exists for violent offending when a child is physically abused or neglected early in life. Such a child is more likely to begin violent offending earlier and to be more involved in such offending than children who have not been abused or neglected.

**Figure 8: Mutual Relationships Between Attachment to Family and Street Delinquency**



## Education and delinquency

Two educational factors relate to delinquency and drug use. One concerns the youth's commitment to school, and the other, analyzed in Pittsburgh, concerns reading achievement.

Commitment to school and both delinquency and drug use mutually reinforce each other over time. Figure 9 illustrates this for street crimes. Youngsters who are not highly committed to school at Year 1 have higher rates of street crimes at Year 2. Also, youngsters who commit street crimes at Year 1 tend to have reduced levels of commitment to school at Year 2.

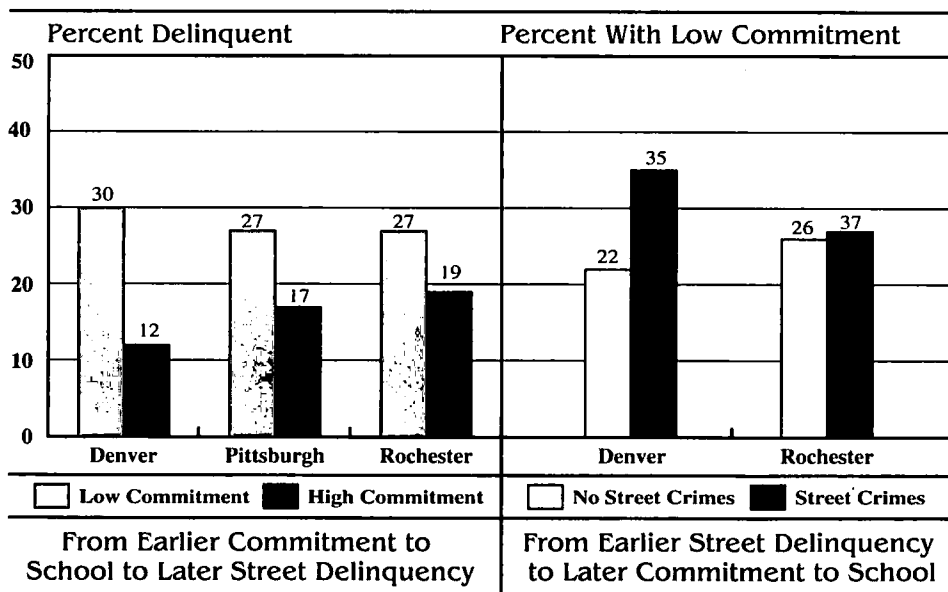
Both school performance, whether measured by reading achievement or teacher-rated reading performance, and retention in grade (i.e., being held back) relate to delinquency. Figure 10 illustrates the relationship for reading achievement and delinquency. The relationship between reading performance and delinquency appears even for first graders. Likewise, retention in grade associates with delinquency even for first graders. Delinquency is more likely for African-American males than for white males after adjusting for the effect of performance level and retention.

## Neighborhoods and delinquency

Data from Pittsburgh demonstrate the relationship between living in underclass neighborhoods and delinquency. Youngsters who live in underclass areas have higher rates of delinquency than do youngsters living elsewhere. The social class of the area explains some of the ethnic differences often observed in delinquency. African-Americans living in nonunderclass areas did not have higher

The relationship between reading performance and delinquency appears even for first graders.

**Figure 9: Mutual Relationships Between Commitment to School and Street Delinquency**



Note: Pittsburgh data not available for analysis in "From Earlier Street Delinquency to Later Commitment to School."

**T**hose who remain in gangs over time have exceptionally high rates of delinquency.

rates of delinquency than whites living in nonunderclass areas, despite the fact that nonunderclass neighborhood African-Americans still live in areas that compare poorly to the areas in which whites live.

Moreover, if one considers only youth who are more closely supervised by their parents and more involved with their families, youth from underclass neighborhoods are still more delinquent than youth from nonunderclass neighborhoods. Living in underclass areas itself seems to increase the chances of delinquency, even when holding other factors constant.

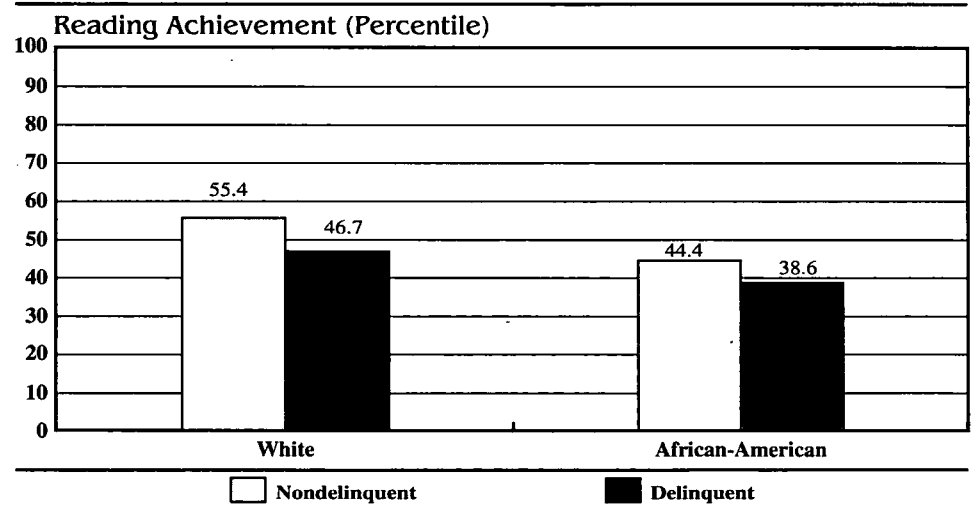
### Peers and delinquency

Two different impacts explain the role of peer influences on delinquency and drug use: the impact of associating with peers who are delinquent and peers who use drugs and, second, the impact of gang membership.

Associating with peers who are delinquent, who use drugs, or both relates strongly with both delinquency and drug use. Moreover, these variables interrelate mutually over time. Figure 11 illustrates this by looking at drug use. Youth who associate with peers who use drugs at Year 2 have much higher rates of drug use at Year 3. Also, youth who use drugs at Year 2 are more likely to associate with drug-using peers at Year 3. Figure 11 shows these relationships are quite strong.

Being a member of a delinquent gang also relates strongly to delinquency and drug use. Looking at gang membership over time reveals two important findings. First, at these ages gang membership is quite fluid, and few subjects join and remain in gangs for long periods of time. Yet those who remain in gangs over time have exceptionally high rates of delinquency. Figure 12 depicts this for street crimes and other serious offenses. Of the most stable members, 64 percent commit street crimes and 88 percent commit other serious offenses.

**Figure 10: Relationship Between Reading Achievement and Delinquency for White and African-American Males**

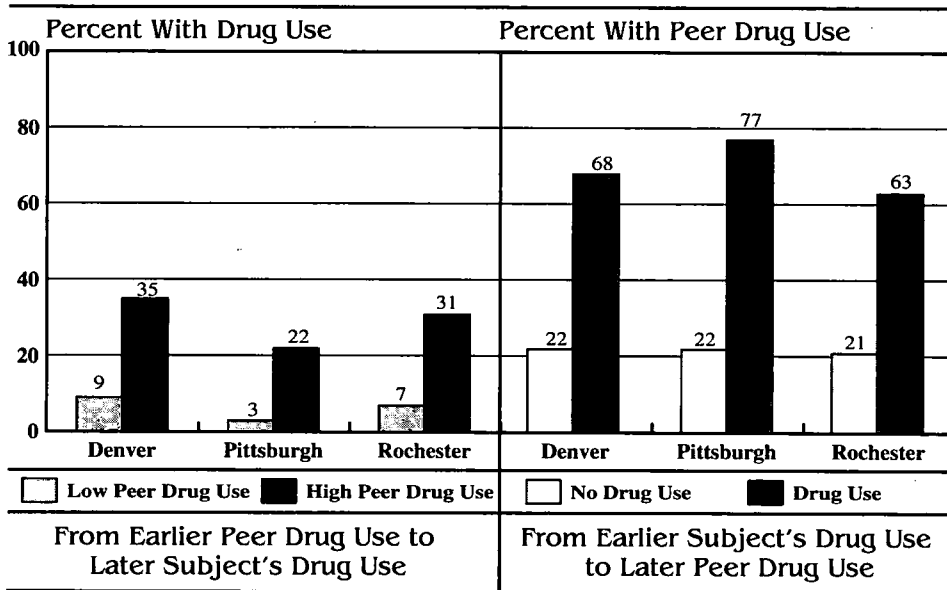


Note: Pittsburgh data only.

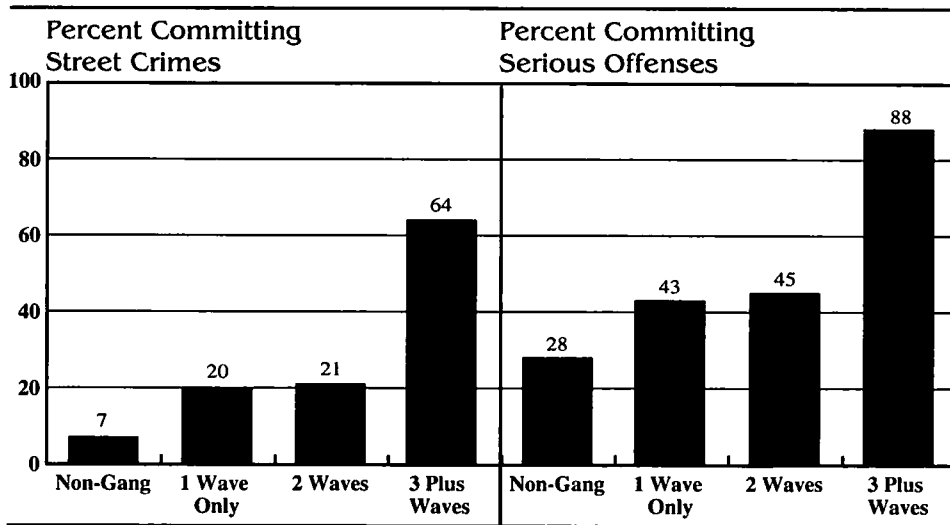
Second, the rate of delinquency of gang members, *during the time they are members of a gang*, is quite high. For example, in the Denver Youth Survey, of the youth who were gang members only during Year 2, the proportion who committed street offenses in Year 1 is 39 percent and in Year 3 it is 47 percent. But in Year 2, when they were gang members, it is 73 percent. This finding occurs in other years and is also found in Rochester.

The rate of delinquency of gang members is quite high.

**Figure 11: Mutual Relationships Between Peer Drug Use and Subject's Drug Use**



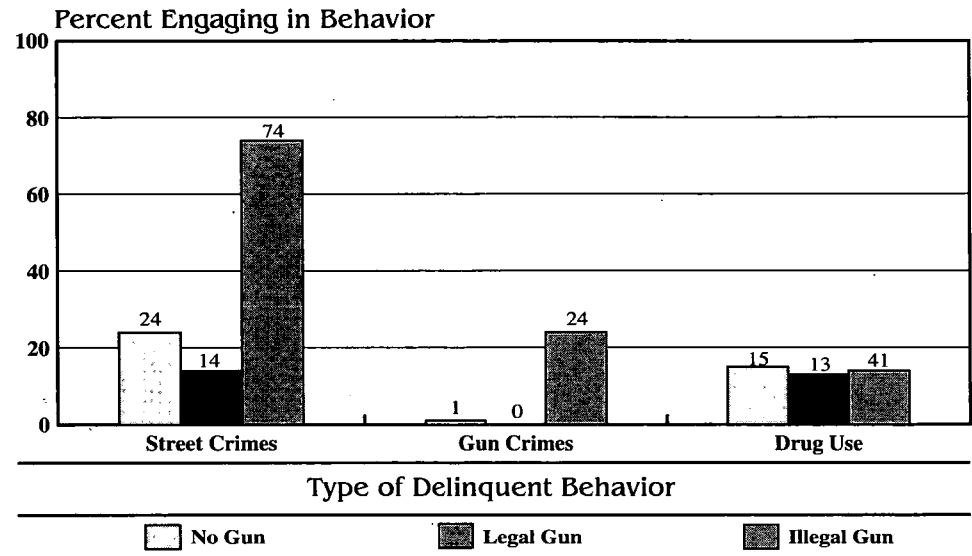
**Figure 12: Relationship Between Stability of Gang Membership and Delinquency**



Notes: Rochester data only.  
Wave refers to data collection intervals.

**B**y the ninth and tenth grades, more boys own illegal guns than own legal guns.

**Figure 13: Relationship Between Type of Gun Owned and Percent Committing Street, Gun, and Drug Crimes**



Note: Rochester data only.

## Gun ownership and delinquency

Adolescent ownership and use of firearms is a growing concern, and results from the Rochester study suggest the concern is well founded.

By the ninth and tenth grades, more boys own illegal guns (7 percent) than own legal guns (3 percent). Of the boys who own illegal guns, about half of the whites and African-Americans and nearly 90 percent of the Hispanics carry them on a regular basis.

Figure 13 shows a very strong relationship between owning illegal guns and delinquency and drug use. Seventy-four percent of the illegal gunowners commit street crimes, 24 percent commit gun crimes, and 41 percent use drugs. Boys who own legal firearms, however, have much lower rates of delinquency and drug use and are even slightly less delinquent than nonowners of guns.

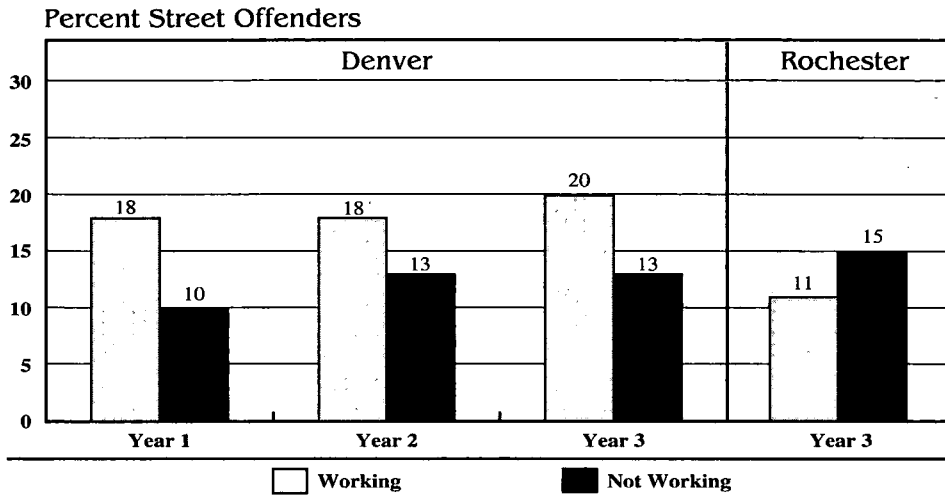
The socialization into gun ownership is also vastly different for legal and illegal gunowners. Those who own legal guns have fathers who own guns for sport and hunting. On the other hand, those who own illegal guns have friends who own illegal guns and are far more likely to be gang members. For legal gunowners, socialization appears to take place in the family; for illegal gunowners, it appears to take place “on the street.”

## Youth employment and delinquency

American society often views employment as a solution to social problems such as delinquency and drug use. Belief is widespread that work or employment programs protect us against delinquency and gangs. Unfortunately, the faith placed in youth employment is not generally supported by empirical findings



**Figure 14: Percent of Workers and Nonworkers Who Are Street Offenders**



**T**here is no evidence that working is associated with lower levels of delinquency or drug use.

over the last several decades. The relationship between lack of employment and crime or drug use found among adults does not seem to hold for adolescents. Studies in the United States that have examined adolescent employment, delinquency, and drug use in general population samples find that working youth have levels of delinquency and drug use equal to or higher than their nonworking counterparts, and the conclusion of most evaluations of work programs is that the programs have had at best no effect on the delinquent behavior of targeted youth (chapter 16).

Results from Denver and Rochester are consistent with these earlier findings. As illustrated in figure 14, a somewhat larger percentage of youths in Denver who are working are involved in street crimes; in Rochester, the groups are not significantly different from one another. A similar finding holds for drug use. There is no evidence that working is associated with lower levels of delinquency or drug use. Given the overall history of findings, a cautionary note to the belief in the efficacy of work or employment programs as delinquency prevention seems needed.

## Help-seeking behaviors

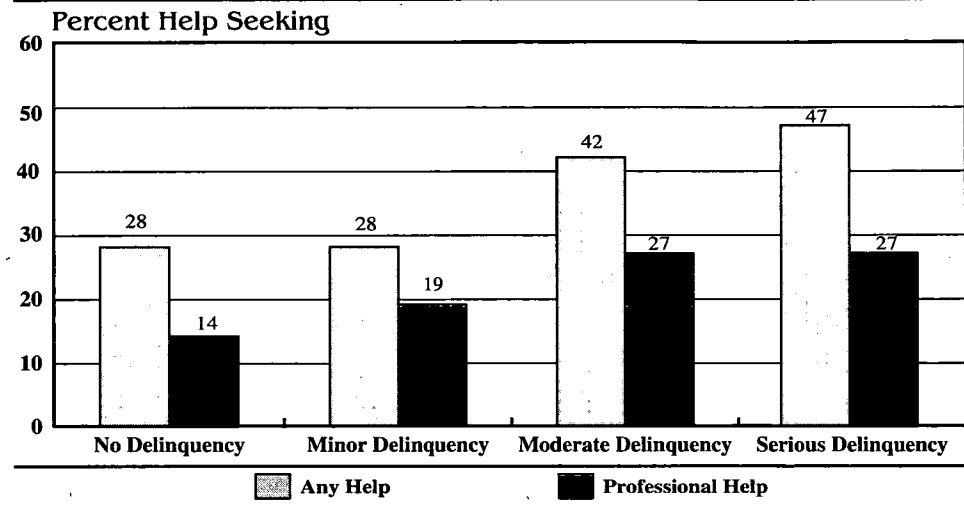
Denver and Pittsburgh findings examine the extent to which parents seek help for the disruptive and delinquent behaviors of their children (chapter 17). That chapter also examines the relationship between help-seeking and delinquency.

One-third of the caretakers seek some external help for the mental health and problem behaviors of their children. In Pittsburgh, one-fifth seek help from a mental health professional. In both Denver and Pittsburgh, the two most frequently used sources of help are schools and professional counselors.

Figure 15 shows, for Pittsburgh, that help-seeking increases as the level of delinquency increases. For the caretakers of the most seriously delinquent boys,

**Y**outh at risk who have more conventional lifestyles at home, at school, and with friends appear much better able to avoid the negative consequences of high-risk, high-crime neighborhoods.

**Figure 15: Ever Prevalence of Help-Seeking by Delinquency Classification**



Note: Pittsburgh data, oldest sample.

almost half have sought some help and almost 30 percent have sought professional help.

Despite these high rates of help seeking, no help was sought for a fairly large proportion of boys exhibiting problem behaviors and delinquency. Indeed, no help was sought for over half of all the delinquent boys in Pittsburgh.

Unfortunately, neither the Denver nor the Pittsburgh study find that help seeking had much of an effect on reducing subsequent delinquency and drug use. These findings should not be interpreted to mean “nothing works.” They only suggest that general help seeking, usually with only a few visits to the help provider, does not have a strong impact on later delinquency.

## Resilient youth

While many adolescents are at high risk for delinquency, not all of them actually become delinquent. Some of them—resilient youth—manage to avoid the risk. The final analytic chapter dealt with this topic by attempting to identify factors that buffer or protect adolescents from risky environments.

Among the family factors, parental supervision, attachment to parents, and consistency of discipline appear to be the most important. Commitment to school and especially avoidance of delinquent and drug-using peers also appear to be major protective factors. In sum, youth at risk who have more conventional lifestyles at home, at school, and with friends appear much better able to avoid the negative consequences of residing in high-risk, high-crime neighborhoods.

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## Results: common themes

The previous section presented the basic findings on a topic-by-topic basis. This section discusses common themes that cut across the empirical results presented earlier.

### Replicability of results

One of the unique features of the Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Juvenile Delinquency is its ability to replicate findings through the use of core measures in three different research settings. Results reported here indicate that this feature is well worthwhile.

Virtually all of the collaborative results reported here replicate across projects. This includes descriptive data as well as analytic relationships. It includes results for simple and sophisticated analytic techniques, for stronger and for weaker relationships, for cross-sectional and longitudinal relationships, and so on. In sum, across a wide array of topic areas, the findings of the research program suggest a very consistent set of factors linked to delinquency and substance use. We are confident that such replicability will also be evident in future data waves when more youth are passing through high-risk periods of delinquency and substance use.

### Early onset of behaviors

Delinquency and drug use are typically thought of as adolescent problems. Nevertheless, this report has clearly demonstrated the very early age at which youth experience the onset of delinquency, drug use, and many other problem behaviors. For many children, these behaviors are quite evident before the teenage years begin. Also, as other research has shown, an early compared to a later onset is related to more serious and extensive delinquent and drug-using careers.

### Co-occurrence of problem behaviors

One of the strongest and most consistent findings reported here concerns the co-occurrence of problem behaviors. Delinquency and drug use relate to each other, with drug use stimulating delinquency more than the reverse. In addition, as compared with nondelinquents, delinquents and drug users are more apt to be arrested, to engage in precocious sexual behavior, to have reading problems, to exhibit oppositional and acting-out behaviors, to join gangs, and to own guns.

**Causes of delinquency.** The spectrum of results from the research program strongly indicates that there is no single cause of delinquency or substance use in juveniles. Instead, a pattern of causes is apparent. This pattern may vary from one youth to another and may vary with age.

**Delinquency as a cause.** Results reported here suggest that delinquency and drug use exert a rather sizable impact on many other variables. Indeed, they affect factors typically thought of as their causes. These include attachment to parents, family interaction, commitment to school, reading problems, and

**D**elinquency and drug use exert a rather sizable impact on factors typically thought of as their causes.

**P**revention programs need to start early in life because of the observed early age of onset of serious forms of delinquency and drug use.

association with delinquent peers. Each of these factors has been shown to be influenced by prior levels of delinquency and drug use.

**Importance of peers.** Association with delinquent and drug-using peers has a central impact on the delinquency and drug use of the subject. This was seen in the analyses of peer associations, gang membership, and gun ownership.

**Developmental pathways.** We found that delinquency (and also substance use) often develops according to an orderly progression from less to more serious behaviors. We also found that youth can be in more than one deviant pathway, and those youth in multiple pathways are most seriously delinquent.

## Summary

We noted earlier that delinquency, drug use, and related behaviors begin at earlier ages than generally thought. We close by pointing out that at the end of our data collection period, delinquency and drug use continue to increase among youth in the studies (see chapter 3). The high rate and severity of criminal conduct associated with the early adult years have not yet been reached, but they will be, most assuredly, by many subjects of this research program.

Because of this, the results of this research cover only a portion of the subjects' total criminal careers. Thus the results must be viewed as somewhat incomplete—reflecting the best evidence we can currently muster, but coming in before the full life stories of these subjects can be told. Only by continuing to follow the subjects in the future can a fuller, more complete picture of the causes and correlates of delinquency be seen, and a fuller set of policy implications drawn.

## Programmatic implications

The results of the Program of Research on the Causes and Correlates of Juvenile Delinquency have a number of implications for such delinquency prevention and intervention programs as the Weed and Seed Initiative. The concluding section discusses some of these implications in two ways. The first concerns general characteristics that all intervention programs—both prevention and treatment programs—should have. The second focuses on several content areas that could be incorporated into intervention programs.

## Characteristics of intervention programs

Based on the results of this research, the following four general characteristics of delinquency prevention and treatment programs can be listed:

- Prevention programs need to start early in life because of the observed early age of onset of serious forms of delinquency and drug use. Waiting until the high school years may be far too late for many serious offenders. By that time, juveniles' characters are already well formed, and they are often resistant to change and able to thwart efforts by others to change their

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behavior for the better. Intervention programs beginning as early as the elementary school years will probably be most effective in the long run.

- Delinquent careers follow a set of behavioral pathways that progress from less serious to more serious forms of behavior. Prevention programs should be designed to intercept or short-circuit youth in these pathways before their behavior becomes more ingrained. In doing so, knowledge of each juvenile's position along these pathways would be useful because it can help in targeting resources that meet the youth's specific needs. Failure to consider developmental pathways in the design of intervention programs will probably lead to less efficient and less effective programs.
- Intervention programs for delinquents, especially serious delinquents, need to be comprehensive in at least two ways. First, they need to deal with the multiple, co-occurring problem behaviors experienced by serious delinquents. It is unlikely that delinquency will be the only problem presented by these youth. They are likely to be involved in drug use, precocious sexual activity, school failure, juvenile gangs, owning guns, and other related problem behaviors. While not all serious delinquents will experience all of these problems, they are likely to experience more than one of them, and intervention programs should provide services to deal with them.

The second sense in which delinquency intervention programs should be comprehensive is in terms of the multiple and interlocking causes associated with delinquency. There is no single cause of delinquency. Factors such as family, school, peers, and neighborhoods are all related to delinquency. Moreover, they appear to be *interrelated*; for example, it appears that youth who are poorly supervised by their parents *and* who associate with delinquent peers have higher rates of delinquency and drug use than youth who have only one of these risk factors. Because of this, intervention programs need to deal with multiple factors and their interrelationships.

- Intervention programs should be designed for the long term, because risk factors usually have a long-term effect on juveniles' behavior. Also, for many youth, serious delinquency is often a stable behavior pattern. Thus intervention programs lasting 6 or 10 months with youth returning to the same high-risk environment from which they came are not likely to produce any lasting results. To combat delinquency successfully, we must develop comprehensive intervention programs that provide social and psychological support to these adolescents for years, not months. Although expensive, these programs are likely to be cost effective in the long run by counteracting the multiple factors that lead to serious delinquency and by reducing the overall cost of later crimes and treatment.

This strategy of long-term involvement is consistent with recent research on delinquency treatment programs that shows that while these programs have few substantial posttreatment effects, they can have substantial effects during treatment. That is, while adolescents are enrolled in well-designed and well-organized treatment programs, their behavior tends to improve. When they leave the programs, however, especially if they return to their earlier social environment, delinquency is likely to reemerge. Because of this, it may be

**C**omprehensive intervention programs should provide social and psychological support for years, not months.

**T**hese findings provide some suggestions for prevention and treatment strategies.

necessary to substantially increase exposure to these programs so that the benefits observed during treatment can be extended and gradually result in humane and useful lives for these youngsters.

## **Content areas for intervention**

Several related themes run through the research reported here (and much prior research as well) indicating that attachment and social integration with successfully socialized individuals and groups provide a buffer against delinquency and drug use. Such attachment involves positive emotional ties, a sense of belonging, and a sense of doing well in prosocial contexts such as family, school, and community activities, and with prosocial friends. On the other hand, the evidence indicates that attachment and integration in antisocial contexts and with antisocial friends often lead to antisocial behavior. Thus, the development of prosocial attachment and integration deters antisocial attachment and integration and provides a strategy both to prevent initiation of delinquency and for treatment for those who become delinquent.

How, though, does one become attached and integrated in prosocial contexts? To become attached and integrated, individuals need the opportunity to participate and the social, personal, and educational skills that allow them to be a success in a prosocial context. For some of our youth, families do not provide an appropriate prosocial setting in which youth can become attached. In most of our schools, some youth have to fail (regardless of ability) in order that other youth can be considered “successes,” and those who fail do not feel a sense of attachment. Some youth have never been given the opportunity to develop social and personal skills that allow them to participate successfully in extracurricular or community activities—or even if they have personal skills, have lacked a real opportunity to participate. Some youth, on the other hand, fit all of the above categories and often find attachment and integration with other similar youth and with others “out in the street.”

These observations, coupled with observations about early onset, the high prevalence of serious offending, and the observation that many serious offenders are able to avoid contact with the juvenile justice system, suggest that an emphasis on both prevention and treatment are needed. They also provide some direct suggestions for prevention and treatment strategies.

Providing prosocial, positive families for all youth probably lies beyond the scope of the juvenile justice system. But improving training in parenting skills and providing support services to empower parents to monitor and supervise their children more effectively is certainly within its scope. Also, attempting to ensure that youth in “treatment for delinquency” return to more effective and caring homes may in some cases be possible. These types of programs need to be developed, implemented, and evaluated so that strengthened families can help reduce the involvement of youth in delinquency.

Schools clearly play a major role in our children’s lives, and as this report indicates, schools are the public agency parents first turn to for help with the problem behavior of their children. Thus, early prevention efforts may need a school

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focus. However, to obtain attachment and integration among all youth, school programs that ensure that *all* youth can be successes somewhere in the school setting are needed. Prototypes for such programs are currently being developed and used, and the support for these programs and the involvement of adjudicated youth in these programs to examine their efficacy as a treatment seems a natural position for OJJDP. Also, the finding that many parents seek help from schools for the delinquent behavior of their children suggests that examining ways in which schools could be prepared to provide help for such parents (a job they are not now prepared for) could be very beneficial. OJJDP could pioneer development of such integrated strategies and programs.

Creating and supporting prosocial community contexts in which youth can be a success also provides prevention and potential treatment referral sources. However, this cannot simply be support for various groups, clubs, or activities. It must entail and enforce activities and processes that ensure that *all* participants can succeed and become attached to the prosocial context.

Finally, in all of the contexts, the prevention of the development of delinquent peer groups must be a priority. Bringing only predelinquent or delinquent youth together to engage in school, community, or other activities seems likely to be counterproductive. It provides the opportunity for attachment and integration with individuals already predisposed to delinquent values and attitudes and who have “delinquent knowledge” to share. Thus, creating such groups may often lead to increases (rather than decreases) in delinquent involvement. Programs that integrate delinquency-prone youth into generally prosocial groups may be an essential element of successful intervention programs. To be viable these programs will probably need substantial adult involvement to monitor the activities of the group and channel it towards prosocial outcomes.

Support for and development of family, school, and community programs that have or adopt strategies fostering success among all participants (and not just some participants) and provision of a range of programs so that all youth can be successful in at least some of them provides one strategy for the prevention and intervention of delinquency. Further, this strategy appears appropriate and may be very important for both the child and adolescent years.

In sum, the research results reported here suggest that efforts to reduce delinquent behavior should start early, be comprehensive and long-term, and attempt to interrupt developmental pathways before serious, chronic delinquency emerges. They also suggest that intervention programs should focus on family, school, peer, and neighborhood factors; and within these settings, focus on developing effective and caring monitoring and success opportunities that lead to attachment to prosocial groups and activities. Many of these programmatic ingredients are incorporated into OJJDP’s delinquency prevention programs. These programs are consistent with the results of these longitudinal research projects and, from this perspective, should be given high priority in program development.

**B**ringing only predelinquent or delinquent youth together seems likely to be counterproductive.





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## Glossary

**at risk:** describes a group of people who are statistically more likely to experience a particular event or state. For example, youth at risk for delinquency have a higher probability of being delinquent than those who are not at risk. (See *risk factor*.)

**cohort:** as used here, means either age cohorts—those who were born in the same year—or school-grade cohorts—those who were in the same grade at the same time.

**longitudinal study:** a study in which repeated observations are made on the same subjects over time. It differs from a cross-sectional study design in which subjects are observed at one point in time only.

**oversampling:** a sampling design in which some types of subjects are overrepresented and other types are underrepresented in the final sample. This contrasts with proportionate sampling in which all types of subjects are proportionately represented. In the present studies we oversampled—that is selected more—youth at risk so that there would be enough serious, violent, and chronic offenders to study. (See *weighting*.)

**panel study:** a subtype of longitudinal study. The panel is the group of people who are observed over time.

**risk factor:** a factor or variable that places a person at risk for maladjustment. For example, living in a high-crime-rate area is a risk factor for delinquency inasmuch as it increases the chances of delinquent behavior occurring.

**weighting:** a statistical procedure that corrects oversampled cases so that representative population data can be computed.



- Researchers
- Planners
- Policymakers



More detailed information about this study and issues surrounding urban delinquency and substance abuse is available through the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse.

The *Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse: Technical Report and Technical Appendices* provide a comprehensive and detailed discussion of the study's findings and its design and research methodologies. The *Technical Report* and *Technical Appendices* are useful for conducting further research, making planning decisions, or developing policy.

For your copies of the *Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse: Technical Report and Technical Appendices*, complete and return the order form below with your payment of \$25.60.

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Most OJJDP publications are available free of charge from the Clearinghouse; requests for more than 10 documents require payment for postage and handling. To obtain information on payment procedures or to speak to a juvenile justice information specialist about additional services offered, contact the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse Monday through Friday, 8:30 a.m. to 5:15 p.m., e.s.t.

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*Urban Delinquency and Substance Abuse: Initial Findings—Research Summary.* 1993, NCJ 143454.

*Violent Juvenile Offenders: An Anthology.* 1984, NCJ 095108, \$28.00.

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*National Juvenile Justice Statistics Assessment: An Agenda for Action.* 1989, NCJ 119764.

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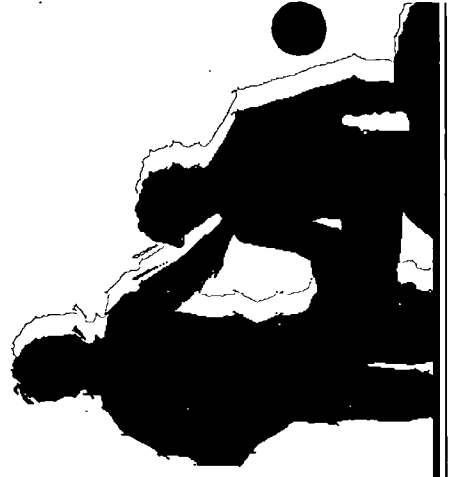
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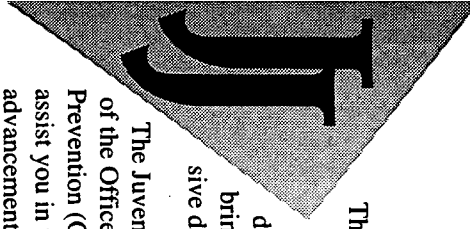


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### What Does JJC Do?

OJJDP, an agency of the Department of Justice, established the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse in 1979 to collect and disseminate agency publications, research findings, and program evaluations. JJC:

- ▶ Links OJJDP with juvenile justice practitioners, policymakers, and the public.
- ▶ Maintains a toll-free number for information requests.
- ▶ Prepares specialized responses to information requests.
- ▶ Collects, synthesizes, and disseminates information on all areas of juvenile justice.
- ▶ Distributes OJJDP publications covering the broad spectrum of juvenile justice.

### Who Uses the Clearinghouse?

Every year thousands of individuals seek information or assistance from JJC. Our primary audience of juvenile justice practitioners and policymakers includes the judiciary, prosecutors, probation and corrections officers, legislators, officials of professional associations, and children's services personnel. The academic community, including educators, students, researchers, and librarians, are also regular users, as are the public and media.

### JJC Resources at Work

JJC acquires more than 1,000 new titles on juvenile justice each year. They become a permanent part of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) Collection, the largest criminal justice data base and library in the world.

JJC information specialists respond to some 700 telephone and mail requests each month—requests that cover the gamut of juvenile justice issues: school safety to illegal drug use, missing and exploited children to gang activity, delinquency risk factors to juvenile court procedures. Specialists gather background information, note the latest OJJDP research programs, and refer users to additional sources.

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# THE OFFICE OF JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

**OJJDP**

***The mission of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is to provide national leadership, direction, coordination, and resources to prevent, treat, and control juvenile delinquency; improve the effectiveness and fairness of the juvenile justice system; address the problem of missing and exploited children; and thereby contribute to developing the full potential of America's most valuable resource—its youth.***

THE OFFICE OF  
JUVENILE JUSTICE  
AND  
DELINQUENCY  
PREVENTION

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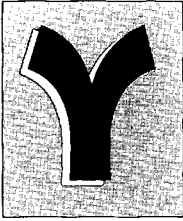
John J. Wilson, Acting Administrator  
Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention  
U. S. Department of Justice

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention is a component of the Office of Justice Programs, which also includes the Bureau of Justice Assistance, the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the National Institute of Justice, and the Office for Victims of Crime.

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# INTRODUCTION



outh in crisis—from the neglected and abused to serious, violent, and chronic delinquents—pose some of the most challenging and complex problems facing our Nation. Addressing these problems requires not only a broad array of programs and approaches but dedication and creativity on the part of the juvenile justice community. The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) is committed to working in partnership with government agencies, professional organizations, community groups, and private citizens to create opportunities and conditions that enable young people to mature into healthy, self-sufficient adults while protecting society from juvenile crime and violence.

As the agency congressionally mandated to lead the effort to address juvenile crime and youth victimization, OJJDP works closely with other Federal agencies, State and local agencies, and private organizations to improve juvenile justice policies and programs. Professionals from all sectors of the juvenile justice system are aided in their efforts by OJJDP-funded projects. Ultimately, it is America's youth who benefit from the policies and programs pioneered by OJJDP.

OJJDP's leadership and responsibilities encompass the entire spectrum of juvenile justice issues, from collecting data and supporting research to developing and implementing sound, cost-effective programs. Research into the causes and correlates of delinquency, programs that reduce recidivism among delinquent youth, and training of

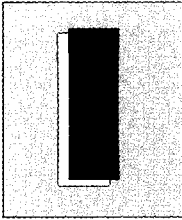
professionals for delinquency prevention activities are but a few examples of OJJDP-supported initiatives that improve the lives of our youth and safeguard our society.

Initiatives undertaken by OJJDP share a common purpose—to have a positive and practical impact on the serious problems affecting youth today. This goal underlies our efforts to prevent delinquency; improve the effectiveness of juvenile and family courts, detention, corrections, and aftercare; provide alternatives to youth at risk of delinquency; reduce the number of school dropouts; prevent child abduction, abuse, and exploitation; and provide appropriate sanctions for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.

Despite recent increases in serious juvenile crime, OJJDP remains positive about the future of our youth. Only a small percentage of juveniles follow the route from isolated antisocial acts to serious, violent, and chronic delinquency. Research and experience have proven that effective and timely intervention can return even those who commit serious delinquent acts to the path toward law-abiding and productive adulthood. Our primary goal at OJJDP is to increase the opportunities for every youth to travel that path.

# OVERVIEW

## ***CONGRESS MANDATES OJJDP'S LEADERSHIP***



In 1974, Congress enacted the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (JJDP) Act (Public Law 93-415, 42 U.S.C. 5601 et seq.). This landmark legislation established OJJDP to provide Federal leadership and support to State and local governments in their efforts to improve the juvenile justice system. The Act requires OJJDP to address juvenile justice issues in a comprehensive, coordinated manner and to support research, training, and program initiatives that respond to a broad spectrum of juvenile justice issues.

Since its enactment, the JJDP Act has evolved to meet the changing needs of the juvenile justice system and to address new concerns in delinquency prevention, control, and treatment. The Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984 was incorporated into the JJDP Act to provide OJJDP with a leadership role in matters pertaining to missing and exploited children. In 1988, the Act was amended to establish a new OJJDP grant program to address the problem of juvenile gangs and to prevent and treat juvenile drug abuse.

The 1992 reauthorization of the JJDP Act authorizes OJJDP to support research, training, and program efforts in support of a number of new priority program areas:

- Federal, State, and local program coordination.
- Delinquency prevention and treatment in rural areas.



- Hate crime education.
- Family involvement in the treatment of delinquents.
- Services to juveniles in secure custody.
- Gender bias and gender-specific services.
- Due process and right to counsel.
- Graduated sanctions.
- Juveniles in the criminal justice system.
- Mentoring.
- Boot camps.
- State challenge grants.
- Incentive grants for local delinquency prevention programs.

As each reauthorization of the JJDP Act focuses our attention and activities on the pressing juvenile justice issues of the day, OJJDP remains at the forefront of a nationwide effort to improve juvenile justice practices and address emerging concerns challenging our Nation's youth.

## ***PROMOTING A TEAM APPROACH***

OJJDP carries out its initiatives in a comprehensive and coordinated manner through organizational components that provide expertise in planning, research, program development, demonstration, replication, training and technical assistance, evaluation, and information dissemination. The components work together to produce program plans,

identify and fund related program initiatives, and foster improvements in the juvenile justice system. This team approach ensures that the expertise and resources of each component are fully utilized in program planning, development, implementation, and assessment.

## ***ENSURING PUBLIC PARTICIPATION***

OJJDP welcomes and solicits broad involvement by the juvenile justice community in establishing agency policy, setting goals and priorities, and developing programs. To this end, OJJDP works with designated State agencies, State Advisory Groups, public interest groups, and private citizens, including youth, parents, and minority representatives. Through briefing sessions, conferences, and public hearings on issues of concern to the juvenile justice community, OJJDP ensures that a range of views is considered in developing and implementing programs that respond to the diverse needs of youth and the juvenile justice system.

## ***MEETING THE CHALLENGE***

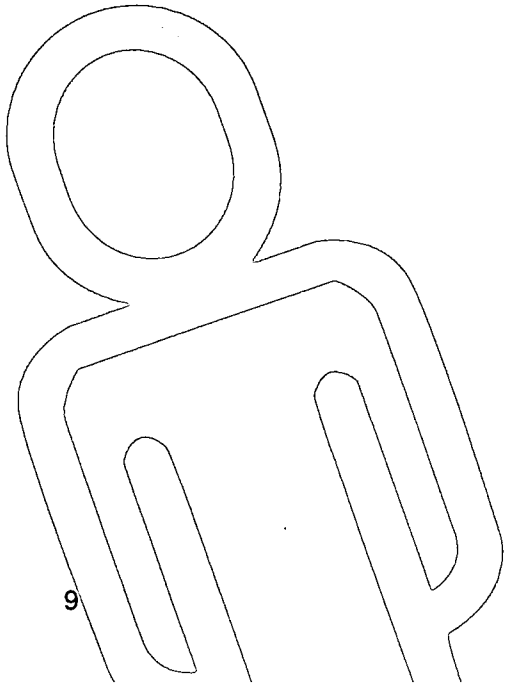
OJJDP carries out its policies, programs, and goals through the coordinated activities of its seven components:

- Research and Program Development Division.
- Training and Technical Assistance Division.
- Special Emphasis Division.
- State Relations and Assistance Division.
- Information Dissemination and Planning Unit.

- Concentration of Federal Efforts Program.
- Missing and Exploited Children's Program.

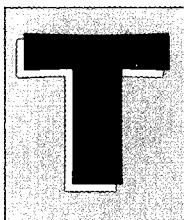
The Research and Program Development Division, the Training and Technical Assistance Division, and the Information Dissemination and Planning Unit make up the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (NIJJDP). The Institute provides a broad range of programs to serve juvenile justice professionals.

Detailed descriptions of the OJJDP components follow.



# RESEARCH AND PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

## *TRANSFORMING KNOWLEDGE INTO ACTION*



The Research and Program Development Division pursues a comprehensive research agenda, develops knowledge about specific problems, monitors trends, and analyzes the practices of the juvenile justice system. The Division ensures that research findings are widely disseminated to assist State and local officials in implementing and evaluating juvenile justice and delinquency prevention programs. To accomplish these goals, the Division:

- Conducts national quantitative research to assess the problem of delinquency and determine how the juvenile justice system can respond to it.
- Monitors projects that explore such topics as the causes of delinquency, conditions of confinement, the juvenile justice system's treatment of minorities, and methods for preventing and treating delinquency.
- Maintains a statistics and systems development program to enhance information gathering and sharing among juvenile justice agencies.

The Research and Program Development Division supports creation of Special Emphasis Division programs, provides research and program results for use in Training and Technical Assistance Division programs, and assists in the preparation of model programs for dissemination to State and local governments and other juvenile justice organizations, principally through the State Relations and Assistance Division.

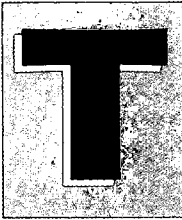
## IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF JUVENILE JUSTICE DATA

Timely, comprehensive data on juvenile victims and offenders are essential for juvenile justice planning, program and policy development, and management. To meet this need, OJJDP sponsors the Juvenile Justice Statistics and Systems Development (SSD) project. SSD is developing an integrated strategy to enhance national and regional statistics, thereby improving the decisionmaking capabilities of local juvenile justice agencies. SSD operates on two interrelated tracks:

- The National Statistics Track assesses the statistical information needs of juvenile justice professionals and evaluates the capabilities of national statistical systems. The goal of these activities is to implement a comprehensive National Juvenile Justice Statistics Program, which will produce a series of reports on the nature of juvenile offending and victimization and other topics.
- The Systems Development Track is working to develop a model process for improved decisionmaking. The model will be implemented at test sites to identify key decision points and devise a statistical system for gathering and analyzing data for use by decisionmakers. Training materials will be developed to assist individual jurisdictions in improving their decisionmaking processes.

# TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE DIVISION

## *ENHANCING PROFESSIONAL SKILLS*



The Training and Technical Assistance Division seeks to strengthen the essential components of the juvenile justice system including juvenile courts and court personnel, law enforcement, detention and corrections, the network of youth service providers, and child advocacy organizations by providing training, technical assistance, and state-of-the-art information on trends, new approaches, and innovative techniques. To carry out its mission, the Division:

- Analyzes the training needs of professionals and volunteers working in the juvenile justice system, and develops and implements curriculums to meet these needs.
- Conducts training programs and technical assistance for Federal, State, and local governments; private agencies; professionals; volunteers; and others who serve the juvenile justice system, including law enforcement, the judiciary, corrections, education, and community organizations.
- Provides needs assessments for community planning concerning gang and drug problems in order to develop effective intervention strategies.

The Training and Technical Assistance Division assists the State Relations and Assistance Division and Special Emphasis Division in implementing the State formula grant programs and national-scope program replications by providing structured training and technical assistance.

## MEETING THE NEEDS OF CORRECTIONS STAFF

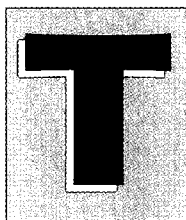
Since 1984, OJJDP has supported the American Correctional Association's (ACA) efforts to assist State and local juvenile corrections and detention personnel in meeting their responsibilities for providing secure placement and treatment programs and services. In providing this assistance, the American Correctional Association:

- Offers onsite technical assistance to juvenile justice agencies.
- Develops reference materials on standards, policies and procedures, and facility planning and design.
- Conducts an annual forum for juvenile corrections and detention leaders to discuss problems, issues, and solutions.
- Sponsors training conferences on critical issues such as behavior management, suicide prevention, boot camps, day treatment models, and AIDS.

Working with the Public Broadcasting System and the United Way, ACA has conducted satellite teleconferences on literacy programming for adults and juveniles in correctional facilities.

# SPECIAL EMPHASIS DIVISION

## *ADVANCING INNOVATIVE APPROACHES*



The Special Emphasis Division provides discretionary funds directly to public and private nonprofit agencies, professional organizations, and individuals. In order to carry out programs and activities mandated by the JJDP Act, the Division:

- Establishes effective means for diverting juveniles from the traditional juvenile justice and correctional systems and providing community-based alternatives.
- Supports model programs to strengthen and maintain families.
- Implements prevention and treatment programs for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.
- Coordinates a national education program that promotes understanding and respect for the law.
- Works to reduce the disproportionate representation of minority juveniles in secure facilities.

The Special Emphasis Division works with other components to identify emerging juvenile justice issues and implement strategies to address these issues through innovative program development and replication activities.



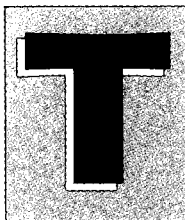
## RESPONDING TO CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS

OJJDP's 1992 reauthorization legislation calls for the Office to develop, implement, and support new programs in the following areas:

- Improvement of due process available to youth in the juvenile justice system and the quality of their legal representation.
- Advocacy activities aimed at improving services to juveniles affected by the juvenile justice system, including the appointment of special advocates by the courts.
- Support to families during the incarceration of juvenile family members, taking into consideration special needs of families with limited English-speaking abilities.
- Prevention and reduction of the incidence of juvenile hate crimes through education and innovative sentencing programs.

# STATE RELATIONS AND ASSISTANCE DIVISION

## *BUILDING PARTNERSHIPS FOR YOUTH*



The State Relations and Assistance Division manages OJJDP's State formula grants program, which helps States, territories, and possessions in their efforts to improve their juvenile justice systems and to prevent and treat delinquency. In pursuit of these objectives, the Division:

- Oversees the development and implementation of comprehensive State juvenile justice plans used by OJJDP in allocating formula grant funds.
- Monitors State compliance with four distinct mandates of the JJDP Act: (1) deinstitutionalization of status offenders and nonoffenders, (2) provision of sight and sound separation of juveniles and adults in secure facilities, (3) removal of juveniles from adult jails and lockups, and (4) reducing minority overrepresentation in secure facilities.
- Provides training and technical assistance to aid States in achieving compliance with JJDP Act mandates—including conducting workshops and conferences, producing implementation manuals, responding to information requests, and providing onsite planning and assessments.

State Advisory Groups (SAGs), supported by formula grant funds, participate in the development and review of State plans and applications for juvenile justice formula grants. The SAGs provide valuable advice and information on the implementation of OJJDP's programs through their national membership organization, the Coalition for Juvenile Justice.

## ADDRESSING MINORITY OVERREPRESENTATION

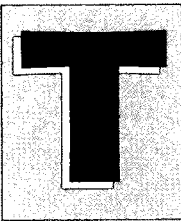
During its 1988 reauthorization, the JJDP Act was amended to require that each State's Comprehensive Plan include efforts to determine whether minority overrepresentation exists in its juvenile justice system. If such overrepresentation is found, States are required to design and implement strategies to address the problem. The 1992 amendments further mandate that States undertake activities to reduce disproportionate minority confinement.

Through the formula grant program, OJJDP works with the States to implement strategies that reduce the disproportionate confinement of minority juveniles in secure detention and correctional facilities. States participating in the program collect data to determine the extent of minority overrepresentation at various points of entry into the juvenile justice system. Specific interventions are funded, based on information gained in each State's analysis.

To assist the States in identifying and reducing minority overrepresentation, OJJDP has funded five pilot sites in Arizona, Florida, Iowa, North Carolina, and Oregon to demonstrate data collection and assessment methods and to implement interventions that may serve as program models.

# INFORMATION DISSEMINATION AND PLANNING UNIT

## *PROMOTING INFORMED POLICIES AND PROGRAMS*



The Information Dissemination and Planning Unit in the office of the Administrator is responsible for publishing and disseminating information concerning OJJDP-sponsored research and program initiatives. The Unit also coordinates program planning efforts to ensure that all OJJDP activities and policies are consistent and coordinated. In pursuing these objectives, the Information Dissemination and Planning Unit:

- Directs the writing, editing, design, and printing of OJJDP publications and coordinates the dissemination of announcements on annual funding opportunities.
- Oversees publication of *Juvenile Justice*, a magazine focusing on research, program, and training initiatives of interest to the juvenile justice community.
- Monitors operations of the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse, which supports OJJDP's information dissemination responsibilities and responds to requests for information from juvenile justice professionals and the public.
- Works with OJJDP components to establish annual program priorities and ensure that initiatives address congressional mandates.

## JUVENILE JUSTICE CLEARINGHOUSE

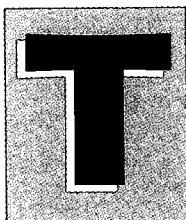
The Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse is OJJDP's centralized source for maintaining and disseminating information to practitioners, policymakers, and the public. The Clearinghouse:

- Maintains a juvenile justice library.
- Offers toll-free telephone access to information.
- Distributes OJJDP publications.
- Creates information and resource products.
- Operates an electronic bulletin board.

For further information regarding the resources and services available from OJJDP's Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse, please call toll free 800-638-8736.

# CONCENTRATION OF FEDERAL EFFORTS PROGRAM

## *COORDINATING FEDERAL EFFORTS*



The Concentration of Federal Efforts Program promotes interagency cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies with responsibilities in the area of juvenile justice. The program seeks to eliminate duplication of effort and ensure that juvenile justice funds are used in the most cost-effective manner.

The Concentration of Federal Efforts Program carries out this primary responsibility through the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Council), an independent body within the Executive Branch originally established by the JJDP Act in 1974. In consultation with the Council, the Concentration of Federal Efforts Program:

- Develops objectives and priorities for Federal juvenile delinquency programs and activities.
- Identifies Federal programs that address juvenile justice issues and promotes a unified and cooperative approach.
- Submits annual recommendations to the President and Congress concerning the coordination of Federal juvenile delinquency programs and activities.

## THE JUVENILE JUSTICE COORDINATING COUNCIL

The 1992 amendments to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act expanded the membership of the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention to include nine citizen practitioners. These new members, who are appointed by the President and the leaders of Congress, bring a fresh and valuable perspective to the Council. Working together, nine statutory Federal member agencies and the citizen practitioners are charged with developing a comprehensive, coordinated Federal juvenile justice policy.

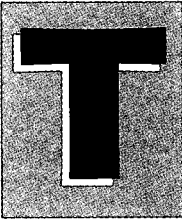
The Coordinating Council includes the following members:

- Attorney General of the United States.
- Secretary, U.S. Department of Education.
- Secretary, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- Secretary, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Secretary, U.S. Department of Labor.
- Administrator, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Director, ACTION.
- Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy.
- Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service.
- Nine juvenile justice practitioners. (The President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Senate Majority Leader each appoint three members.)

The President is authorized to designate additional Federal member agencies.

# MISSING AND EXPLOITED CHILDREN'S PROGRAM

## *PROTECTING THE SAFETY OF CHILDREN*



The Missing and Exploited Children's Program coordinates activities pertaining to missing and exploited children—preventing abductions, investigating cases, locating missing and exploited children and reuniting them with their families, providing treatment, and prosecuting abductors. Among its activities, the Missing and Exploited Children's Program:

- Conducts research through public and private agencies to coordinate resources and implement policies that benefit missing and exploited children.
- Supports the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children, a clearinghouse and resource center that collects and disseminates data regarding missing children.
- Provides training and technical assistance to State clearinghouses, nonprofit organizations, prosecutors, law enforcement personnel, and attorneys.



## **THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR MISSING AND EXPLOITED CHILDREN**

Since 1984, OJJDP has been the principal funding source for the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC), a private nonprofit organization spearheading national efforts to locate and recover missing children and raise public awareness about the prevention of child abduction, molestation, and sexual exploitation. The OJJDP/NCMEC partnership coordinates the efforts of law enforcement agencies, social service providers, elected officials, judges, prosecutors, educators, and public and private organizations to address crimes against children.

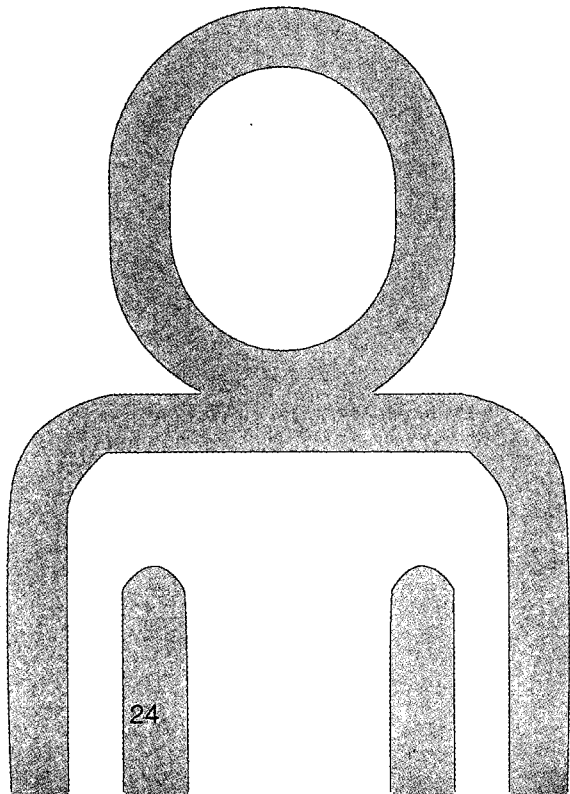
Among its activities, the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children provides the following services:

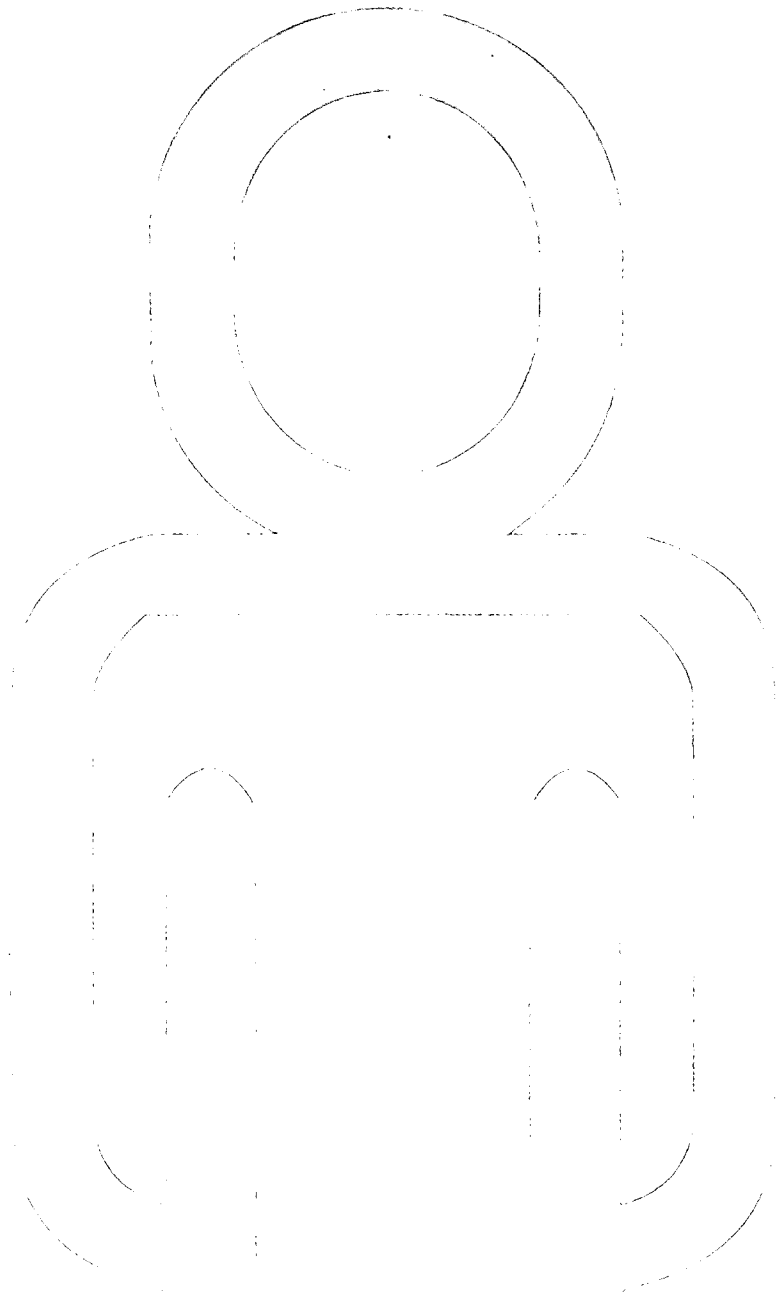
- Technical assistance and case management analysis.
- A national toll-free hotline.
- An information network for the exchange of data and photographs of missing children.
- Legal and technical assistance training programs.
- Professional and general interest publications.

# FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

OJJDP is working to fulfill its vital role in meeting the challenges facing our youth and our Nation. We are committed to promoting coordination and exchange of information among Federal agencies, State and local governments, professional organizations, researchers, and other juvenile justice professionals. Your interest and support are welcome.

For further information about OJJDP and its programs, please call **800-638-8736** or write to the **Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse, P.O. Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20850.**





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*Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention*

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