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Neighborhood Deterioration and Juvenile Crime

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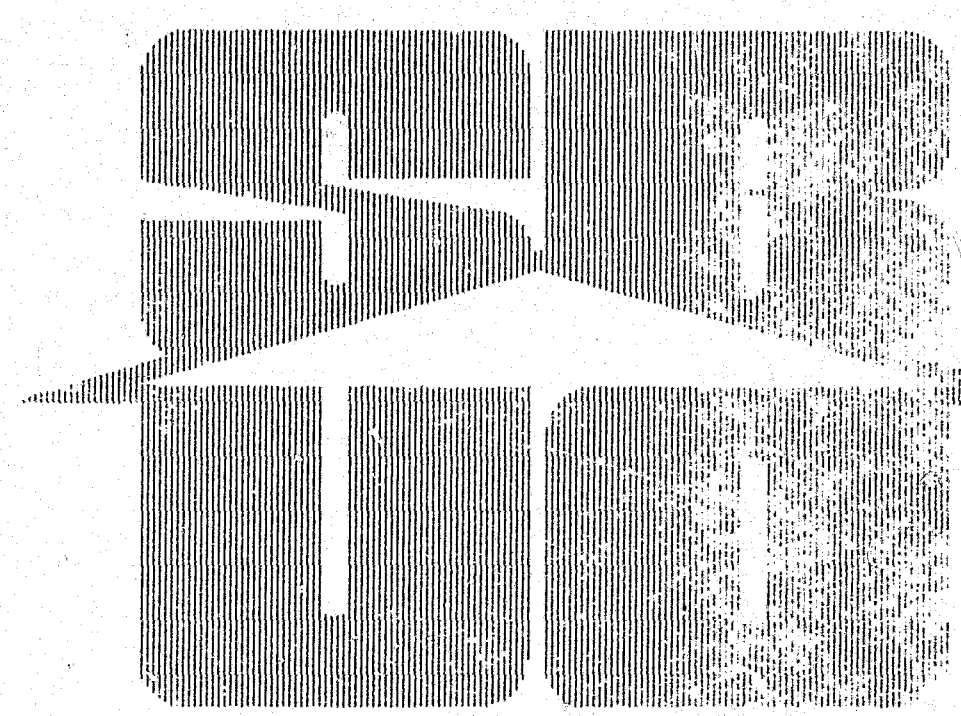

THE SOUTH BEND URBAN OBSERVATORY

NEIGHBORHOOD DETERIORATION AND JUVENILE CRIME

by

John A. Kromkowski

SOUTH BEND URBAN OBSERVATORY

The South Bend Urban Observatory is a joint research program between the City of South Bend, Indiana University at South Bend, Saint Mary's College, and the University of Notre Dame to address local, urban problems. The operation of the program incorporates a two-fold objective: it encourages the city to apply the expertise of the universities to its pressing problems, whether of a policy or applied nature, and it increases understanding within the university communities of the problems and issues which currently confront the city. The program is being funded for three years, January, 1975 - December, 1977, by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the participating, local institutions.

City officials choose the topics to be studied from among designated urban priorities. The academic institutions then submit proposals in these areas, and the Policy Board makes the final selection of which proposals to fund. Project results are distributed locally to city officials, council members, appropriate community institutions, and interested citizens. The project results are also distributed to other interested governmental bodies and organizations.

1976 POLICY BOARD MEMBERS

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Further information about the program and current studies may be obtained through the director at: 1200 County-City Building, 227 W. Jefferson Blvd. South Bend, Indiana 46601, (219) 284-9371.

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Residents of deteriorating neighborhoods generally identify juvenile offenders as the cause of greatest fear. This project attempted to provide recommendations for solutions to juvenile delinquency and its debilitating effect on neighborhoods by: (1) seeking to identify policies and programs the city government, school system, and youth-serving agencies could implement to strengthen and coordinate their efforts to reduce juvenile crime; and (2) studying residents' fears of crime in order to recommend programs and policies which could reduce these fears.

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The research and studies forming the basis for this report were conducted pursuant to a contract between the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the League of Cities - Conference of Mayors, Inc. The substance of such research is dedicated to the public. The author and publisher are solely responsible for the accuracy of statements or interpretations contained herein.

South Bend Urban Observatory
August, 1976

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The materials used during the course of this research project, as well as where they are available in the South Bend community, are listed in Appendix E by chapter. They were collected to aid both the neighborhood organizations and the various community agencies and institutions involved in youth service and were gathered through the cooperation of the following organizations and persons: James Walsh, Director of the Juvenile Justice Agency, Kansas City, Missouri; Monsignor Geno Baroni, President, National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs; Dr. Richmond Calvin, Ethnic Heritage Project of Indiana University at South Bend; the USCC Campaign for Human Development; and the Ethnic Racial National Bicentennial Advisory Committee.

Finally, special recognition is given to Alice Benjamin and Odessa Earles, of the Institute for Urban Studies, for typing the initial copy and to Dowan Douglas, of the Urban Observatory, and Bonnie Bigham, of the Bureau of Housing, for typing the final, edited copy of this voluminous report.

J.A.K.

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1. Juveniles (persons under 17) are a major segment of our total population and commit a disproportionate percentage of crime. Attempts to prevent crime should be turned toward the juvenile segment of our society.

2. The neighborhoods should be the focal points of a coalition of existing youth service agencies to fight crime as a juvenile phenomenon through both prevention and treatment programs.

3. Better means of gathering crime data from the public must be developed, and crime must be reported more accurately. (More accurate reporting will make the crime rate appear to soar.)

4. Raw crime statistics should be computer coded in such a way that programmed retrieval can produce both large overviews and precise closeups of various aspects of crime trends.

The Community's Response to the Needs of Its Youth

5. Because the largest opportunity for increased efficiency in the response to juvenile delinquency is within the area of inter-agency cooperation:

   (a) Staff and delivery of services should be decentralized and focused on clusters of neighborhoods in the metropolitan area;

   (b) Group counseling, family counseling and special therapy programs should be developed through cooperative projects with other agencies or by direct referral;

   (c) The roles of coordinator of human resources in the South Bend Community School Corporation and the City of South Bend should be developed further to support inter-agency coordination in the city's neighborhoods;

(d) The planning, development and utilization of services for complete diagnosis and treatment on adult and juvenile levels should be adapted to local and regional needs; and

(e) Creation of a Youth Support Clearinghouse, by providing a centralized funnel through which referrals could be transferred from one agency to another, would help coordinate existing programs and be responsible for overseeing specific planning projects. (Such a clearinghouse would in no way duplicate existing services, only increase their efficiency.)

6. Existing crime prevention programs which seem especially suited to a neighborhood model should be expanded.

7. A community "talent search" should be started to take advantage of individual expertise and good will that abounds in the community and its component neighborhoods.

8. The treatment programs which now exist should be improved. A complete package of social, cultural and economic treatment must be provided to both the juvenile and his family.

9. More intensive diagnostic services must be offered to juveniles.

10. The function of identifying troubled youths and of diagnosing their problems must be addressed on both the community level and the individual level.

11. All of the community's youth service agencies need to restructure their working hours to provide services to their clients when those clients are most accessible: after school, at night and during weekends.

12. Male juveniles with previous referrals, from homes without both natural parents, should be the target for treatment programs.

13. Future funding and manpower allocations within the Police Department should accommodate expansion of the Crime Prevention Bureau.

14. The Youth Services Bureau needs more staff, increased funding for recreational programs, and a more extensive long-range planning capacity.

15. The Probation Department needs a larger staff, modernized data processing capacity, alternative treatment programs, and most important, increased detention and residential placement facilities.

16. Action should include the expanded use of student interns (possibly trained by the Mental Health Center or one of the universities in this area) and the consideration of enlarging the detention facilities at Parkview.

17. The Regional Juvenile Corrections Project needs the unified support of the entire community in order to establish its program firmly. Local funding for future support of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project should be anticipated.

18. The Mental Health Center needs to stimulate its Outpatient Clinic operations by developing outreach programs and other methods to identify potential clients.

19. The Peer Influence Program needs to expand its staff in include females and blacks and needs to address itself to an in-service training program to transfer peer influcence methods to classroom teachers.

20. The Street Academy needs to increase the range of clients served to include more white students.

21. The Police-School Liaison Program needs to increase its staff and to extend its program to include in-service training for other policemen who come into contact with juveniles on a regular basis.

22. The Probation Department-Clay Middle School Truancy Prevention Program should be reestablished and copied throughout the school corporation.

23. The Parents-Delinquent Education Program should be reestablished.

24. A public policy commitment must be made to provide increased residential treatment facilities for both boys and girls.

The School Corporation as the Keystone to the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

25. The full report summarizes the South Bend Education Task Force "Action Now" recommendations (1972-74) in the following areas:

    1. Administration
    2. Curriculum
    3. Employment Practices
    4. Parents' Rights and Responsibilities
    5. Teachers' Responsibilities
    6. Teacher Training

26. A school corporation policy should be established to increase the accountability of each school to the neighborhood it serves as well as to the central administration. (Currently, the Community Education Task Force is pursuing this as part of its agenda.)

27. A school corporation policy concerning truancy, tardiness and suspensions should be established for all schools.

28. An accurate system to monitor tardiness and absences should be established as the primary line of defense against dropouts.

Neighborhood Rehabilitation

29. Community policy planners need to reorient their thinking along neighborhood lines in order to respond properly to the ethnic and cultural pluralism in the South Bend area.

30. The people of every neighborhood must hear the policy planners and be heard by them, and they must know that they are hearing and being heard.

31. The Community Development Program should support and facilitate the expansion of neighborhood associations and the neighborhood council: the revival of civic life in the neighborhoods is an essential element of peaceful, urban living.

32. The trend within the Police Department to organize patrol beats and to study crime on a neighborhood basis should be encouraged.

B. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Definitions:

FEAR — The concept of "fear," because it usually involves a victim, is normally measured by how a person feels about his own chances of becoming a victim.

CONCERN — The concept of "concern" is based primarily upon how much a person thinks crime, in general, is increasing or is a serious national problem.

1. The fear of crime affects different groups of people in different ways. The factors affecting the various "faces" of such fear may be quite dissimilar.

2. Inaccuracies are inherent in the different methods of measuring crime. Different interpretations can be made of the same criminal event. Different policy implications flow from such interpretations.

Research indicates that, nationwide:

3. The public apparently believes that crime levels are increasing. This in turn leads to rising concern about crime.

4. Persons who live in high-crime areas are most apt to be fearful of being victimized, whereas those in low-crime areas are most likely to be concerned about crime.

5. Public anxiety about crime emerges predominantly in the form of worry for one's own personal safety, for example, a fear of being attacked on the street. As crime levels rise, such fears become more acute.

6. One-third of the Americans sampled felt unsafe about walking alone at night in their own neighborhoods. This fear for one's own safety is higher among women than men, higher among blacks than whites, and greater among those in large cities and populated areas than among those in smaller cities and rural areas.

7. Nevertheless, people generally feel safer in their own neighborhoods even in high-crime districts. More attention needs to be placed upon the differing nature of the fact of crime in different neighborhoods within the larger community.

8. Most citizens think the crime situation right where they live is "not so bad."

9. Attitudes toward crime are not strongly affected by personal exposure to crime.

10. Attitudes toward crime, and fear of crime in particular, are formed in large part from vicarious experience, that is, from what people read or hear about from others, and not from personal experience.

11. The public mostly fears the crimes that occur least often, i.e., violence against persons rather than crimes against property.

12. Fear of violent crimes is not based so much upon the prospects of injury or death as upon distrust and fear of strangers.

13. People increasingly tend to stay at home behind locked doors rather than venture out on the streets. The result is social isolation and cultural deprivation.

14. People without much money tend to spend their money on relatively expensive, private sources of transportation rather than on less expensive, public means.

15. The fear of crime may be needlessly exaggerated and stereotyped by the mass media, especially by TV. This results in both an unrealistic fear of low-probability threats and an insufficient concern for more probable crimes.

16. Persons who have the least to fear in a statistical-risk sense exhibit the greatest concern about crime.

17. Communication and education programs can inform the populace both of the present levels of crime and of present and future programs which are intended to control crime.

18. How crime information is gathered:

a. Reported: crime is reported to police.

b. Investigated: report is investigated and formally filed with police department.

c. Screened: unfounded, unreliable or unsupportable reports are screened out.

d. Classified: confirmed crime incidents are classified by police according to nature of offense.

e. Analyzed: resulting totals are categorized and analyzed.

19. Reports of vicimization by citizens interviewed in their homes suggest a much higher incidence of crime than do police statistics. Nonreporting of offenses does not account for the major share of the vast discrepancy. If we accept what respondents say, the discrepancy presumably involves the police not reporting what people report to them.

20. Nationwide, the processes of investigation, screening and classification of initial police reports are grossly inefficient and inaccurate.

Research Findings for South Bend:

21. Perception of Crime in Local Neighborhoods

30% of respondents thought crime rate is increasing;

3% of respondents thought crime rate is decreasing;

67% of respondents thought crime rate is staying the same.

(South Bend's crime rate had decreased for the year and one-half prior to this study.)

22. 48% of respondents answered that there are areas in their neighborhoods where they would be afraid to walk alone at night; 52% said that there are no such areas.

Crime Trends in South Bend

23. Research points out shortcomings in the present crime analysis and

information retrieval capabilities of the South Bend Regional Computer System. The potential for improvement is in the system.

24. A problem is lack of identity among police patrol beats, census tract boundaries, and neighborhoods. Even neighborhoods are defined differently (by the police, the Housing Allowance Program, and the Urban Observatory "Neighborhood Conservation" study, for example).

25. Such artificially constructed "neighborhoods" as the Criminal Justice Planning Bureau now uses do not accurately describe the boundaries of existing police administration units and patrol beats and do not accurately describe the self-perceived neighborhoods which exist within the South Bend area.

26. The Regional Computer System cannot now retrieve profile data on victims. (The ability to compile such profiles is a useful tool in the analysis of crime.)

27. The full report provides statistics on crime distribution and analysis for South Bend, in which Part I Crime (homicide, robbery, burglary, aggravated assault, rape, auto theft and larceny, $50 and over) statistics are summarized, and 15 census tracts with the highest reported crime are identified and compared with previous crime levels.

Juvenile Crime in South Bend

Definitions:

JUVENILES

"Juveniles" - persons below the age of 17

DELINQUENCY

"Delinquency":

(a) any act which would be considered a crime if committed by an adult;

(b) certain offenses defined by law to pertain strictly to juveniles. Among these are: "truancy", "dependence and neglect", and "ungovernable."

28. As much as 75% of all crime committed in the South Bend area is committed by juveniles.

29. Financial strain creates family situations which are conducive to antisocial behavior. A complete package of social, cultural, and economic treatment must be provided to both the juvenile and his family in order to reach the roots of the delinquency problem.

30. The total number of juvenile court referrals measures the number of offenses, not the number of offenders.

31. During the first ten months of 1975, 50.7% of all juvenile offenders arrested by the South Bend Police Department had been arrested at least once before. 19.6%, or almost one out of five cases, had been arrested at least five times.

32. The 6th and 7th grades are the period when a juvenile begins to enter the offense syndrome.

South Bend Juvenile Offenders - Race, Sex and Family Findings

33. Males constitute about 75% of all referrals to the juvenile court. (See Table 1.2)

34. About 65% of all referrals are white; 50% are white males. (See Table 1.2) (The population of South Bend is approximately 80% white.)

35. Almost 50% of the referrals to the court are juveniles who came from families without both natural parents. In any one year, a male from this "other family status" group has about a one-in-three chance of being referred to the juvenile court. (See Table 1.3)

36. Males from the "other family status" make up only 5½% of the total juvenile population (1970 Census), those with previous referrals only about 1.8%. This means about 720 youth and is the target to which efforts should be directed. (See Table 1.3)

TABLE 1.1

THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM: ITS COMPONENTS

PREVENTION		REMEDIATION	FAILURE
A) Recreation B) School C) Work D) Counseling, Mental Health, Family, Drugs, Race, etc.	A) Noncriminal, Antisocial Behavior B) Unreported Criminal Behavior	Robbery Burglary Auto Theft Joy Riding Shop Lifting Bicycle Larceny Purse Snatching Larceny Sex Offense Vandalism Malicious Trespass Arson Truancy Fighting Assault Ungovernable Disorderly Conduct Curfew Violation Liquor Violation Traffic Violation Dependence & Neglect Drug Violation Probation Violation Parole Violation	Youth Services Bureau Mental Health Center Department of Public Welfare Big Brothers - Big Sisters YMCA YWCA Northern Indiana Drug Abuse Service Family and Children's Center Catholic Social Services etc. A) Referral to Other Agencies B) Admonishment C) Adjudication A) Informal Supervision B) Probation C) Institutionalization

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
PROBLEM	INCIDENTS	REPORTED CRIMES	REFERRALS TO YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES	COURT REFERRALS	ADJUDICATION	RECIDIVISM

TABLE 1.2

Demographic Characteristics of Juvenile Referrals as Percentage of Juvenile Population (1970 Census), with Referral Count for 1971, 1973, 1975

	Juvenile Population	Juvenile Referrals	Referral Count 1971	1973	1975
White	90%	67%	1510	2275	2300
Black	10%	33%	728	876	782
Male	51%	75%	1684	2202	2192
Female	49%	25%	550	948	890
White Male	46%	50%	1166	1549	1648
White Female	44%	15%	343	726	652
Black Male	5%	25%	518	654	544
Black Female	5%	10%	210	222	238

TABLE 1.3

COMPARATIVE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RATES BASED ON JUVENILE REFERRALS

1971 Base and Sample of Juvenile Referrals

SAMPLE

Juvenile Referrals / Juvenile Population	= 2241 (1860)* / 40,000	= 4.6%

RACE

Black	= 728 (605) / 4,000	= 15.1%
White	= 1510 (1253) / 36,000	= 3.5%

SEX

Male Black	= 518 (430) / 2,000	= 21.5%
Female Black	= 210 (174) / 2,000	= 8.7%
Male White	= 1165 (967) / 18,400	= 5.3%
Female White	= 345 (286) / 17,600	= 1.6%

FAMILY STATUS

	RATE		Size of Demographic group		Extension		Correction	Other Family Status	Natural Parents
Male Black/Natural Parents	11.1	X	1,200	=	133		(110)		110
** Male Black/Other Family Status	37.1	X	880	=	326		(271)	271	
Female Black/Natural Parents	5.7	X	1,200	=	68		(56)		56
** Female Black/Other Family Status	14.3	X	880	=	126		(105)	105	
Male White/Natural Parents	3.2	X	16,800	=	538		(447)		447
** Male White/Other Family Status	28.5	X	1,400	=	399		(331)	331	
Female White/Natural Parents	0.82	X	16,000	=	131		(109)		109
** Female White/Other Family Status	16.6	X	1,360	=	226		(188)	188	
							TOTAL	895	722

* Numbers in parentheses include 17% correction factor for repeated offenses in same year.

** For all demographic groups, referrals in the "Other Family Status" have delinquency rates from 3 to 9 times higher than the average rate; they represent 55% of the juvenile referrals.

The Community Response to the Needs of Its Youth

Assumption: One of the major causes of neighborhood deterioration is the fear of crime.

37. By decentralizing the delivery of youth services, accountability to the individual neighborhoods is established and the sense of neighborhood control is enhanced.

38. The full report catalogues local youth-serving agencies, including:

    a. Youth Services Bureau,

    b. Juvenile Probation Department and Parkview Detention Home,

    c. Indiana State Juvenile Parole Office,

    d. Regional Juvenile Corrections Project,

    e. Mental Health Center, and

    f. Police Department-School Liaison Program; School Corporation Peer Influence Program; and Street Academy.

The School Corporation as the Keystone to the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

39. High School Dropout Analysis: 7% (1 in 14) of all students enrolled in South Bend high schools during the 1974-75 school year dropped out.

National Trends and Recommendations

Definitions:

DECENTRALIZATION	The moving of powers and functions from a central authority to local (neighborhood, for example) authorities.
COMMUNITY CONTROL	Formal power of local citizens to make educational policy and conduct school business.

40. Educational decentralization implemented through community control has failed almost universally.

41. Educators seem to agree that decentralization must continue but that either: (1) the movement toward community control must reform itself,

or (2) community participation without any formal or legal community control must be the limit of decentralization.

42. Teachers' unions and the proponents of community control must not battle. Serious dialogue among all parts of the community (including students) must accompany the process of determining educational goals. Full participation by all citizens must be encouraged.

43. Teachers, administrators and guidance personnel must increase their efforts to "sensitize" themselves to the various ethnic and cultural components of the community and must adapt their curriculum and teaching methods accordingly.

44. The goals that are agreed upon must be clearly stated so that an adequate evaluation can be made of progress toward these goals.

45. Strategies must aim at different cultures becoming aware and respectful of the best in one another.

46. Strategies must aim at a <u>common</u> sharing of certain attitudes and values.

47. The dropout and truancy problems must be attacked through the revision of present educational procedures.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The original research design for this project included the analysis of various problems, programs, and procedures which would lead to a comprehensive public and private effort to keep children in school and thereby prevent delinquency. The assumption of this design was that prevention and remediation of juvenile delinquency was both a short-term and long-term strategy for alleviating the fear of crime by affecting the incidence of juvenile crime. Obviously, the fear of crime grows out of the fact of crime. (Chapters III, IV, and V deal specifically with this aspect of the research.)

The research design also included a series of community consultations on the fear of crime, for the purpose of collecting candid expressions of the nature, cause, and reasons of the fear of crime. In the estimation of the researchers, this proved to be a fruitless exercise, both theoretically and practically. A replication of previous studies funded by LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) would hardly aid this community and, in some respects, would simply contribute to a growing national research scandal, i.e., social scientists manipulating the public opinion and the public policy environment without offering public policy makers and public administrators the practical, effective means they need and expect from the expenditure of public money on urban research.

Throughout this study, our analysis was directed toward producing policy recommendations and organizing pertinent materials in appendices

and supplements which will enable public agencies and neighborhood groups to deal more effectively with neighborhood deterioration. While we were particularly concerned with both the fear of crime and the fact of crime, this research and another Urban Observatory project, also concerned with neighborhood preservation, were broadly designed to analyze systematically the problems inherent in neighborhood deterioration in South Bend. The studies were designed to enable both public and private agencies, supported by initiatives at the neighborhood level, to unify their understanding of the factors which contribute to neighborhood deterioration and, within the limits of human endeavor, to control neighborhood deterioration through various strategies for preservation and rehabilitation.

In addition to compiling an inventory of indicators for the neighborhoods of South Bend, (See the June, 1976 Urban Observatory study on "Neighborhood Conservation"), we attempted to measure various aspects of neighborhood perception. We made a local survey, which replicated in part the Harris and Gallup studies, of the perception of neighborhood crime. The research team felt that some replication of national surveys on the local level was important, but that wholesale replication of studies of public opinion was not the most fruitful way of examining the fact of crime and the fear of crime. (Although the research methodology employed in such surveys is legitimate, the drawbacks, particularly the application of such findings to the specific tasks of developing public policy, are often many. This assessment led the researchers to adopt another approach.)

From the outset this research was conceived as: 1) an analysis of a

community problem - youthful crime and its resulting impact on neighborhood deterioration ; and 2) a compilation of information which would enable public agencies and neighborhood groups to articulate their various agendas for improving the quality of neighborhood life in the community. An assumption which underpins the research is that healthy neighborhoods can be described as "people helping people, people helping themselves." For this reason, the project perceived the various agencies, procedures and jurisdictions discussed in the study as facilities which enable people to carry out their common aims. The project assumes further that these common aims become evident in a process of clarification in which and through which public officials and citizens articulate priorities for their community.

An obvious, basic aim and high priority of people in urban settlements is to live in peace and without fear. Understanding our fears and controlling the sources of those fears can be accomplished by careful and probing analysis and purposeful execution of strategies. Developing strategies which will assure the translation of careful and probing analysis is a definition of policy science, i.e., applied science. Unfortunately, policy science has in recent years been far enough removed from the practitioners of public affairs that an awesome gap between them is apparent. Certainly, researchers share some of the blame for this gap. Yet, as a former public official, I can attest that the task of managing day-to-day affairs often precludes improving the technical and professional capabilities of public employees. One dimension of this problem can be illustrated by the mere volume of so-called "urban affairs" research. Urban Affairs Abstracts collects articles from 300

journals and in one year lists approximately 5,000 titles of articles for public administrators.

As a response, this project has attempted not only to distill the literature on the fact of crime and the fear of crime, but also to develop a working relationship with a group of local youth-related administrators, who have joined together as the Youth Support Clearinghouse. Further, the study has occasioned the development of a strategy to preserve urban neighborhoods. (This strategy is significantly related to the findings and recommendations of the "Neighborhood Conservation" project.)

The fact of crime affects people most within their own neighborhoods. Likely trouble spots in other parts of the city can be avoided, but each citizen must eventually return home to face the fact of crime in his own neighborhood. If no adequate response to the fact of crime is made, the neighborhood can be paralyzed by the resultant fear of crime, as Chapter III explains. On the other hand, if effective neighborhood associations exist throughout the city, the fact of crime can be faced successfully and the fear of crime, alleviated. Neighborhoods that share a sense of values and community responsibility also share the ability to respond to the fact of crime, by reporting suspicious incidents to police, by coming to the aid of neighbors who call for help, by cooperating with police in programs for crime prevention, and, most importantly, by providing the stable environment necessary to raise children who will avoid the temptations of delinquency.

Neighborhood associations can provide many other "self-help" services. By articulating their shared perceptions about the necessity for quality education for their children, neighborhood groups can stimulate effective

interaction with the school system. Neighborhood parishes can provide a foundation for such programs as Renew, Inc., a housing rehabilitation project. Neighborhood groups have already demonstrated their ability to affect the political process, both by blocking and initiating actions. For example, they blocked the proposed north-south freeway and have promoted the expansion of park and recreation facilities throughout the city. Different aspects of neighborhood rehabilitation are touched upon throughout this report and are dealt with at length in Chapter VI.

The Urban Observatory project on neighborhood preservation, directed by Dr. John Roos, should be considered a necessary complement to this report. For, both of these studies argue that, although improving the administration of various agencies and developing a neighborhood focus for various agencies are important and necessary, they are not sufficient remedies for the malaise many urban settlements are experiencing. What in fact is needed, in addition, is a revival of public concern about neighborhoods and a revival of healthy neighborhood life -- "people helping people, people helping themselves." A revival of this sort would create the public élan that urban settlements need. That this public élan appears to be active in South Bend has been documented in Roos' study of neighborhoods. Also, a recent quality of life study clearly shows that the South Bend SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area), a composite of neighborhoods, is among the more preferable urban settlements in this country. And, finally, our interviews and meetings gave evidence that South Bend has the capacity, ability and will to solve its problems. Certainly, the formation of the South Bend Area Neighborhood Council this past summer (1975) lends support to this perception.

In sum, we have compiled, evaluated and devised a number of proposals which in both the long- and short-run should contribute to the preservation and rehabilitation of our community. The central argument proposed by the study is that only through the coordinated effort of both public and private agencies, supplemented by citizen participation on the neighborhood level, can the interrelated problems of school dropouts, juvenile delinquency, fear of crime, and neighborhood deterioration in the South Bend area be understood and controlled.

Our deepest respect and appreciation go to the people who have formed the Youth Support Clearinghouse. In the final analysis, it is their continued use of the information compiled in these two studies on neighborhood preservation and their eventual adaptation of the strategies and agendas developed that will signify the value of our research.

CHAPTER III

THE FEAR OF CRIME AND THE FACT OF CRIME

A. Introduction and Overview

> Now, much is being said and written and spoken about the great prevalence of crime in the United States and we have been urged on many hands to feel alarmed about it, and so we should. Too much can not be said as to the need for modern methods to control it; first in the improvement in our criminal statistics; second, as to the need for improvement in our police administration and methods of crime detection; third, in the simplification and speeding up of court procedure; fourth, in an increase in our general desire for an orderly government and a crime-free state. And, after all, we have to want to be free from crime before we ever can be.

Those words articulate a clear and precise conception of American society's fear of crime and her equally precise conception of the practical necessity to decrease the fact of crime. Throughout the United States, hardly a day passes when the front page of a major metropolitan newspaper does not announce the increasing fear of crime and denounce the present ineffective response to the fact of crime. If anything, perhaps these words are uncharacteristically soft-spoken; they are not filled with the anxiety-ridden rhetoric of most contemporary comments about crime. And, for good reason. These words were spoken by Sanford Bates, then-Superintendent of Federal Prisons, at the 1929 Indiana Conference on Law Observance and Enforcement. More than forty-six years have passed since those words were spoken in the Indiana State House in Indianapolis. Yet, they still ring true in their clearheaded analysis of the pressing problem which is too important to lose one's self-control over: crime. Read those few words again; it is certainly worth

the time. For, when Sanford Bates called upon the residents of Indiana to "increase . . . our general desire for an orderly government and a crime-free state," and to actualize our desire in a practical and systematic community-wide response to crime, he was speaking to our generation as well as his own.

It is very difficult at times to achieve a proper perspective in observing modern social problems. One's political prejudices, one's race, one's economic status, one's personal life history, all these things tend to pressurize the little space in which one tries to lay out different parts of the problem for analysis. It is very difficult, indeed, for any large metropolitan community to bring together the leaders of both public and private organizations in the hope that their shared perceptions about such an enormous problem as crime can be resolved into a unified system of crime prevention and law enforcement. Nonetheless, that is the problem which faces the South Bend community at the present time.

This chapter is intended to help create the possibility for perspective and to provide some of the basic facts about the problem of the fear of crime and the fact of crime in St. Joseph County and South Bend.

This introductory section of the chapter will present two summaries of recent research done on both the fear of crime and the fact of crime. The first summary provides an overview of the fear of crime, delineating the causes and kinds of fear that affect different groups of people, from various socioeconomic backgrounds, who have experienced various types of victimization.

One of the major conclusions of this overview is that

> The fear of crime is not a unitary phenomenon, that different aspects of the crime problems are important to different classes of people, and that the factors affecting the various 'faces' of such fear may be quite dissimilar.

Growing out of this conclusion is the necessity for community policy planners to reorient their thinking along neighborhood lines, in order to properly respond to the plurality of living situations which exist in the South Bend area.

The second summary in this section provides an overview of research on the fact of crime and attempts to describe the alternative methods of measuring crime, the inaccuracies inherent in such methods, the different interpretations which can be made of the same criminal event, and the policy implications which flow from such considerations.

The second section of this chapter is comprised of the local research and analysis component on the fear of crime and the fact of crime. Three subsections are included. First, a survey of South Bend residents is studied in order to reveal the perceptions of "organic" neighborhoods about the presence of both the fear and the fact of crime within those neighborhoods. Second, a summary of overall South Bend SMSA crime trends from 1970 to 1975 is presented, including victimization profiles for violent crimes, property crimes, rape, and muggings. Also surveyed, here, are the various local and federally funded (LEAA) crime prevention and law enforcement programs presently operating in the South Bend area. Finally, a summary of juvenile crime trends in the South Bend SMSA from 1970 to 1975 is presented, including an overview of the local juvenile justice system.

The third section of this chapter outlines a series of alternative strategies for improving the community response to both the fear of crime and the fact of crime. Specific suggestions are made about the possibility of updating the present criminal justice information retrieval system in order to facilitate more accurate pinpointing of criminal behavior, thus enabling a more efficient allocation of community resources to prevent future crimes. Other suggestions include two interrelated proposals for responding to crime: 1) focusing upon juveniles as the most easily identifiable and accessible group of potential criminals; and 2) orienting program planning and service delivery along neighborhood lines, in order to maximize citizen participation and system accountability. The necessity for adopting these two proposals and the advantages accruing from such a decision will be elaborated on in Chapters IV, V, and VI.

1. The Fear of Crime

In 1965, a growing concern about crime and its impact in the U.S. led to the formation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The major purposes of this commission were to gather more extensive information about the extent of crime in the U.S. and to document the existence of an apparently widespread public anxiety about crime. Accordingly, the Commission sponsored several surveys (5, 29, 50) to assess more accurately both the amount of victimization and the attitude toward crime. Also, the Commission drew upon the results of several national public opinion polls (e.g., Harris and Gallup) that included items regarding the perception and the impact of crime (see 30 and 16 for some of these data). The efforts of the Commission represent the first comprehensive attempt to determine the amount of crime in the U.S. and to assess its impact on public opinion.

The findings of the Commission (summarized in 42, 46, 47) indicated that, for the most part, Americans saw crime as one of the most serious of all domestic problems. The Commission's 1966 NORC survey (29), for example, revealed that crime was second only to race relations as the most important domestic problem, according to those sampled.

National polls by Harris and Gallup at that time revealed, in addition, that the majority of people sampled thought the level of crime in their own communities was escalating; a smaller number reported that crime rates were the same as always; and almost no one

saw the incidence of crime as less than ever. One of these surveys, a Gallup poll in April, 1965 (30), indicated that 45-60% of the respondents, regardless of sex, age, income, level of education, or geographic region, perceived increasing crime levels. Another Gallup poll, in 1972, provided similar results, save for a greater number of people reporting that levels of crime were "about the same" as a year ago. In this survey, fewer than 15% of those sampled reported crime as decreasing (30). Thus, the public apparently believes that crime levels are increasing, which in turn leads to rising concern about crime.

The findings of the Commission suggest that public anxiety about crime emerges predominantly in the form of a concern for one's own personal safety; for example, a fear of being attacked on the street. As crime levels escalate such fears become more acute. National surveys by Harris and Gallup between 1964 and 1971 revealed an increase each year in the number of people concerned about their personal safety (30). Also, according to the NORC survey (29), one-third of the Americans sampled felt unsafe walking alone at night in their own neighborhoods. Other national surveys reveal that this fear for one's own safety is higher among women than men, higher among blacks than whites, and greater among those in large cities and populated areas than among those in smaller cities and rural areas (30).

That an important aspect of the fear of crime is a concern for personal safety is revealed in a variety of ways by the Commission's findings. In the BSSR survey (5), for instance, residents of Washington, D.C., reported that they protected themselves from crime by

staying home at night (to keep off the streets) and/or by using taxis more frequently instead of public transportation, and by avoiding strangers. At home, many people reported the use of stronger locks for doors and windows, as well as an increased use of firearms and watchdogs for protection. In the University of Michigan survey (50) for the Commission, involving the cities of Boston and Chicago, over 60% of the people sampled had changed their domestic habits in more than one way because of fear of crime. It seems clear from these metropolitan samples that the crimes feared most were those involving threat of personal harm or assault, rather than crimes such as fraud or swindle. The national survey by NORC (29) suggested the same conclusion. Over 80% of the people sampled locked their doors at night, and 25% also locked them during the day, even when someone was home. Thirty percent of the people sampled nationally reported the use of watchdogs, and 40% indicated that firearms were kept in the house for protection.

Other indicators in the Commission's report that "fear of crime" leads to a concern for personal safety are provided by the kinds of crimes that are most frequently reported to the police and by the factors deemed important to people in choosing an area in which to reside. The victimization surveys for the Commission uniformly indicated that the types of crime, other than vehicle theft, most likely to be reported to the police were those involving violence. This fact is roughly consistent with the "degree of seriousness" attributed to such crimes in the public view. Crimes judged to be less serious, such as petty larceny, fraud, or malicious mischief, are the least

likely to be reported even though they occur far more frequently than crimes of violence. With respect to housing considerations, the BSSR survey (5) indicated that over 50% of those sampled regarded the safety and/or moral characteristics of their neighborhood to be of primary importance in the decision to move there. In a similar vein, 25% of the residents of Washington, D.C., attributed their desire to move to extant crime rates.

Thus, the results of the Commission's surveys (5, 29, 50), as well as those of the national public opinion polls (16, 30) seem to document the existence of a relatively widespread fear of crime in the U. S. This anxiety or fear apparently is channeled into concern for the safety of oneself and one's family and seems to have an ever increasing impact upon the lifestyle of the American people.

A major thrust of the Commission's work was an attempt to determine the source(s) of public attitudes toward crime. One of the most interesting conclusions to emerge from the findings of the Commission is that public attitudes toward crime do not result primarily from personal experience with crime, but rather seem to derive from vicaricus sources. The surveys conducted for the Commission found little evidence of a relationship between attitudes toward any aspect of the crime problem in the U.S. and the extent of personal victimization. The crimes feared most, the ones involving personal violence, are those that occur least often. Thus, fear for one's personal safety is far more widespread than would be expected, on the basis of estimates of the incidence of violent crimes obtained from police records and victimization surveys.

In addition, other aspects of concern about crime bear little relation to direct experience. The BSSR survey (5) of Washington, D.C., residents found that victims of crime as a whole were neither more nor less likely than nonvictims to believe that crime was increasing or to be concerned for their personal safety. One exception to this finding occurred in the case of black male victims, who expressed concern for their safety more frequently than other categories of respondents. The results of the NORC survey (29) generally supported the lack of relationship between anxiety about crime and the experience of personal victimization. Although victims were somewhat more likely to express worry about burglary and robbery than nonvictims in this survey, both categories of respondents were equally likely to have taken strong precautionary household measures against crime. Although not affected strongly by previous victimization experience in this study, the sex of the respondent was related to expressed concern about crime. Whether victims or not, women expressed greater concern about crime than men. Moreover, female nonvictims were more fearful than male victims. Interestingly, this relationship between fear of crime and sex of respondent apparently cannot be attributed to a sex-related imbalance in the amount of personal victimization. Both this survey and police records for such major metropolitan areas as Chicago indicate that women as a group are no more likely to be victimized than men. Thus, contrary to a priori expectations, attitudes toward crime are not strongly affected by personal exposure to criminal activity.

Another "personal experience" factor expected to play an impor-

tant role in the development of concern about crime was the crime rate characteristic of the immediate residential area of the respondent. Again, however, contrary to expectations, the observed relationship was neither simple nor direct. The BSSR survey (5), for instance, revealed that the respondents from a predominantly black, high-crime district of Washington, D.C., exhibited a lower average level of anxiety about crime than those of a lower crime rate, black district. This somewhat counter-intuitive finding of little direct relationship between neighborhood crime levels and personal concern for crime may be interpreted in light of certain other aspects of the Commission's findings. A uniform finding of these studies was that a majority of citizens think the crime situation right where they live is not so bad. Even though most people believed that the general level of crime was bad and getting worse, a tendency existed to displace the problem to places other than one's own neighborhood.

In the NORC survey (29), for example, 60% of those sampled compared their own neighborhood favorably to other parts of their community regarding extent of crime, and only 14% believed their area to be worse than others. In the BSSR survey (5), 80% of the residents of crime-ridden districts of Washington, D.C., believed their areas to be as safe or safer than any others. In the University of Michigan survey (50), nearly three-fourths of those sampled in medium- and high-crime districts of Boston and Chicago reported that their neighborhoods were average or above, in terms of safety, compared to other areas. Finally, despite the high levels of concern for personal safety manifested by respondents in the NORC survey (29), two-thirds of those sampled reported

that they would feel safe walking alone at night if in their own neighborhood.

Perhaps, then, the apparent lack of relationship between neighborhood crime levels and fear of crime may be due in part to the tendency to displace the crime problem away from one's own residential area. More recent evidence (9), however, indicates that a person's subjective estimate of being victimized is related directly to the amount of crime in his immediate environment. This finding would seem to be at odds with those of the Commission regarding the relation of local crime rate to perception of the crime problem. It should also be noted that the fear of crime was found to be greater by the Commission in densely populated areas, such as cities where crime levels are most likely highest, than in more sparsely populated regions such as rural areas.

One final aspect of the Commission's findings seem to have at least indirect bearing upon the issue of the role of "personal experience" in the determination of the fear of crime. The BSSR survey (5) found that anxiety about crime, as revealed by an expressed concern for personal safety, as well as a belief that crime is on the increase, was substantially higher among black than white respondents, regardless of sex. This finding is consistent with the fact that the overall risk of victimization is greater among blacks than whites, as estimated from police records of serious offenses against the person (see 50 for such probability estimates). Thus, the exaggerated fear of crime among black respondents in this survey was consistent with their increased feeling of vulnerability to crime, resulting from membership

in a high-risk subset of the general population. With the possible exception of this notion of vulnerability to crime based on class membership, however, the Commission's findings failed to support the view that personal experience with crime was a major determinant of attitudes toward crime.

For these reasons, the Commission concluded that attitudes toward crime, and fear of crime in particular, are formed in large part from vicarious experience (e.g., from what people read or hear about from others). In particular, one Commission analyst speculated that the news media play an important role in the formation of attitudes toward crime. As direct support for this view, McIntyre (42) pointed to the fact that in the BSSR survey (5), a majority of Washington, D.C., residents admitted that their views on crime were based predominantly upon the news media or upon what they heard from others.

Beside this conclusion, summaries of the Commission's work (42, 46, 47) provide three other general inferences about the public's fear of crime. The first is that the public mostly fears the crimes that occur least often. Although the average citizen suffers the greatest economic loss from crimes against personal property, business establishments, and public institutions, the net results of which are higher prices and taxes, the most feared crimes are those of violence against the person. The latter, it should be noted, account for only a small proportion of total crimes.

Secondly, fear of violent crimes is based not so much upon the prospects of injury or death as upon the distrust and fear of strangers. Accidental death due to incompetence, lack of medical aid, or equipment

failure apparently is far less significant to most people than that due to willful and unpredictable felonious activity. Interestingly enough, most murders and serious personal injury are caused not by strangers but by people known to the victim. The Commission's surveys revealed that the risk of homocide and serious personal injury increases with increasing personal acquaintance, even to the extreme that a person is most likely to be killed by himself, of all people. Thus, fear of death by a stranger is not well grounded in statistical reality.

Finally, the Commission concluded that the fear of crime, and especially fear of strangers, has impoverished the lives of Americans. There is an increasing tendency to stay at home behind locked doors rather than to venture out on the streets, the result of which is social isolation and cultural deprivation. People without much money are forced to spend it for alternative sources of transportation rather than to use it for available public means. Along with this goes an increasing distrust and lack of concern for other people, to the detriment of society and moral order. In general, the Commission believes that the fear of crime may be needlessly exaggerated and stereotyped by the mass media, especially by TV. The result of this is an unrealistic basis for fearing low probability threats and insufficient concern for the more probable crimes. Thus, the Commission called for a means of providing citizens with a clear and more accurate understanding of the facts, to insure a realistic basis for public concern.

Until recently, the Commission's work represented the only major attempt to assess the impact of crime on public opinion. In 1969, however, Louis Harris and Associates were commissioned to survey public reaction to crime in Baltimore. Interest in this survey occurred in the

context of two different explanations for the rising concern about crime, which had been well documented by the Commission's work. On the one hand, some viewed the Commission's findings as indicating that rising fear of crime was justified by the increasing fact of crime. People were mostly afraid of crimes of violence, for example, and these crimes alledgedly were on the increase. Blacks were the most fearful of crime and were, as a class, the most frequently victimized.

On the other hand, however, the Commission took pains to emphasize that anxiety about crime was not usually commensurate either with previous experience or risk of victimization. Many people who had little to fear, statistically, worried a great deal about crime. Indeed, a major point of the Commission's report was that many fears of the American people were exaggerated and not justified by the facts. Thus, the 1969 Harris poll was specifically designed to replicate and extend the previous assessment of the public fear of crime, with the hope of providing more definitive support for one or the other of these two views.

In most respects, Harris' data corroborated those of the Commission. Although, in some cases, fear in Baltimore residents seemed based on a realistic assessment of the fact of crime, in many other cases anxiety was highly exaggerated and unrealistic. In fact, one of the major conclusions of the Harris poll was that those most afraid were those least in danger.

Furstenberg (31) has recently attempted to untangle this seeming paradox. His conclusions are based, for the most part, upon a re-analysis

of the 1969 Harris data. Furstenberg suggested that the paradoxical reports of exaggerated fear may have resulted from a form of conceptual confusion on the part of those reporting the survey data. In both the Harris and Commission works, the term "fear" of victimization was used synonymously with "concern" or "anxiety" about crime. Based upon the indicators used to quantify those concepts, however, it is quite likely that in each case the attitudes involved are very different. The concept of "fear", because it is usually tied to victimization, is normally measured by a person's perception of his own chances of victimization; the notion of "concern" is based primarily upon judgments of the extent to which crime is increasing or is a serious national problem. In effect, then, Furstenberg has suggested that there are two distinctly different types of attitude toward crime that may be determined by different factors and may characterize different segments of the general population.

The results of Furstenberg's re-analysis of the Harris data generally supported his view. Residents of Baltimore from both high and low crime rate districts, were sampled and all were rated independently both for "fear of crime" (i.e., victimization) and "concern for crime." As expected and on the basis of his view, those who lived in high-crime areas were found most apt to be fearful of being victimized, whereas those in low-crime areas were more likely to be concerned about crime. Moreover, these different attitudes were found to be independent of one another. That is, those most concerned about crime were no more or less fearful of victimization than anyone else.

Thus, concern for crime apparently does not result from a personal

sense of danger. This becomes especially clear when one notes from Furstenberg's analysis that concern for crime was inversely related to the actual risk of victimization. Those in high-crime areas with the most risk of crime were the least concerned about it. This view does not imply that crime is not important to those in high-crime areas, however. It merely indicates that other social problems are equally as important, or more so.

Several other interesting findings emerged from Furstenberg's (31) study. "Concern" about crime was found to be, at least partly, an expression of resentment of changing social conditions, especially attempts to eliminate racial injustice. Those most threatened by and concerned about changes in the social order were also those most concerned about crime (i.e., those who ranked crime as the number one social problem). On the other hand, "fear" of victimization was not strongly related to political attitudes. Also, other evidence (10, 11) indicates that fear of victimization is not strongly related either to support for police activities or to feelings of intimidation engendered by police.

Fear of crime (victimization) seems to derive largely from the cues provided by the neighborhood about how afraid one should be. Furstenberg found, in this regard, that the level of fear was fairly homogeneous within a neighborhood, irrespective of sex and age of the respondent. Fear of crime was well correlated with the extant crime rate. In this respect, Furstenberg's results resemble those of Block and Long (9). Thus, people appeared to have a fairly accurate notion of the amount of crime in their own neighborhood and seemed to utilize such information in constructing subjective estimates of the probability of personal victimization. In general, then, Furstenberg seems to have provided at least

a partial solution to the paradox of exaggerated and unwarranted fear of crime posed by both the Commission's report and the Harris poll.

One factor not explored by Furstenberg (31), however, is the effect of previous victimization on the development of attitudes toward crime. In light of his distinction between what may be called the "cognitive" attitude toward crime (i.e., concern for crime) and the "affective" attitude (i.e., fear of victimization), it is of theoretical interest to determine the effects of prior victimization on each. The Commission's previous findings indicated that the attitudes toward crime measured in their surveys were not related to prior victimization. A closer inspection of their measuring instruments indicates, however, that they sometimes tapped the so-called cognitive attitude and other times, the affective attitude. Recall that in the BSSR survey victims were found to be neither more nor less inclined than nonvictims to believe that crime was increasing (cognitive attitude) or that they were personally endangered (affective attitude). An exception occurred in the case of black males who were more apprehensive than usual about their safety (affective attitude). The NORC national survey found that victims did tend to worry more about the possibility of burglary and robbery (cognitive or affective?) but were no more likely to have taken precautionary measures (affective) than nonvictims.

Thus, while it is clear that the findings of the Commission, with respect to the effects of prior victimization, represent a mixture of two potentially different aspects of the fear of crime, it is equally unclear from these data as to what one should expect if one were to study the effects of that variable separately for each type of attitude.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that a rather inconsistent picture emerged from the Commission's work, with respect to the effects of experiencing prior victimization on attudes toward crime, and that the Commission was therefore inclined to the view that no relation existed.

Fortunately, part of the necessary untangling operation has recently been initiated. Kleinman and David (40) have constructed an index of the fear of crime, designed primarily to assess the cognitive attitude toward crime. In a survey of a high-crime district of the Bedford-Stuyvesant/Fort Green area, including four race-ethnic respondent subgroups, these investigators found that those who were previously victimized were also more likely than nonvictims to perceive crime as a serious problem (cognitive attitude), irrespective of race-ethnic classification. Thus, previous experience with criminal activity does contribute to the development of the so-called cognitive aspect of the fear of crime. It remains to be determined what effect, if any, such experience has upon the fear of victimization (i.e., the affective component).

On intuitive grounds, it is possible to suspect that the experience of victimization might have more effect upon a concern for crime than upon the fear of victimization. It is easy to imagine, for instance, that one may fear for personal safety without ever having been victimized, but once victimized, especially in a serious way, a person would be more likely than ever to view crime as a serious problem.

To summarize the foregoing, the report of the President's Commission provided the first serious attempt to assess the impact of crime on the American public. The findings of this commission documented the existence of a fairly widespread fear of crime. Paradoxically, however, they concluded that this fear of crime was not

related to those "personal experience" factors expected, a priori, to be important determinants of such an attitude. Not only did the fear of crime seem to be independent of personal experience, but it was also apparent that those who feared most often were those who had the least to fear. A re-analysis of this problem by Furstenberg provided a partial solution to the seeming paradox left by the Commission report and the 1969 Harris poll data. A distinction between two kinds of fear of crime, a "cognitive" fear manifest as a concern for the crime problem in relation to other social problems and an "affective" fear expressed as a concern for one's personal safety and/or a fear of victimization by strangers, allows for a reinterpretation of previous findings. With this re-analysis, the seeming paradox arises from a mixture and confusion of two kinds of fear of crime. Those who have the least to fear in a statistical-risk sense exhibit the greatest degree of cognitive fear, perhaps because they are not immediately threatened and have little more important to concern themselves with than the national implications of crime. On the other hand, those with the highest risk of victimization exhibit the least cognitive fear and the most affective fear, perhaps because they are consumed, as it were, by the threat of harm. Previous experience of victimization seems to have a definite impact upon the perception of the seriousness of the crime problem, but it is not clear what, if any, effect it has upon the expectation of further victimization.

Thus, future attempts to assess the impact of crime on public opinion should allow for the possibility that: 1) fear of crime is not a unitary phenomenon, 2) different aspects of the crime problem

are important to different classes of people, and 3) the factors affecting the various "faces" of such fear may be quite dissimilar. The potential relevance of these distinctions to the methods of alleviating or circumventing public concern about crime should be underscored.

2. Understanding and Reporting the Fact of Crime

As the preceding summary of literature on the fear of crime indicates, there is a very complex and sometimes tenuous relationship between the fear of crime and the fact of crime. Sometimes, the fear of crime greatly exceeds any probability of crime actually occuring; other times, such a probability may, in fact, be underestimated by citizens who feel overly secure in their own homes. Of course, comprehensive community response to criminal activity must address both the fear of crime and the fact of crime. Citizens should be neither unduly frightened nor unwarrantedly consoled about the fact of crime.

In order to maintain this healthy stability, a stability which promotes flexible, preventive measures without isolating citizens within the prisons of their own homes, accurate information about crime must be made available to public and private organizations that are involved in prevention and remediation programs. The following overview of the problems of understanding and reporting the fact of crime is intended to provide a framework within which the fact of crime in St. Joseph County and South Bend can be understood.

The primary method of compiling data on the fact of crime is to collect and analyze police department and law enforcement agency sta-

tistics on reported crimes and arrests. This method is used nationwide and the results are published annually in the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). The Uniform Crime Reports are the single most widely used source of crime statistics in existence. Basically, the information gathering system for these reports has five distinct stages: (1) a report of a criminal incident is made to police by involved citizens, by involved businesses, or by police officers who may have discovered a crime while on duty; (2) the report of the crime is investigated and filed formally with the police department; (3) unfounded, unreliable, or unsupportable reports of crimes are screened out and not entered into further crime statistics; (4) confirmed crimes are classified by the police department according to the nature of the offense; and (5) the resulting totals of crimes are analyzed according to frequency, location, offender profile, victim profile, and so forth. This process actually consists of two parts: reporting and evaluation. But it is important to perceive the articulated steps in that process if the limitations of such a system are to be understood.

Moving no further than the first step, the initial reporting of a crime to police, it is obvious that if incomplete reports are made at this stage the fact of crime could be underestimated. (It will be shown later that similar sources of inaccuracy are connected with each of the stages in this process.)

Police and law enforcement officials have, for some time now, accepted the fact that the number of incidents reported to them at step one are only a fraction of the total incidents that occur. The Office

of Law Enforcement Assistance (LEAA) completed a series of field surveys in which it investigated the problems related to measuring crime accurately. The interviews, with citizens who have failed in the past to report some incident to the police, produced ten basic reasons for not reporting crime. Table 3.1 lists these ten reasons and the frequency with which each reason was given for not reporting incidents to the police. As the table shows, very small percentages of incidents are unreported because of some fear of punishment on the part of the victim (reasons 3, 10) or for some personal reason (1, 7, 8). The two main reasons for not reporting incidents are that the victims feel the incident is not a police matter (2, 4) or that the police response to the incident would not be effective (5,6,9); these reasons accounted for 33% and 56% of all reasons for not reporting incidents to the police. Obviously, for some crimes such as family-related incidents, the primary reason was that the matter was not a concern of the police, while for other crimes such as buglary or larceny, the primary reason was that the victims doubted that police response would be effective. But, for whatever reason, one fact about crime is this: all criminal incidents are <u>not</u> reported to the police.

The question which such a realization engenders is clear: How much crime is not reported to the police? Various attempts to answer this question have been made, and two of the most comprehensive surveys of the problem were carried out by LEAA. Table 3.2 presents the estimated rates of crime that were derived from an interview sample of 32,966 citizens. The estimated rate of crime for Part I crimes is compared to the total Part I crimes reported in the UCR and to the total UCR Part I

Table 3.1

REASONS FOR NOT NOTIFYING POLICE AMONG THOSE NOT REPORTING INCIDENT

Reasons for Not Notifying Police	Mentioned at All	Most Important
1. Did not want to take time	13%	6%
2. Did not want to harm offender	12	7
3. Afraid of reprisal	5	2
4. Was private, not criminal, affair	41	26
5. Police couldn't do anything about matter	58	36
6. Police wouldn't want to be bothered		8
7. Didn't know how or if they should notify police	6	1
8. Too confused or upset to notify police	6	2
9. Not sure if real offenders would be caught	31	12
10. Fear of insurance cancellation	1	0
Total		100%
N	(1,017)	(906)

From Field Survey II: Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey. Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, 1967. Cited as LEAA, II, p. 44.

crimes adjusted as individual or residential rates. (Part I crimes are homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over $50, and vehicle theft.)

> Two facts are impressive: First the relative rates of the various crimes found in the survey are almost identical to those reported by the UCR; that is, the rank order of frequency of the Part I crimes found in the survey is, with the exception of vehicle theft, the same as that in the UCR. This lends substantial credence that the survey and the UCR are describing the same universe of events. The second fact is the undeniably higher rate of crime indicated by the survey. Homicide and vehicle theft are the only exceptions. The increments among the other crimes vary from rape, which appears to be four times as frequent as police reports indicate, to robbery, which is only 50% as frequent. As a whole, there appears to be twice as much major crime as is known to the police. (LEAA II, 9).

Because of the broad coverage of this original survey and in order to increase the sensitivity of the test instrument, LEAA conducted a similar study in three Washington, D.C., police precincts, where they intensively interviewed 511 people. The results of this second survey are presented in Table 3.3. Again, in this second survey, there was a relative stability of the ranking of crimes, and there was an even more dramatic indication of the magnitude of unreported crime. Since this initial data gathering operation is comparable to step one of the five-stage police crime reporting process (outlined above), the LEAA team followed up the initial reports with an elaborate evaluation procedure which adjusted the totals of crime incidents for age of respondent, residence and business reporting, multiple victimage and other factors.

Table 3.2

ESTIMATED RATES OF PART I CRIMES: 1965-66

CRIME	NORC Sample Estimated Rate per 100,000 Population	Uniform Crime Reports: 1965 Total per 100,000 Population	Uniform Crime Report: 1965 (Individual or Residential Rates) Per 100,000 Population
Homicide	3.0	5.1	5.1
Forcible rape . .	42.5	11.6	11.6
Robbery	94.0	61.4	61.4
Aggravated assault	218.3	106.6	106.6
Burglary	949.1	605.3	296.6
Larceny ($50+) . .	606.5	393.3	267.6
Vehicle theft . .	206.2	251.0	226.0
Total	2,119.6	1,434.3	974.7
N . . . (32,966)			

From: Field Survey I: Report on a Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement. Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, 1967. Cited as LEAA, I, p. 8.

Even after such corrective evaluation, their results were clear:

> The survey-based estimate for the three precincts is over five times the magnitude of that derived from the police statistics when all in-precinct UCR Index offenses are considered---15,600 offenses as compared with about 3,000. (LEAA, I,91)

The LEAA Field Surveys were not intended to demolish the usefulness of UCR statistics. The reasons for the discrepancy between unreported crime incidents and reported crime incidents were never lost sight of. First of all, as was mentioned earlier, many crimes have multiple victims, although only one incident occurred. Furthermore, the psychological impact of violent crime creates more victims than may be involved literally; even property crimes are shared-victim experiences among members of a family or neighborhood. Even though more than 40% of all persons interviewed claimed that neither they nor any member of their family had ever been victims of crime of even the most minor sort (LEAA, I, 41), nonetheless the fact of crime is much greater than is commonly reported. And even though violent crime is a rare and "an uncommon event in the life history" of any person (LEAA, I, 41), nonetheless the fact of such violent crime can grow into a fear of crime if it is not properly dealt with. The emphasis of the Field Surveys on crime and victimization is that the fear of crime will perhaps never be controlled until there is a full and accurate reporting and understanding of the fact of crime. Not only must more comprehensive crime reporting systems be developed by law enforcement agencies, but sources of error and inaccuracy must be eliminated from present and future information retrieval systems.

The LEAA Field Surveys tried to identify such sources of inaccuracy, and some of them have been mentioned earlier. Their final conclusion , how-

Table 3.3

OFFENSE CLASSES IN SURVEY AND POLICE DATA FOR PRECINCTS 6, 10 AND 14

Class of Offense	Incidents Mentioned by Survey Respondents	Actual Offenses Known
Part I:		
Criminal homicide	31	1
Rape	46	4
Robbery	1,082	35
Aggravated assault	457	20
Burglary	2,174	110
Larceny	1,832	116
Auto theft	1,381	21

From LEAA, II, p. 34

ever, was perhaps the most startling and significant fact of all.

> The self-reports of victimization by citizens interviewed in their homes suggest a much higher incidence of crime than do police statistics, and further, non-reporting of offenses does not account for the major share of the vast discrepancy. ... If we accept what our respondents say, the discrepancy presumably involves the police not reporting what people report to them in much greater degree than nonreporting of offenses to the police by the public. (LEAA, I, 117-118)

The researchers were naturally reluctant to accept such a conclusion without serious investigation into its validity. Nontheless, that was the stated conclusion of their study.

In terms of the five-stage police crime reporting system, what the LEAA suggests is happening is that steps two, three and four (investigation, screening, and classification of initial reports) are being carried out in a grossly inefficient and inaccurate fashion. It has long been a working assumption in the analysis of crime statistics that such factors as public image, political elections, racial prejudice, and inaccurate data gathering could result in the underreporting and misclassification of incidents. Also, it is obvious that police are hesitant to record a serious crime when their limited investigative resources have been unable to confirm it. Again, however, the point that the LEAA was making is not simply that police reports are incompetent or that they are "cover-ups" intended to delude the public. Rather, the LEAA was attempting to inform public and private policy planners of certain, previously overlooked aspects of both the fear of crime and the fact of crime, by attempting to provide an overview of the possible methods of measuring crime and and victimization and by identifying the limitations and sources of inaccuracy in such methods.

The policy implications of the findings of the Field Surveys are manifold, yet may be summarized clearly and precisely. First and foremost, more sensitive means of gathering crime data from the public must be developed. These methods must not only be more sensitive to account for the larger number of crimes which actually occur, but must also be more sensitive to the effect which the given crime has on the victim. The Field Survey put the matter quite plainly.

> Thus, clearly, it is a police perspective of the event, not the victim's perspective, that determines whether victimization has occurred. 'Victim risk' is in this way not applicable to subjectively meaningful calculations by members of the public. This may be illustrated dramatically by the difference between telling a women: 'The way things are going now, there is only about one chance in 5,000 that you will be raped this year,' and telling her the same thing, but adding '...and that the investigating officers will believe your story (or a witness, if there is one) and report the fact to their department and that there, in turn, no one will discount their report.'
>
> The results of this survey suggest that even small, directional changes in the crediting and counting of citizen reports by the police will have major consequences for the Crime Index in these jurisdictions. A change in which 2 per cent more of citizen complaints were recorded would increase the Crime Rate by perhaps 8 per cent. (LEAA, I, 111)

The fact which policy planners must face is that the fear which such an increase in reported crime creates in their self-interested hearts is nothing compared to the fear which unreported crime is already creating in the hearts of the public. More sensitive and more efficient crime reporting methods are undoubtedly going to result in an apparent increase in the rate

of crime. Nonetheless, the long-range consequences of continuing the present self-deluding system, in which artifically low crime rates are constantly used to assuage the absolutely real fears which unreported crime produces, are clearly disasterous. By honestly and publicly facing the fact of crime and by convincing the entire community of the honesty of that response, public and private policy planners can both help to alleviate the fear of crime and begin to re-enlist community support in the fight against the fact of crime. If there is any lesson which post-Watergate America must learn, it is that the important task of revealing corruption, ineptitude and cover-ups, is only the first stage in the much more important task of establishing a cohesive, nation-wide response to the real conditions of life in urban society. Self-serving must cease before community cooperation can begin.

The first policy implication of these Field Surveys, therefore, is that the fact of crime must be reported more accurately. The secondary policy implications are just as significant and should also be accommodated into the decision-making system which exists in individual communities. As the Field Surveys made abundantly clear,

> the degree of anxiety about crime is not primarily a function of an individual's personal experience with crime. (LEAA, I, 122)

Related to this is the fact that people generally feel more safe in their own neighborhoods, even in high-crime districts. (LEAA, I, 120). Safety and the moral atmosphere of a city, and of particular neighborhoods within a city, are the prime factors which affect citizens' choices of a place to live, even more so than recreation facilities, school location, or economic factors. (LEAA, I, 119) Therefore, if the fact of crime cannot be

successfully addressed on the neighborhood level, the resultant fear of crime will destroy the greatest source of commitment which citizens have to their local communities. Some evidence to this effect is that blacks and women are unproportionately more afraid than whites and men, no doubt because of their self-perceived inability to wield power effectively within the community decision-making process. Crime, in other words, is a problem which the entire nation and every city must respond to; but that response must be tailored to the individual quality and quantity of crime which characterize different subgroups of the total population.

> It appears that there may be a climate of concern and worry which is more intense in some areas, less in others. Persons who live in an atmosphere of pronounced fear and anxiety are more likely to worry about their safety, regardless of their objective risks. (LEAA, I, 126)

Therefore, a multi-pronged strategy of response to the fact of crime must be mobilized, in order to control the fear of crime in certain neighborhoods. Such strategies must immediately turn to the problem of public relations and communication. The mass media reports, which remind us of crime daily, only underscore a citizen's perception of his loss of control over his daily life and of the general decline in moral standards. Programs for community education are necessary in order to inform the populace both of the present levels of crime and of present and future programs which are intended to control crime. The reassurance fostered by such efforts will not only alleviate fear, but will also help enlist interested citizens in participatory programs for crime prevention.

> Crimes that cross the social boundaries of groups and classes evoke different sentiments than those that take place within them. (LEAA, I, 165)

Policy planners must be aware of this, also. Mutual understanding between different ethnic and socioeconomic groups should be promoted through appropriate community activities, and the very real differences between these groups should be considered when weighing alternative programs for implementation in different parts of the city. Related to this is the need to analyze and study more closely the demographic characteristics of different parts of the community. Race, religion, socioeconomic status, and age are factors which ought to be considered.

One inescapable fact which the Field Surveys pointed out was that,

> If population in their teens and post-teens increase proportionately more rapidly than the population as a whole, as indeed has been very much the case of late, then there will be a greater number of crimes in proportion to total population. (LEAA, I, 173)

The clear conclusion from this observation is that crime prevention and remediation programs should focus upon the most readily identifiable group of potential offenders: juveniles.

Other hints about the nature of crime in modern society and the most appropriate means of responding to crime can also be drawn from the Field Surveys. But the three main points summarized here should not be obscured:

(1) More accurate statistics on crime and victimization must be gathered and made public so that an intelligent and unhysterical response to the fact of crime can be made.

(2) More attention needs to be placed upon the differing nature of the fact of crime within different neighborhoods in the larger community.

(3) Attempts at preventing crime should be directed toward the juvenile segment of our society.

These three conclusions must, of course, be adapted to each individual community. But in no case should they be ignored.

B. Local Project Research and Analysis of the Fear and the Fact of Crime

This section of Chapter III will present the results of various local research and analyses which deal with the fear of crime and the fact of crime. Based upon the policy implications arrived at in the overviews of the preceding section, this research has been directed toward three specific goals: (1) to provide alternative models for gathering and analyzing information about crime and crime prevention; (2) to focus the analysis of such information upon the distinct qualities of various "organic" (functional) neighborhoods within the South Bend area; and (3) to address the increasingly significant problem of juvenile delinquency as one of the central aspects of the total crime problem. Each of these goals was kept in mind throughout the project; one of the major concerns of the investigation team was to observe, evaluate and stimulate existing crime prevention and remediation efforts which seem to correspond to these goals.

Thus, one of the most significant products of this project has been that, in the course of gathering information, various agencies have not only become aware of this project and its intended goals but also of other agencies about which information had already been gathered. In other words, a tremendous amount of information-sharing and cooperative planning has taken place among policy planners on both the public and private level as a result of this project. It is exactly this type of mutual support and stimulation that was intended as a proposal for action; fortunately, it has begun to happen already.

Three projects were proposed for this section of the report, and each was satisfactorily completed. As will be pointed out in the third

section of the chapter, future policy planning should include some more efficient means for the ongoing gathering of information that is analyzed here. In two cases, the original proposal had to be substantially abridged due to the inability to retrieve certain vital types of information. Most of this information is already gathered, but it is buried in the individual files and records of various public and private agencies. It is certainly not the intent of this report to advocate the establishment of a completely centralized, information-gathering system. However, decision makers will increasingly be called upon to be aware of such information, and the agencies who have control of it should be able to retrieve it and analyze it efficiently. Specific proposals to this end will be made in the third section of the chapter.

The three projects summarized in this section of Chapter III are: (1) a local survey identifying the self-perceived neighborhoods within the South Bend area and canvasing those neighborhoods for opinions about the fear of crime and about public policy response to the fact of crime; (2) a local survey of overall crime trends in South Bend and St. Jospeh County from 1970 to 1975, including victimization studies of violent crimes, rape, and muggings; also included in this section are summaries of existing South Bend Police Department crime prevention programs and a list of all federally funded Law Enforcement Assistance Act (LEAA) grants; and (3) a local survey of juvenile crime trends in St. Joseph County and South Bend from 1970 to 1975, including an explanation of the existing juvenile justice system.

1. The Perception of Crime in Local Neighborhoods

Periodically, the Harris Poll has attempted to measure citizen perception of crime in neighborhoods. A complete replication of the Harris study was both practically and theoretically an unacceptable procedure. We attempted, within the limits of our research design, to generate data which would be comparable to the Harris study. The following table shows the Harris findings on a national sample during a recent ten-year period.

Table 3.4

HARRIS POLLS - Citizen Perception of Neighborhood Crime Rate

Question: In the past year, do you feel the crime rate in your neighborhood has been increasing, decreasing, or has it remained about the same as it was before?

Answers:

		More, Increasing	Less, Decreasing	Stayed Same	Not Sure, No Opinion
1964:	Dec. 7	73%	1%	21%	5%
1967		46	4	43	7
1969:	May 12	35	4	55	6
1970:	Oct.	62	3	30	5
1973:	Oct. 22	48	7	40	5
By Size of Community:					
Cities					
	1964	77			
	1967	55			
	1969	47			
	1970	67	4	25	4
Suburbs					
	1964	75			
	1967	45			
	1969	29			
	1970	65	4	27	4

		More, Increasing	Less, Decreasing	Stayed Same	Not Sure, No Opinion
	Towns				
	1964	71			
	1967	43			
	1969	32			
	1970	64	2	30	4
	Rural				
	1964	69			
	1967	38			
	1969	28			
	1970	55	3	36	6
By Race:					
	White				
	1967	47			
	1969	35			
	1970	63	3	30	4
	Black				
	1967	41			
	1969	39			
	1970	58	5	27	10
By Geographic Region:	1970 Poll				
	East	62	5	30	3
	Midwest	68	2	28	2
	South	57	2	35	6
	West	60	6	25	9
	By Sex:				
	Male	59	5	32	4
	Female	64	2	28	6
	By Age:				
	16-20 yrs.	56	5	34	5
	21-29 yrs.	60	4	29	7
	30-49 yrs.	64	4	28	4
	50 yrs. & older	62	3	31	4

	More, Increasing	Less, Decreasing	Stayed Same	Not Sure, No Opinion
By Annual Family Income:				
$10,000 & over	65	4	28	3
$ 5,000-9,999	64	2	29	5
Under $5,000	55	4	34	7
By Education:				
College	62	5	28	5
High School	64	3	29	4
8th grade or less	54	3	36	7
By Politics:				
Republican	64	4	28	4
Democrat	63	3	31	3
Independent	65	4	27	4

This research team asked a random sample of South Bend householders the same Harris question. The results indicated that 30% perceived the crime rate as increasing, 3% perceived the crime rate as decreasing and 67% perceived the crime rate as staying the same. It is interesting to note that the South Bend data appear to fly in the face of the fact that the reported South Bend crime rate has decreased each year for the past year and one-half. Two-thirds of our sample perceived the crime rate as a constant over the last year. Approximately one-third of the sample, a lower portion than any previous national survey, perceived the crime rate as increasing. (That the public derives its perceptions about crime from a myriad of sources is discussed later in this report.)

Although the accuracy of our research sample diminishes when analysis by census tract is applied, it is interesting to note that only Census Tracts 1,15,16,22,23, and 34 contained respondents who made up the 3% that perceived the crime rate as decreasing. These census tracts also contained respondents who perceived the crime rate as increasing or remaining constant over the last year.

The relationship of these perceptions to another question we asked is particularly interesting. In response to the question, "Do you feel that your neighborhood has improved, declined or stayed the same during the last year?", a random grouping which accounted for 50% of the perception of an increasing crime rate contained a) nine census tracts that clearly answered that the neighborhood stayed the same during the last year; b) four census tracts that were ambivalent; and c) one census tract that was ambivalent but tending toward the claim that the neighborhood had improved over the last year.

When we examined the census tracts which contained the perceptions of crime as decreasing, we found a) four census tracts that clearly answered that their neighborhood stayed the same; b) one census tract that was ambivalent; and c) one census tract that clearly answered that the neighborhood had improved.

When we asked the respondents, "What are the three most serious problems affecting your neighborhood?", all of the census tracts that perceived the crime rate as decreasing mentioned crime as an overwhelming problem for their neighborhood. In the random grouping which accounted for 50% of the perception of an increasing crime rate, all but one census tract identified crime as a major neighborhood problem. In fact, even that

census tract recommended more police patrols in response to another survey question which asked, "What are the most important things city government could do to help your neighborhood?"

Another indicator of the fear of crime was obtained by asking, "Is there any area in your neighborhood where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" This question was modeled on a question by the Gallup Poll used at various times to measure citizen perception of neighborhood crime. The following table indicates the results of the Gallup surveys.

Table 3.5

GALLUP POLLS - Citizen Perception of Neighborhood Crime

Question: Is ther any area, say within a mile, where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?

Answers:

		Yes	No	Don't Know
1965:	April 25	34%	63%	3%
1967:	August	31	67	2
1968:	Sept. 27-30	35	62	3
1972:	Mar. 24-27	41	59	
	December	42	58	
1973:	March	41	58	1
Men:				
1965		17	80	3
1967		16	82	2
1968		19	79	2
1972:	March	20	80	
	December	22	78	
Women:				
1965		49	47	4

Answers:		Yes	No	Don't Know
1967		44%	53%	3%
1968		50	47	3
1972:	March	58	42	
	December	60	40	
By Race:				
Whites				
1967		29	69	2
1968		35	62	3
1972:	March	39	61	
	December	42	58	
Nonwhites				
1972:	March	49	51	
	December	48	52	
By Size of Community:				
1,000,000 & over				
1967		38	59	3
1968		42	56	2
1972:	March	53	47	
	December	46	54	
500,000-999,999				
1965*		48	49	3
1967*		40	58	2
1968*		40	57	3
1972:	March	43	57	
	December	51	49	
where * = 500,000 & over				
50,000-499,999				
1965		41	54	5
1967		38	57	5
1968		42	53	5
1972:	March	49	51	
	December	51	49	
2,500-49,999				
1965		29	67	4

Answers:		Yes	No	Don't Know
1967		22%	77%	1%
1969		33	65	2
1972:	March	42	58	
	December	40	60	
Under 2,500, rural				
1965		21	77	2
1967		21	78	1
1968		24	74	2
1972:	March	24	76	
	December	28	72	
By Geographic Region:				
East				
1965		37	60	3
1967		32	65	3
1968		38	60	2
1972:	March	41	59	
	December	42	58	
Midwest				
1965		32	66	2
1967		26	73	1
1968		30	67	3
1972:	March	36	64	
	December	34	66	
South				
1965		32	66	2
1967		34	63	3
1968		38	59	3
1972:	March	43	57	
	December	52	48	
West				
1965		36	56	8
1967		32	65	3
1968		34	64	2
1972:	March	42	58	
	December	41	59	

Answers:

		Yes	No	Don't Know
By Education:				
College				
1965		29%	66%	5%
1967		29	68	3
1968		35	63	2
1972:	March	30	70	
	December	42	58	
High School				
1965		35	61	4
1967		31	67	2
1968		35	62	3
1972:	March	41	59	
	December	42	58	
Grade School				
1965		36	62	2
1967		33	64	3
1968		35	62	3
1972:	March	52	48	
	December	46	54	
By Occupation:				
Professional & Business				
1967		32	66	2
1968		36	62	2
1972:	March	30	70	
	December	39	61	
White collar				
1967		40	58	2
1968		39	58	3
1972:	March	46	54	
	December	46	54	
Farmers				
1967		10	87	3
1968		18	81	1
1972:	March	18	82	
	December	12	88	

Answers:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Manual workers			
1967	31%	67%	2%
1968	33	64	3
1972: March	39	61	
December	41	59	
By Age:			
18-20 yrs.			
1972: March	24	76	
18-24 yrs.			
1972: December	41	59	
21-29 yrs.			
1967	28	69	3
1968	34	62	4
1972: March	36	64	
25-29 yrs.			
1972: December	37	63	
30-49 yrs.			
1967	30	68	2
1968	31	66	3
1972: March	37	63	
December	38	62	
50 yrs. & over			
1967	33	65	2
1968	39	59	2
1972: March	49	51	
December	48	52	
By Religion:			
Protestants			
1967	30	67	3
1968	35	63	2
1972: March	41	59	
December	42	58	
Catholics			
1967	30	68	2

Answers:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
1968	35%	61%	4%
1972: March	40	60	
December	42	58	

By Politics:

Republicans			
1967	26	71	3
1968	36	63	1
1972: March	37	63	
December	46	54	
Democrats			
1967	34	63	3
1968	37	59	4
1972: March	45	55	
December	47	53	
Independents			
1967	29	69	2
1968	29	67	4
1972: March	35	65	
December	33	67	

By Annual Family Income:

$15,000 and over			
1972: March	28	72	
December	34	66	
$10,000-14,999			
1967	30	68	2
1968	29	69	2
1972: March	38	62	
December	39	61	
$7,000-9,999			
1967	29	69	2
1968	31	67	2
1972: March	36	64	
December	43	57	

Answers:

		Yes	No	Don't Know
$5,000-6,999				
1967		28%	69%	3%
1968		41	55	4
1972:	March	46	54	
	December	46	54	
$3,000-4,999				
1967		36	60	4
1968		34	63	3
1972:	March	46	54	
	December	46	54	
Under $3,000				
1967		33	65	2
1968		44	54	2
1972:	March	58	42	
	December	55	45	

Our modified replication of the Gallup survey produced the following data: 48% of the respondents answered that there are areas in their neighborhood where they would be afraid to walk alone at night; 52% answered that there are no areas in their neighborhood where they would be afraid to walk alone at night. These data offer us another indicator of citizens' perceptions of crime in the South Bend community.

Although the use of the data on the census tract level is tenuous (because the survey method employed has its greatest validity on the overall municipal level), the only census tracts that were univocal in their answers were: 20,23,28, 111,113.01,113.02, and 118. Respondents in Census Tracts 28,111,113.01, and 118 all perceived no area that was not safe, while respondents in Census Tracts 20, 23, 34, and 113.02 all perceived areas that were not safe. The remaining census tracts were divided into three groups, with ambivalent perceptions or

perceptions tending toward one answer or the other. The census tracts which tended toward perceptions that all areas of their neighborhoods are safe were: 1,2,9,10,13,14,15,16,26,32,111, and 301. The census tracts which tended toward perceptions that some area in their neighborhood is not safe included: 4,5,7,11,12,19,21,22,24,25,27,29,30,31, and 35. Census Tracts 2,5,and 8 were evenly divided in the perception of their neighborhood as either safe or unsafe.

2. Overall Crime Trends in South Bend, 1970-1975

This report gathers together existing research and analyses on overall crime trends in the South Bend area from 1970 to 1975. By making use of existing research instruments, the advantages and disadvantages of each type of analysis can be compared. Also, the limitations in the present crime information gathering system can be analyzed according to past performance. Specific recommendations about the importance of this information gathering system will made in the last section of the chapter.

The first group of statistics considered is the police totals for South Bend from 1970 through 1975. (Throughout this section, all figures for 1975 are based upon half-year totals). Table 3.6 gives the gross figures for Part I Crimes from 1970 through 1975. Part I Crimes are homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over $50, and auto theft. The sum of all such crimes is called the "total crime index." Homicides, forcible rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults are designated as "violent crimes." Burglaries, larcenies over $50 and auto thefts are designated as "property crimes." No narrative is provided to explain these statistics, since each of the other reports was primarily intended to provide such analysis. Graph III-1 illustrates these crime statistics. (Separate graphs for each category of the Total Crime Index, 1970-1975, appear in Appendix B.)

Table 3.6

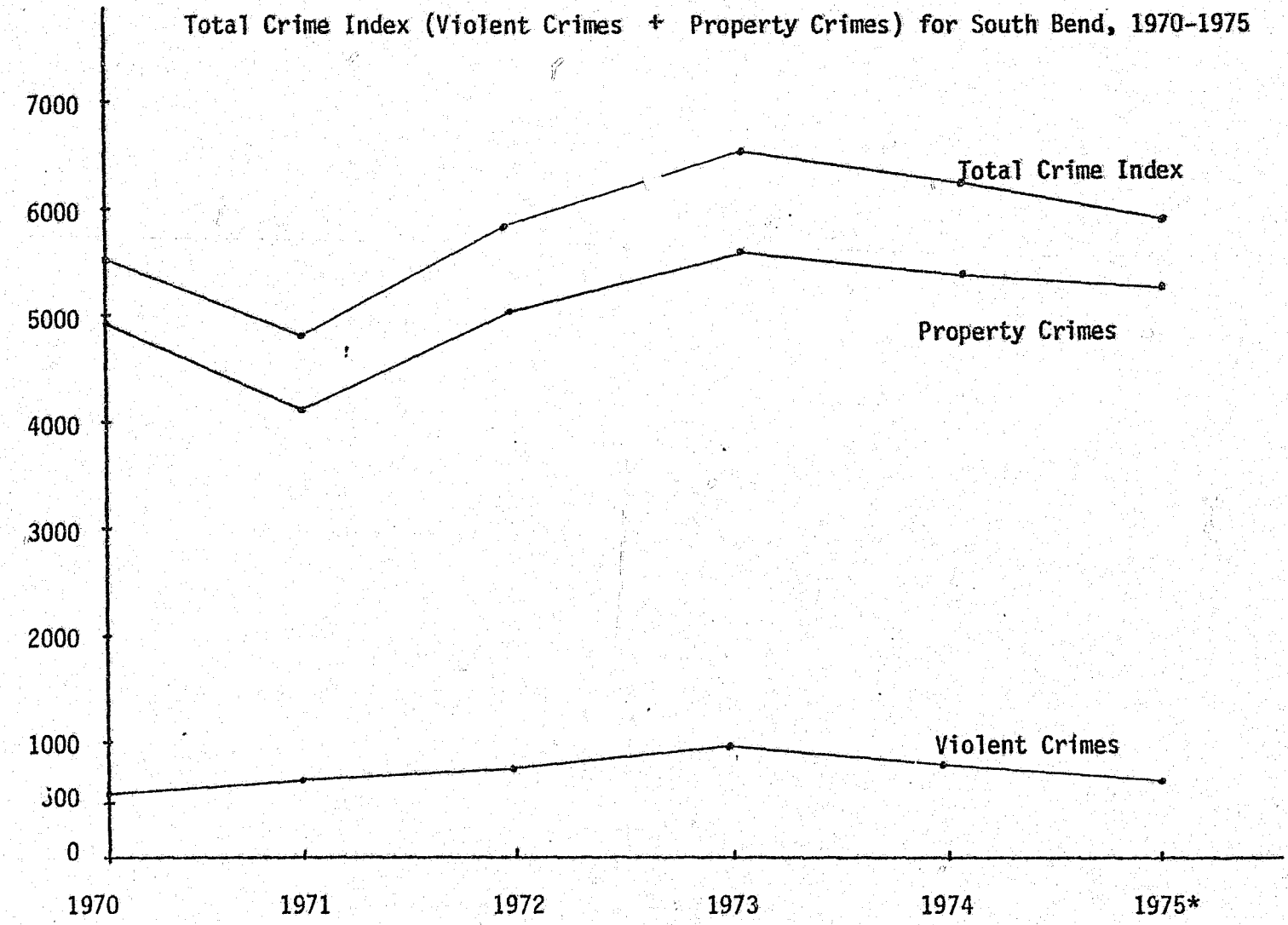
Part I Crimes in South Bend, 1970-1975

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
Homicide	9	17	22	31	30	18
Forcible Rape	17	26	27	39	47	40
Robbery	430	463	470	625	510	358
Aggravated Assault	134	132	143	209	167	206
Total Violent Crimes	590	638	662	904	754	622
Burglary	2195	1843	2141	2339	2616	2752
Larceny ($50 and over)	1847	1466	1874	2470	2290	2130
Auto Theft	874	846	1080	774	524	404
Total Property Crimes	4916	4155	5095	5583	5430	5286
Total Crime Index	5506	4793	5757	6487	6184	5908

* totals for the first six months were doubled

Graph III-1

Total Crime Index (Violent Crimes + Property Crimes) for South Bend, 1970-1975



* totals for the first six months were doubled

The second group of statistics considered is the 1974 figures for St. Jospeh County. (The figures are drawn from a report published by the South Bend Criminal Justice Planning Bureau.) The patterns of criminal activity for each category of Part I Crimes are analyzed, and the demographic distribution of such crime is localized according to census tracts in South Bend. At the end of the report, a brief summary of St. Joseph County's crime analysis capability is presented, and a description of the South Bend Regional Computer Center is provided. The information contained in this and other reports on crime in the South Bend area has been stored and retrieved from the Regional Computer Center. Though the narrative description of the computer system is basically correct, some important facts need to be clarified. In particular, one paragraph deserves special scrutiny.

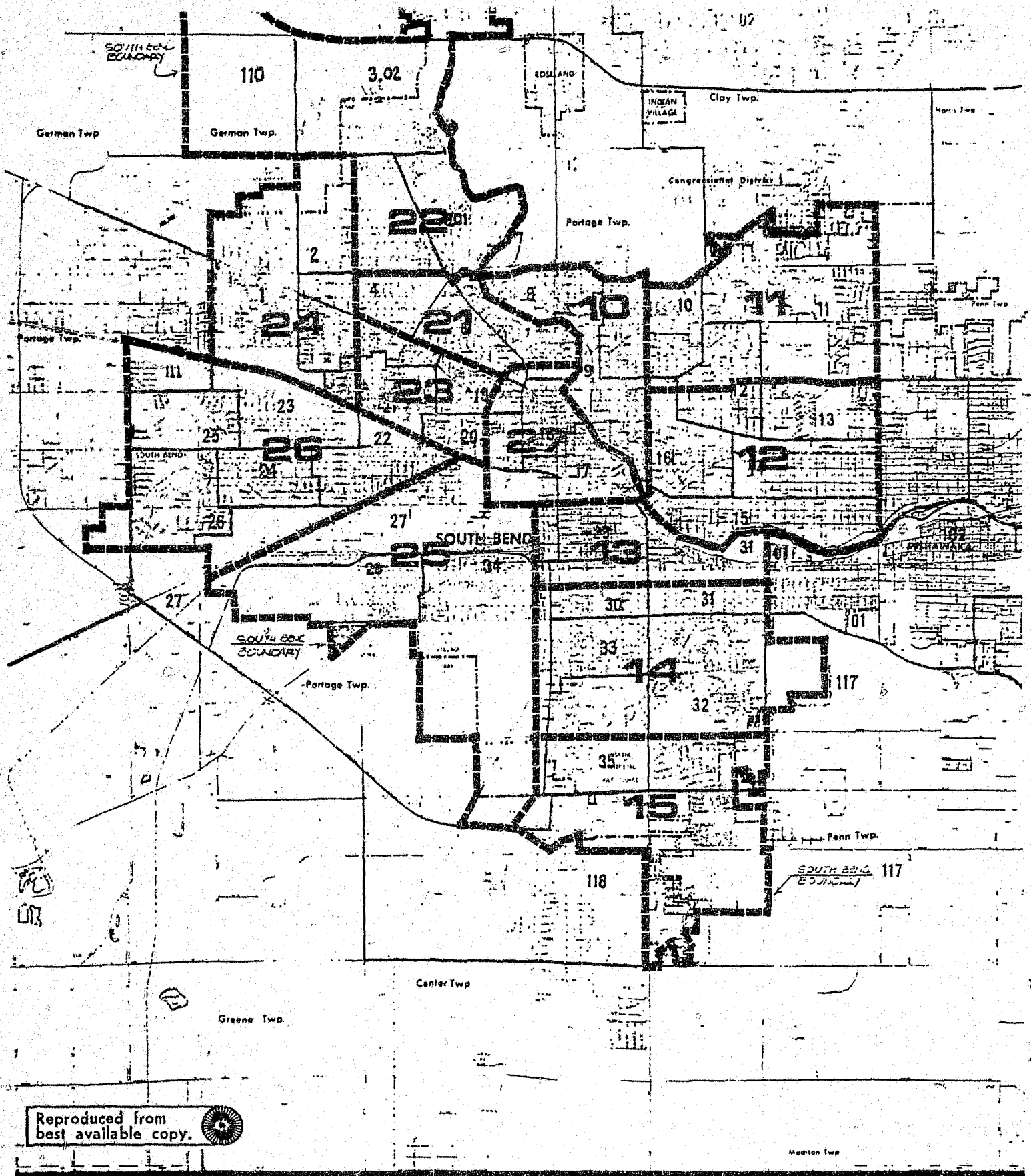
> In addition the South Bend Regional Computer functions to immediately identify and retrieve critical crime information. The monthly data sheets locate crime by census tract and patrol beat as well as identifying times of crime incidence. Description of victims and offenders are also available as well as detailed information regarding juvenile crime occurrence.

The above paragraph as written is simply not true. It is a perfectly valid description of what the South Bend Regional Computer system is <u>potentially</u> capable of, but not of what it is <u>presently</u> capable of. A close examination of the program listing of the Regional Computer Center reveals that programmed information retrieval packages do not exist at this time to perform all of the tasks described above. In fact, the Criminal Justice Planning Bureau reports reveal quite plainly the present bottlenecks and limitations of crime-information analysis. The need to actualize full potential is crucial.

A number of specific examples will help make the problem clearer. First of all, initial input into the computer system is made according to time reports for each police patrol beat in South Bend. Map A illustrates the present patrol beats and the 1970 census tracts. It will be seen that patrol beats do not regularly correspond to census tract boundaries. (Also, the central city beat which surrounds River Bend Plaza and the downtown area is often not patrolled as a separate beat if the overall patrol load is overbearing.) What this means is that crime information is not being stored in compatible forms which would allow the regrouping of certain data without unnecessary recoding.

An example of the inaccuracies and handicaps which can result from this limitation is given by the Police Department Impact Report on the Police-School Liaison Program for 1974. Three geographical boundaries are discussed in this report as if they were identical. The three areas are police beat 13, Census Tracts 29, 30, and 31, and the "near Southeast side of the city." These areas do not share the same boundaries, although they do share a large central area among them. As a result, precision is sacrificed, and the accurate ability to retrieve vital crime information is wasted.

Similar to the previous example is the present system of designating eight "neighborhoods" within the city limits for the purpose of crime analysis. The eight neighborhoods are named Middle East, Northwest, Southeast, Model Cities, Downtown Business District, Middle West, Southwest Industrial and Southeast. (Maps designating these eight "neighborhoods" and plotting crime distribution within them are included in the Criminal Justice Planning Bureau's summary report on crime in St. Joseph County.)



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POLICE BEATS

south bend indiana

Although these neighborhoods, with few exceptions, do follow established census tract boundaries, they do not correspond to the existing patrol beats, nor do any normally perceived "neighborhoods" that exist in the South Bend area. (Even the infamous Southeast Side must surely be recognized to include more than the artifically narrow limits of census tracts 29 and 30, which are its designated components.)

As the preceding section of this chapter pointed out, citizens in South Bend do have very clear-cut perceptions of their own "neighborhoods," and they resent having artificial labels applied to them by the newspapers, the media. Therefore, a two-fold objection can be made to such artificiallly constructed "neighborhoods" as the Criminal Justice Planning Bureau now uses: (1) they do not accurately describe the boundaries of existing police administration units and patrol beats; and (2) they do not accurately describe the self-perceived "organic" neighborhoods which do exist within the South Bend area. A number of alternative proposals for rectifying this situation will be presented at the end of this chapter.

Finally, the Regional Computer Center does not, at the present time, have the ability to retrieve profile data on victims. The Criminal Justice Planning Bureau's report on crime statistics for the first six months of 1975 states explicitly that this capacity does not exist and that such a composite profile must be compiled manually. The ability to compile such profiles is indeed a very useful crime analysis tool. Unfortunately, like the other statistical instruments mentioned above, it is not part of the South Bend Police information arsenal.

The purpose of this critique of the present Police Department criminal information retrieval system is not to dispute the general trends

which their report outlines. Rather, the purpose is to suggest that even greater precision in pinpointing crime "hot spots" can be achieved and that an even greater capacity to correlate crime information with existing demographic information can be developed if the present system can be revised and expanded.

The third set of statistics discussed in this section is the "Six Month Crime Distribution and Analysis for South Bend, Indiana, 1975." (This report was also prepared by South Bend Criminal Justice Planning Bureau.) Part I Crime statistics are summarized, and the fifteen census tracts with the highest reported crime are identified and compared with previous crime levels. Individual discussions of robbery, burglary, assault, rape, and auto theft statistics are also provided, along with identification of high-rate census tracts in each case. The product of this analysis is the identification of 10 targeted tracts (6, 10, 11, 18-20, 27, 29, 30, 50) which reported more than 45% of the total South Bend crime.) Such analyses and the related attempt to correlate crime to unemployment in six high-crime tracts are important attempts to understand the nature of crime in our city. Certainly, more extensive data should be gathered over a longer peiod of time before the results can be fully evaluated.

Although it is not provided here, identification of the age, race, sex, population, and family composition of these census tracts is readily available from census statistics and would provide helpful information to policy planners interested in addressing the crime problem in those areas.

The next three sets of statistics reviewed were prepared by student interns working for the Criminal Justice Planning Bureau and attempted more

limited analyses of particular aspects of South Bend crime. The approach adopted in all three reports seems very useful, since often too large a project obscures patterns within sub-categories of criminal phenomena. The three reports are: (1) "South Bend Part I Offenses: Location and Time," which summarizes data on the most likely place and time for crime to occur; (2) "Muggings in the City of South Bend," which analyzes victim and offender profiles, as well as providing crime location information; and (3) "A Study of Rape in South Bend," which provides victim and offender profiles and describes the present Sex Offense Staff (S.O.S.) program, which attempts to deal with the problem of rape in South Bend.

Our report concludes with recommendations for future prevention measures directed both to potential victims and to law enforcement planners. We recommend that other studies enhance their benefit by listing such recommendations for future action.

It is important to mention that South Bend and its Police Department resisted the temptation of many cities to overreact to the student disruptions and civil rights demonstrations of the late Sixties. Rather than spending exhorbitant sums on para-military programs, more limited funds were directed to these programs in order that long-range community needs might also be addressed. Thus, funding was channeled into such community service programs as the Drug Abuse Council, the Parents-Delinquent Education Program, the Criminal Justice Planning Bureau, the Police-School Liaison Program, and the Youth Services Bureau. This type of sensible long-range planning helps meet present needs while accommodating for future problems before they become critical. It is hoped that future use of federal and other funding will demonstrate the same consideration for long-range planning goals.

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

While the South Bend Police Department is involved in many crime prevention projects which are federally subsidized, one of the most representative and most successful of these LEAA-funded (Law Enforcement Assistance Act) projects is the South Bend Crime Prevention Bureau. Sgt. Joel Wolvos and the rest of the South Bend Crime Prevention Bureau staff deserve to be recognized for their tremendous efforts in getting this program off the ground. Of particular interest for this report is the summary of the neighborhood-based activities which Sgt. Wolvos and his staff are involved in. Speeches, films, and media presentations are used to inform neighborhood groups of what they can do to help prevent crime.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of police-community relations is exactly this type of cooperative self-help program where law enforcement personnel provide the leadership and know-how necessary to mobilize an effective community-based response to crime. It is strongly urged that this program be continued and expanded and that even greater efforts be made in the future to increase the lines of communication and cooperation between the Police Department and the public. This vital source of feedback from the individual neighborhoods should be utilized by the Police Department in its ongoing evaluation. It might even be advisable for Crime Prevention Bureau staff to prepare summary reports of the types of response toward the police that they perceive in their contact with these various citizen groups. As Michael Carrington, Director of Public Safety, said in an interview earlier this summer (1975), public relations between the police and the community is a high-priority item on the planning agenda of the Police Department. No better way to meet this

need can be imagined than by the extension of such programs as the Crime Prevention Bureau, in the opinion of this research staff.

3. Juvenile Crime Trends in St. Joseph County, 1970 - 1975

The purpose of this report is to present a profile of juvenile delinquency referrals in St. Joseph County (Indiana) from 1970 through 1975. A basic introduction to the problems involved in understanding juvenile delinquency is provided in order that the descriptive and analytic materials included here may be of use as a tool for instruction and information for community organizations, as well as for focusing policy-making for the existing youth-serving agencies.

What is the definition of "juvenile delinquency" and how does one measure it?

There are as many definitions of "juvenile delinquency" as there are individuals defining it. First, the juvenile part. In most areas agreement is greater here. "Juveniles" are usually defined as persons below the age of 17. As will be seen later, there are wide variations of delinquent activity within this broad age grouping. "Delinquency" is more difficult to define. The two main categories of behavior included with the area of juvenile delinquency are: (1) any act which would be considered a crime if committed by an adult, and (2) certain "status offenses" which are defined by law to pertain strictly to juveniles, such as "ungovernable," "truant," and "dependence & neglect."

Until 1975, the list of status offenses included "runaways"; the Indiana State Legislature, however, removed the statutes prohibiting runaways. In the future, runaways must be handled by police agencies as "missing persons," and may not be held, questioned, or formally referred for treatment to youth-serving agencies simply because of their

running away from home. Table 3.7 provides a list of 21 offenses for which a juvenile may be referred to the juvenile court authorities and the total number of each referral in St. Joseph County from 1970 to 1975. Table 3.8 gives a breakdown of each referral as a percentage of total referrals from 1970 to 1975. (Statistics for 1975 are approximated by doubling the figures compiled during the first six months of the year.)

Obviously such categories as "ungovernable" and "disorderly conduct" leave great leeway in identifying delinquent behavior and, thus, allow much discretion upon the part of the arresting officer or referral agent. The revisions in the Indiana State Juvenile Code, which were enacted early in 1975, have not helped and have actually worsened the situation, in some ways. For example, the revised definition of "curfew violation" as "habitual" makes it virtually impossible for police agencies to apprehend or question the juvenile involved. The legal and practical difficulty in defining "habitual" has greatly increased the burden on juvenile authorities. They fear, quite rightly, that unless some effective means is available to keep juveniles off the streets after reasonable hours, that such juveniles will very likely be enticed into more serious delinquent behavior. The need for a reconsideration of Senate Bill 90 (the 1975 revision of juvenile statutes) and for a complete re-legislation of the Indiana State Juvenile Code will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

As the 1974-75 Annual Report of the Indiana Department of Probation states, for many children the intake and early dispositional stages of the juvenile referral process are extremely crucial, regardless of the charge. Appropriateness and equity in handling each case depend largely upon the knowledge, skills, and full attention of the referral staff member

Table 3.7

Juvenile Court Referrals for St. Joseph County, 1970 - 1975

		1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
1.	Robbery	42	33	22	54	17	42
2.	Burglary	297	254	259	286	334	392
3.	Auto Theft	121	96	116	129	86	70
4.	Shoplifting	297	235	260	524	638	556
5.	Bicycle Theft	51	30	34	71	65	34
6.	Purse Snatching	29	16	7	6	14	2
7.	Larceny	290	217	169	261	261	240
8.	Sex Offense	35	21	32	21	29	44
9.	Malicious Trespass	198	191	161	260	287	174
10.	Truancy	58	52	98	84	104	94
11.	Fighting	16	24	27	38	13	14
12.	Assault	190	124	128	166	127	86
13.	Runaway	493	347	438	612	584	564
14.	Ungovernable	177	162	99	171	146	182
15.	Disorderly Conduct	42	29	22	22	39	22
16.	Curfew Violation	160	111	68	84	149	64
17.	Liquor Violation	152	77	67	115	101	186
18.	Traffic Violation	25	12	17	15	21	26
19.	Dependence & Neglect	10	17	7	13	14	4
20.	Drug Violation	67	91	86	92	166	134
21.	Other	132	102	88	127	170	152
	Total Referrals	2882	2241	2205	3151	3365	3082

* totals for the first six months were doubled

Table 3.8

Juvenile Court Referrals as Percentage of Total Referrals, St. Joseph County, 1970 - 1975

		1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
1.	Robbery	1.5	1.8	1.0	1.7	0.5	1.4
2.	Burglary	10.3	11.3	11.7	9.1	9.9	12.7
3.	Auto Theft	4.2	4.3	5.3	4.1	2.6	2.3
4.	Shoplifting	10.3	10.5	11.8	16.6	19.0	18.0
5.	Bicycle Theft	1.8	1.3	1.5	2.2	1.9	1.1
6.	Purse Snatching	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.1
7.	Larceny	10.1	9.7	7.7	8.3	7.8	7.8
8.	Sex Offense	1.2	0.9	1.5	0.7	0.9	1.4
9.	Malicious Trespass	6.9	8.5	7.3	8.3	8.5	5.6
10.	Truancy	2.0	2.3	4.4	2.7	3.1	3.0
11.	Fighting	0.5	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.4	0.5
12.	Assault	6.6	5.5	5.8	5.3	3.8	2.8
13.	Runaway	17.1	15.5	19.9	19.4	17.4	18.3
14.	Ungovernable	6.1	7.2	4.5	5.4	4.3	5.9
15.	Disorderly Conduct	1.5	1.3	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.7
16.	Curfew Violation	5.5	4.9	3.1	2.7	4.4	2.1
17.	Liquor Violation	5.3	3.4	3.1	3.6	3.0	6.0
18.	Traffic Violation	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.8
19.	Dependence & Neglect	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.1
20.	Drug Violation	2.3	4.1	3.9	2.9	4.9	4.3
21.	Other	4.6	4.5	3.9	4.0	5.1	4.9

* totals for the first six months were doubled

who is working on the case. In many cases, the label "delinquent" depends upon the values and perceptions of the police officer or other referral agent. There is some evidence to suggest, for example, that police have a tendency to incarcerate more blacks than whites for the same offense. Therefore, concentrating on aggregate delinquency statistics may be misleading. One must also specify the composition of delinquent behavior in order to make more meaningful statements.

Accurate measurement of delinquency is even more difficult than accurate definitions of offenses. As with adult crime, the statistics reported as crime rates are composed only of reported crime. It is universally accepted that only a fraction of the total crime committed is ever reported. The Field Surveys on Crime and Victimization, summarized at the beginning of this chapter, testify to the significant magnitude of unreported crime. Furthermore, of the crime reported, only a fraction of the criminals are apprehended.

The juvenile case is exacerbated by the large areas of latitude and ambiguity mentioned above. Reliable sources have estimated that as much as 75% of all crime committed in the South Bend area is juvenile crime. But, from the opposite perspective, the total group of youths referred to the juvenile justice system is only a fraction of the total youth population, and the offenses for which they are referred are only a fraction of the problems which plague youths growing up in the South Bend community.

What we refer to as the juvenile justice system can be envisioned as a large funnel or series of gates. The gatekeepers at each juncture exercise wide discretion in deciding who shall go on and who shall be

diverted from the mainline of the system. Although this discretion is necessary and desirable in many cases, it raises three problems. (1) As mentioned above, the individuals exercising this discretion may impose selective criteria based on race or life style, for example. This might produce referral statistics which overrepresent minorities. (2) Depending upon which stage in the process one chooses to measure, one measures varying percentages of the total youth problem. And, (3) different components of overall juvenile behavior take different lengths of time to be worked through.

Table 1.1 (on page 10) gives an overview of the entire spectrum of juvenile problems and of the existing community resources which can deal with them. This section of the report is concerned primarily with delinquent behavior and thus deals only with those juveniles who are actually referred to the juvenile court. The total range of troubled youth who need service and attention from community agencies is much larger. In Table 1.1, A represents the problems of the total youth population at any point in time. Each of these youths have "problems" which may range from normal adolescent adjustment to extreme antisocial behavior. In order to prevent such problems from developing into serious incidents, an effective, unified response must be made by community-based, youth-serving agencies so that the basic human needs of such youth can be satisfied. These needs can be broken into four basic categories: (1) Education, (2) Recreation, (3) Employment Opportunity, and (4) Counseling and Treatment for Special Needs. It is the area of prevention, perhaps, that has been insufficiently addressed in the past, with the result that "problems" have grown into "incidents" which demand specific "remediation."

B represents the range of "incidents" which may develop from the neglected needs of youth. For the purposes of this report such incidents can be broken down into two subgroups: (1) those incidents of antisocial behavior which are noncriminal, such as disrespect and verbal abuse of parents, police and teachers; minor fighting incidents; disruptive school behavior; etc. and (2) those incidents of criminal behavior by juveniles which are not reported to the police. As was mentioned earlier, it is very difficult to measure accurately unreported crime, for the simple reason that parents, teachers, and neighbors are reluctant to bring criminal charges against a youthful offender, possibly because they feel that no appropriate remedial response is possible. Nonetheless, everyone agrees that such incidents do occur and that unless successful intervention and remediation occurs at this point, more serious crime resulting in the arrest of the juvenile is likely to follow. Increased efforts must be made by youth-serving agencies, then, to respond to such incidents before they escalate into crimes.

C represents the range of crimes committed by juveniles. Again, not all reported crimes result in the identification of and contact with a juvenile offender. In many cases, incorrect identification or incomplete evidence forces the release of suspects before any possible treatment can be offered them. Reliable sources estimate that at least as many juvenile crimes are disposed of through in-house police investigation after recording purposes as are referred to the juvenile court.

D represents some of the youth-serving agencies in the South Bend community to which juveniles are referred. Such referrals may occur either before or after contact with some law enforcement agency. (The

next chapter of this report analyzes more closely the specific programs which South Bend's youth-serving agencies offer as treatment for juveniles with various problems. The list of such agencies includes the Youth Services Bureau, the Mental Health Center, the Department of Public Welfare, Big Brothers-Big Sisters, the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the Family and Children's Center, Catholic Social Services, and many others.) The significant point to note here is that although so many agencies already have youth-oriented treatment programs, their uncoordinated efforts have not yet been able to meet the total needs of South Bend youth effectively. It is only through a more unified effort involving some type of centralized youth service clearinghouse that the overlaps and gaps in the present system can be eliminated. Only then will more effective treatment be possible.

E represents the referrals that are made to the juvenile court. The South Bend community is served by the St. Joseph County Juvenile Court. Judge Frank X. Kopinski serves as both the juvenile court judge and probate court judge for St. Joseph County. According to Indiana State law, any community of more than 250,000 population is entitled to a separate juvenile court judge and an expanded juvenile probation staff. It is anticipated that the South Bend SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) may reach the 250,000 level by the time of the next census, 1980. Such an event would greatly enhance the youth-serving capacity of the juvenile justice system. But until that future date, maximum use of existing resources must be effected in order to satisfy the present needs of the community.

All referrals to the juvenile court are funneled through a preliminary screening process by the juvenile probation staff at Parkview.

Three courses of action are generally taken after preliminary investigation is completed: (1) the case can be referred to some other agency without formal court action; (2) the juvenile can be "admonished" for his offense and then referred for further treatment or counseling to some other agency; or (3) the case can be formally presented to the court in a petition in which specific charges are made to the judge about offenses which the juvenile has committed. The disposition of the court results in some final adjudication proceeding. Because of the overcrowded conditions in the state juvenile penal institutions and because of the inherent advocacy of the court in favor of the juvenile, diversion of cases to other agencies at this stage is very important. Once a significant delinquent act has occurred, effective remediation must be introduced in order to avoid repeated offenses of the same or a more serious nature. (The next chapter will survey some of the methods of treatment that are presently being used in the South Bend community and will suggest orientations for policy planning for the future.)

F represents the three types of formal adjudication: (1) informal supervision, where a caseworker is assigned to follow up treatment efforts for a juvenile offender; (2) probation, which results in a criminal conviction, sentencing, and a period of formal supervision by the Probation Department; and (3) institutionalization, which results in the incarceration of the juvenile offender in the Indiana Boys' or Girls' School, in the residential treatment facilities of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project, or in the other placement institutions (White's, Family and Children's Center, etc.)

Finally, G is the element of juvenile delinquency recidivism. The number of offenders who repeat their criminal behavior (i.e., recidivists) is a signal indication of the failure of the existing juvenile justice system to deal adequately with the phenomenon of juvenile crime. Specific information on local recividism will be presented in the following pages. The points that must be recognized are that no juvenile can ever be written off as a total loss and that continuing efforts must be made to reach a youth even after he has reached the stage of repeating his initial offense.

The next section of the report focuses upon elements D, E, F, and G of the juvenile justice system in St. Joseph County. The basic sources of information were the files of cases referred to the juvenile court and the juvenile arrest records of the South Bend Police Department. It should be clear that the statistics on the number and kinds of delinquents are only part of the picture. (Certainly, more research needs to be done on elements A, B, C, and D. Both the South Bend Community School Corporation and the Youth Services Bureau are initiating new programs for research and analysis in this area, as will be explained in the next chapter.) But it is also necessary that more complete use of available information be made by the Police and Probation Departments. Specific proposals for such analysis will be made at the end of this chapter.

Some preliminary assumptions can be made upon the basis of information now available. First, if no major change in referral policy is instituted, the number of delinquents referred to court at stage E should reflect at least the general trend of A, B, C, and D. Second, different

offenses undoubtedly are "passed through" the system at differential rates. In other words, it is assumed that a higher percentage of burglaries will end up in juvenile court than will disorderly conduct offenses.

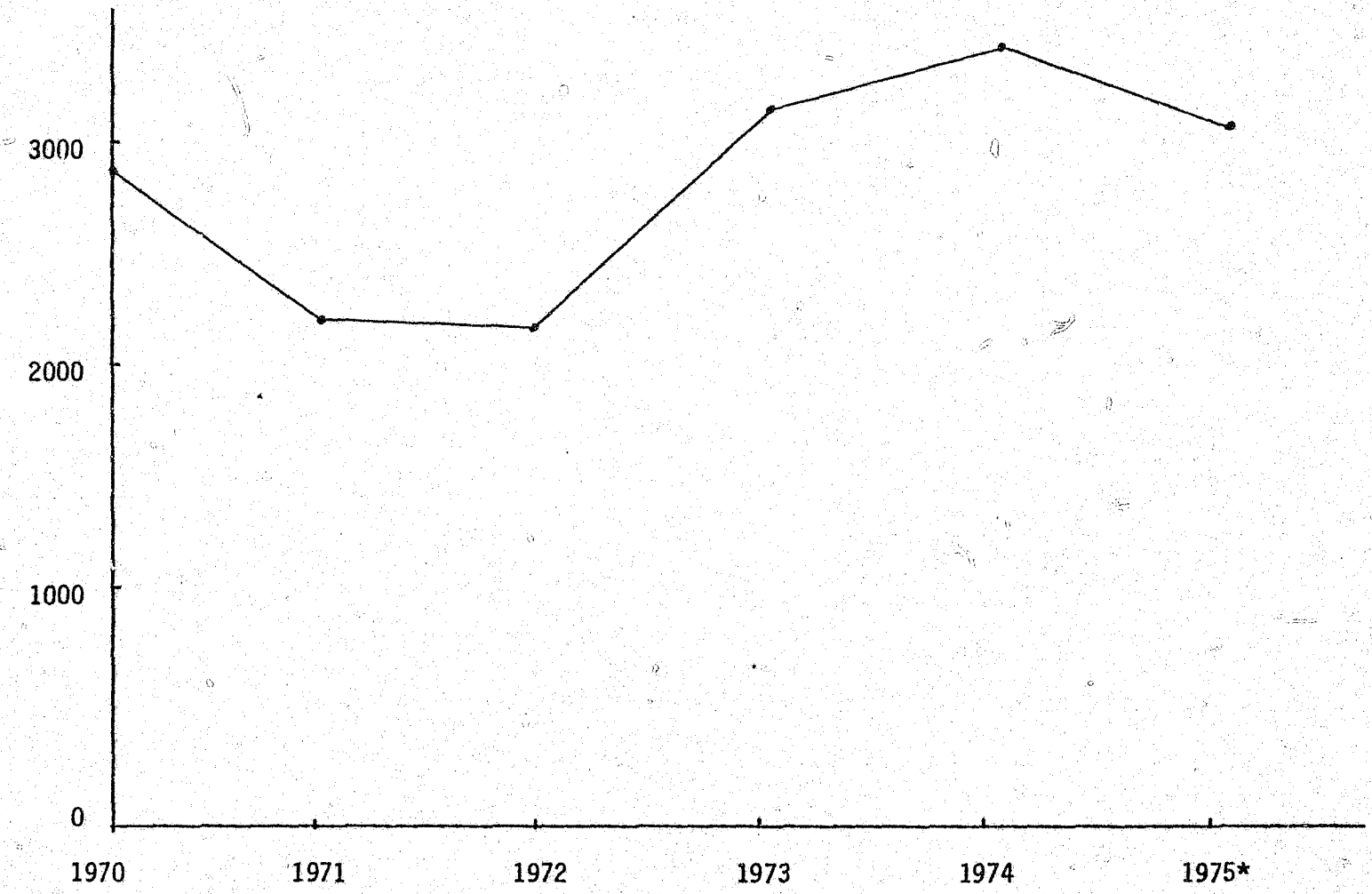
How many delinquents were there in St. Joseph County and South Bend from 1970 to 1975?

The total number of juvenile court referrals in St. Joseph County from 1970 to 1975 is shown in Graph III-2. It will be noticed immediately that a large but temporary decrease in juvenile referrals in 1971 and 1972 was followed by an equally large and apparently more sustained increase in referrals in 1973 and 1974. Although the rate of increase in referrals has leveled off from 1973 to 1975 (assuming that 1975 second-half statistics are equal to first-half figures), there is clearly no sign of any substantial decrease in delinquent behavior over the past three years. The preceding section of this chapter, on overall crime trends in the South Bend SMSA, revealed that there was a parallel decrease in total crime in 1971, with a slight increase to previous levels in 1972, followed by a sustained increase from 1973 through 1975. National crime trends, as reported in the F.B.I. Uniform Crime Reports, indicate a similar phenomenon over the same period. The years 1971 and 1972 were, relatively speaking, more stable economically than either preceding or subsequent years. This may be one factor which contributed to the leveling off and partial decrease in criminal activity.

Further research on this problem might fruitfully be undertaken on the local level in order to study the relationship between overall family

Graph III-2

Total Juvenile Court Referrals, St. Joseph County, 1970-1975



* totals for the first six months were doubled

financial conditions and juvenile delinquency. The evidence at this time seems to confirm the commonsense perception that financial strain creates family situations which are conducive to antisocial behavior. This, in turn, reaffirms the necessity to provide a complete package of social,cultural, and economic treatment to both the juvenile and his family in order to reach the roots of the delinquency problem.

The total number of juvenile court referrals is a useful indicator for some purposes, such as tracing crime trends across time. However, this statistic only measures the number of offenses, not the number of offenders. Just as with crime statistics generally, juvenile statistics may involve a single juvenile committing multiple offenses. At the present time, there is no regular ongoing analysis of information concerning recidivism among juveniles referred to the St. Joseph County Juvenile Probation Department. It is strongly recommended that any expansion of the record-keeping capacity of the Juvenile Probation Department should address itself to creating an easily accessible means to retrieve and analyze recidivism rates and other social profile characteristics.

For purposes of this report,a reliable indicator of the recidivism rates can be derived from the South Bend Police Department statistics on juvenile arrests. As will be shown later, the South Bend Police Department annually refers about half of the total caseload handled by St. Joseph County Juvenile Probation Department. Then, assuming that recidivism rates are equally distributed across the entire county, a reliable measurement can be made of repeat offenses using these statistics.

These figures, compiled monthly, are given here for the period from January, 1975 to October, 1975. We recommend that future studies of juvenile delinquency recidivism also make use of this important source of information.

Table 3.9 presents the number of total juvenile arrests, new arrests, repeat arrests, repeat arrests over four times, and the repeat arrests as a percentage of total juvenile arrests, for each month of 1975 through October. Graph III-3 shows the fluctuations of total arrests, new arrests, and repeat arrests for the same period. During the first ten months of 1975, an average of 50.9% of all juveniles arrested by the South Bend Police Department were repeat-offenders who had been arrested at least once before. Even more significant, perhaps, is that 19.5%, one out of five cases, had been arrested at least five times by the South Bend Police Department. Unfortunately, recidivism is just as likely to occur for a serious offense as for a lesser offense; some of the highest rates of repeat offenses are for larceny, shoplifting, arson, and burglary. By intensifying efforts to reach these repeat-offenders and by more careful study of the causes which contribute to recidivism, some improvement may be possible in the future. But,clearly, the present juvenile justice system cannot adequately respond to the problem of repeated delinquent behavior.

Referral statistics and recidivism rates alone only provide a cross-sectional analysis of the problem. Such an analysis only tells us how many juveniles were referred and have been referred previously to juvenile court <u>at any one point in time</u>. However, this doesn't mean that <u>only</u> this number of youth are or have been involved in court referral.

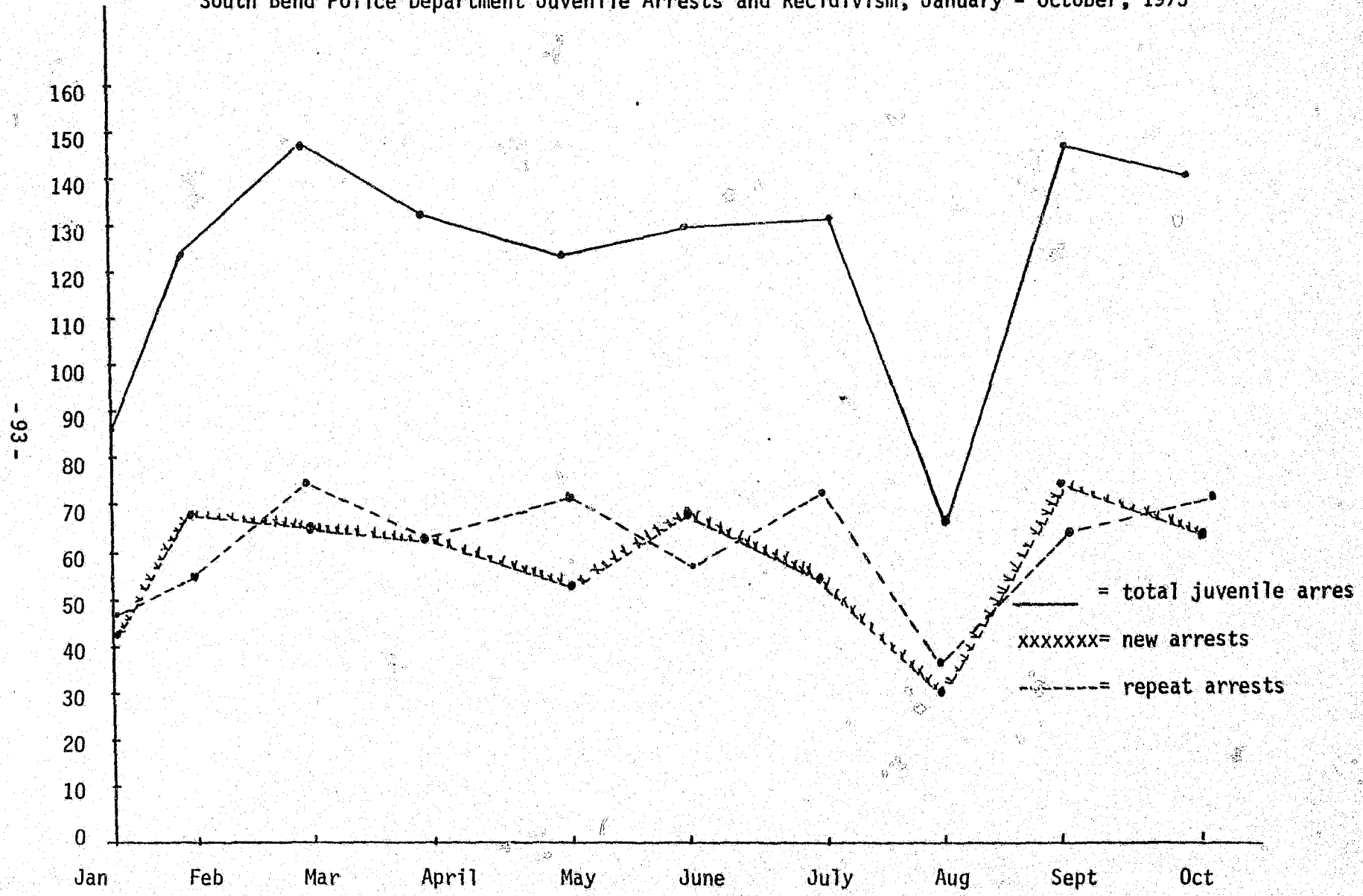
Table 3.9

South Bend Police Department Juvenile Arrests and Recidivism, January - October, 1975

Month	Total Juvenile Arrests	New Arrests	Repeated Arrests	Over Four Arrests	% of Repeats
January	87	42	45	23	51.7
February	125	69	56	15	44.8
March	144	68	76	34	52.8
April	130	65	65	24	50.0
May	123	52	71	30	57.7
June	128	70	58	29	45.3
July	129	57	72	27	55.8
August	66	31	35	13	53.0
September	146	78	68	13	46.6
October	140	66	74	30	52.9
Total	1218	598	620	238	50.9%

Graph III-3

South Bend Police Department Juvenile Arrests and Recidivism, January - October, 1975



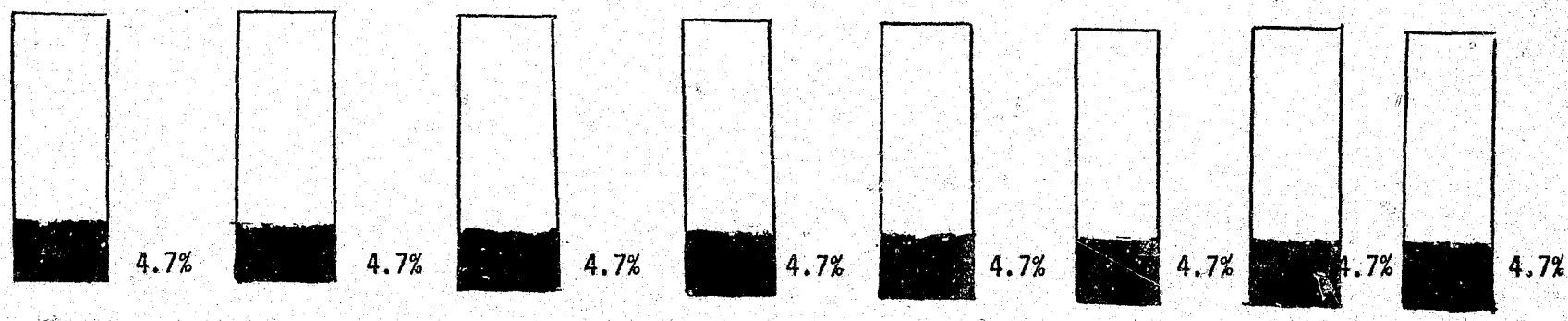
If the total number of juveniles referred comprises 5% of the overall juvenile population, and if the same 5% of the population were referred in each year, then only 5% of the juvenile population will ever have contact with the court. But, if each year some new offenders are referred, as is in fact the case, then the percentage of juveniles with court contact becomes cumulatively more significant each succeeding year.

Graph III-4 is a diagram showing a hypothetical distribution of referrals over an eight-year period. In this graph, the figures are hypothetical and are solely to illustrate the general point. In the example, we take one age group, 10-year-olds. In year one, 4.7% of all 10-year-olds are referred to courts. Year two, 4.7% of them are referred. But, of this 4.7%, 3.5% are individuals who were referred in year one. Adding the 4.7% of year one and the new 1.2% we get a cumulative juvenile contact rate of 5.9% of 10-year-olds by the end of year two. Extending the analysis through year eight (when this age group passes out of the juvenile classification), one finds a cumulative rate of, perhaps, 14.7%.

We do not at present have all the data necessary to calculate this cumulative rate accurately for St. Joseph County. Further research in this area is necessary, for it demands, as previously mentioned, an expansion of the record-keeping capacity of the Juvenile Probation Department. Nevertheless, past data can provide us with some estimate of this cumulative rate. In 1972, the University of Notre Dame's Institute for Urban Studies did a case study of juvenile referrals in St. Joseph County. That study showed that in 1970, 44%

Graph III-4

Hypothetical Illustration of Cumulative Incidence Rate for Ten-Year-Old Referrals



YEAR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	4.7% referred	4.7% old + 1.2% new = 5.9% cumulative	5.9% old + 1.3% new = 7.2% cumulative	7.2% old + 1.1% new = 8.3% cumulative	etc.			

= perhaps, 14.7% cumulative contact rate for ten-year-olds by age 18.

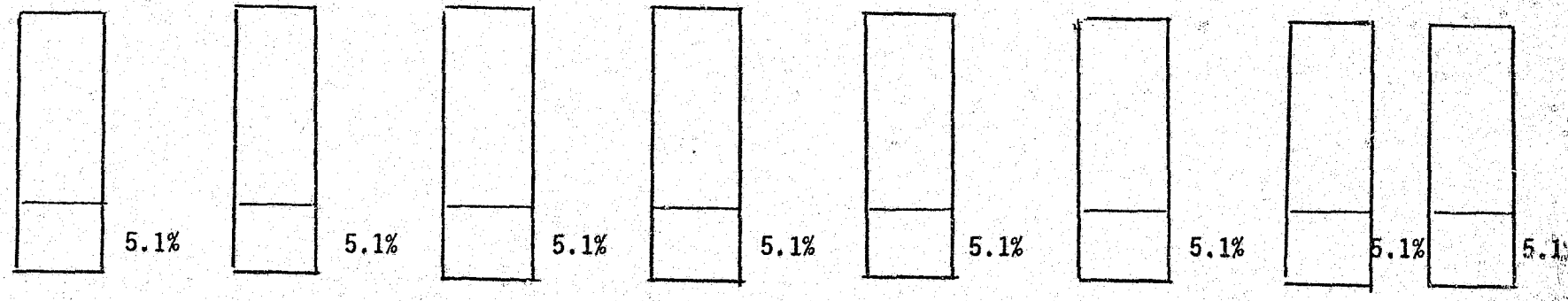
of juveniles referred had no referrals in previous years. In 1971, 38% of juveniles referred had no referrals in previous years. For purposes of this example, let us assume that the average of the two years, 41%, is the average rate of new referrals in any year. Let us also assume that the eight-year average referral rate is the average of 1971 and 1972 for a specific age group, i.e., 5.1%. Finally, let us assume that the experience of the whole 10-17 age group over eight years is the same as the experience of any one age group (e.g., 10-year-olds) over an eight-year period. Graph III-5, then, shows an estimate of the cumulative referral rate over eight years for St. Joseph County. This is a potentially important statistic for evaluating delinquency abatement programs. By using the single-year rate of incidents (4.7% or 5.1%), we obscure the total number and percentage of juveniles coming into contact with the juvenile justice system. It is particularly crucial to ascertain the culumative percentage of the age group involved if we assume that delinquent offenses and referral create greater likelihood of future offenses. One striking aspect of the statistic derived is that it is so large (20.5%), and yet this is still only some fraction of total juvenile offenses. Those referred to the courts form only some unknown percentage of all offenses reported. If these assumptions are realistic, then 20% of any age group is involved in a referrable juvenile offense over time.

What is the age distribution of juveniles referred to the court between 1970 and 1975?

Table 3.10 shows the number of referrals in each age group, while Table 3.11 shows the percentage of the referral population in each age

Graph III-5

Estimate of Cumulative Incidence of Juvenile Referrals, St. Joseph County



YEAR 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

5.1% of population referred	5.1% old + 44% new = 5.1% + 2.2% = 7.3%	7.3% old + 44% new = 7.3% + 2.2% = 9.5%					
			—	—	—	—	—

=20.5% cumulative contact rate.

NOTE: It is assumed here that the rates for taking one age group through 8 years at the average referral rate for the 10-17 age group is the same as taking the whole 10-17 age group at one point in time.

Table 3.10

Juvenile Referrals by Age, St. Joseph County, 1970 - 1975

Age	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
6 or under	6	2	5	13	10	8
7	3	9	5	14	14	4
8	8	4	10	23	23	18
9	31	14	23	33	36	54
10	29	35	38	68	57	42
11	71	50	58	89	91	62
12	148	109	101	171	182	132
13	268	194	238	339	353	236
14	419	327	343	556	553	510
15	631	484	508	725	710	662
16	716	558	489	669	759	734
17	552	455	387	451	577	620
Total Referrals	2882	2241	2205	3151	3365	3082

* totals for the first six months were doubled

Table 3.11

Percentage of Juvenile Referrals by Age,
St. Joseph County, 1970 - 1975

Age	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975*
6 or under	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2
7	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.1
8	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.6
9	1.1	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.8
10	1.0	1.6	1.7	2.2	1.7	1.4
11	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.0
12	5.1	4.9	4.6	5.4	5.4	4.3
13	9.3	8.6	10.8	10.8	10.5	7.7
14	14.5	14.6	15.6	17.6	16.4	16.5
15	21.9	21.6	23.0	23.0	21.1	21.5
16	24.8	24.9	22.2	21.2	22.6	23.8
17	19.2	20.3	17.6	14.3	17.1	20.1

* totals for the first six months were doubled

group. As might be expected, the referrals are concentrated in the higher ages. Eighty per cent of all referrals were 14 to 17. (This will be significant later in correlating referrals with other factors.) One seeming anamoly is the decrease in referrals in the 17-year-old bracket. Two possible explanations suggest themselves. First, many 17-year-olds are referred to adult courts for serious offenses. Second, parents and agencies are less likely to refer a 17-year-old to police and courts for minor offenses such as truancy, ungovernable, etc.

This statistic also means that the rates are much higher than 5% for the 14-17 age group than for the whole 10-17 age group. The break between 11 and 12 is also striking. Policy makers can look with certainty to the 6th and 7th grades as the period when juveniles begin to enter the offenses syndrome.

What are the race, sex, and family status characteristics of the juvenile referral population?

Charts III-6 to III-11 give the race and sex of juvenile referrals in St. Joseph County from 1970 through 1975. Several things are striking about the distributions for these years.

(A) There is remarkable stability in the distribution of juveniles in the various categories between 1970 and 1975. The relative magnitudes of referrals for each category remain basically unchanged across time, although some shifts in overall trends seem to be developing. Further years will corroborate this (or fail to), but at this point we have some reason to believe that demographic characteristics are somewhat constant.

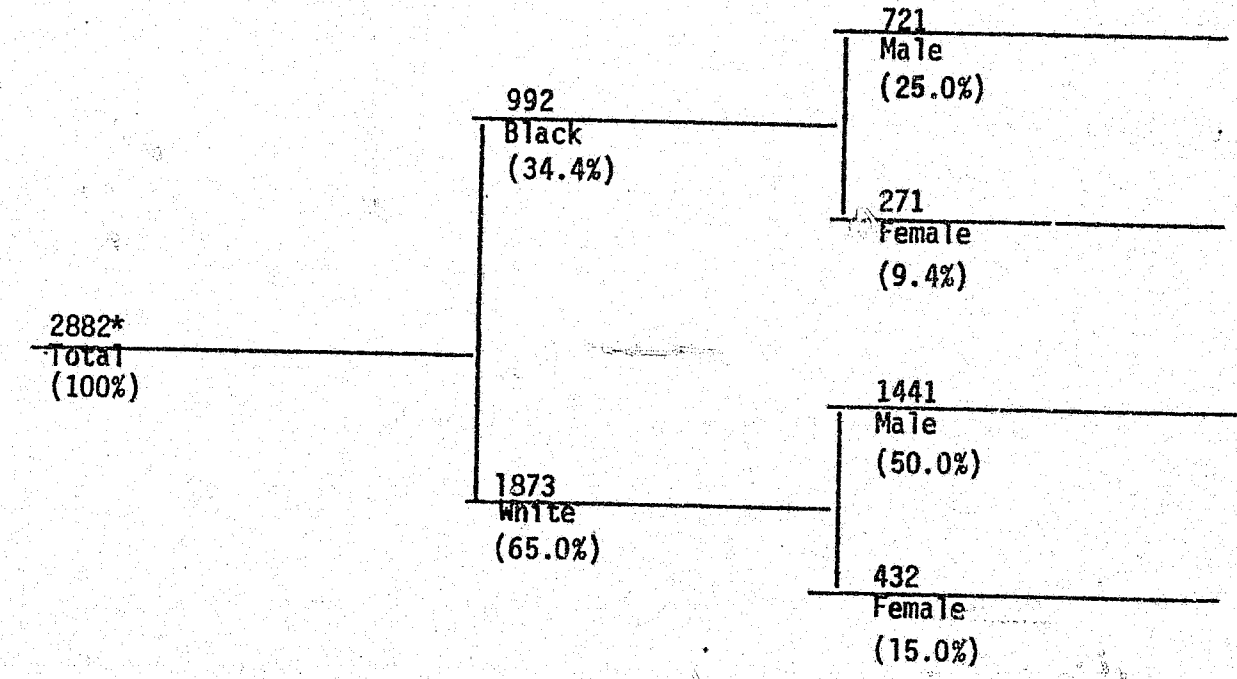
(B) Delinquency referral is an overwhemlingly male phenomenon. Males constitute more than 70% of all referrals in every year. While this basic fact should not be ignored by policy planners, neither should the apparent trend toward an increase in delinquent behavior by white females.

(C) Related to this apparent shift is the fact that, as far as sheer numbers are concerned, delinquency is predominantly white. From 67% to 70% of all referrals during the years studied were white, and about 50% of all referrals were white males. Although these years have shown an increase in the percentage of white male referrals, the most sustained increase has been for white females. In light of the many myths which pervade our thinking about crime and in view of recent social trends toward women's liberation and increased militancy among middle-class whites, these facts should not be ignored in future crime analysis.

Juvenile delinquency also is highly associated with family status. The Institute for Urban Studies' report on juvenile referrals during 1970 and 1971 analyzed the characteristics of family status in the referral population and reported observed correlations of a striking magnitude. The study showed that almost 50% of the referrals to the court were juveniles who came from families without both natural parents. When the percentage of referrals is compared with the percentage of each family-status group in the total juvenile population, the results are even more clearly delineated. Graph III-12 compares the percentage of each demographic grouping in the juvenile referral group, 1970, with the percentage of that demographic group in the whole juvenile population.

Graph III-6

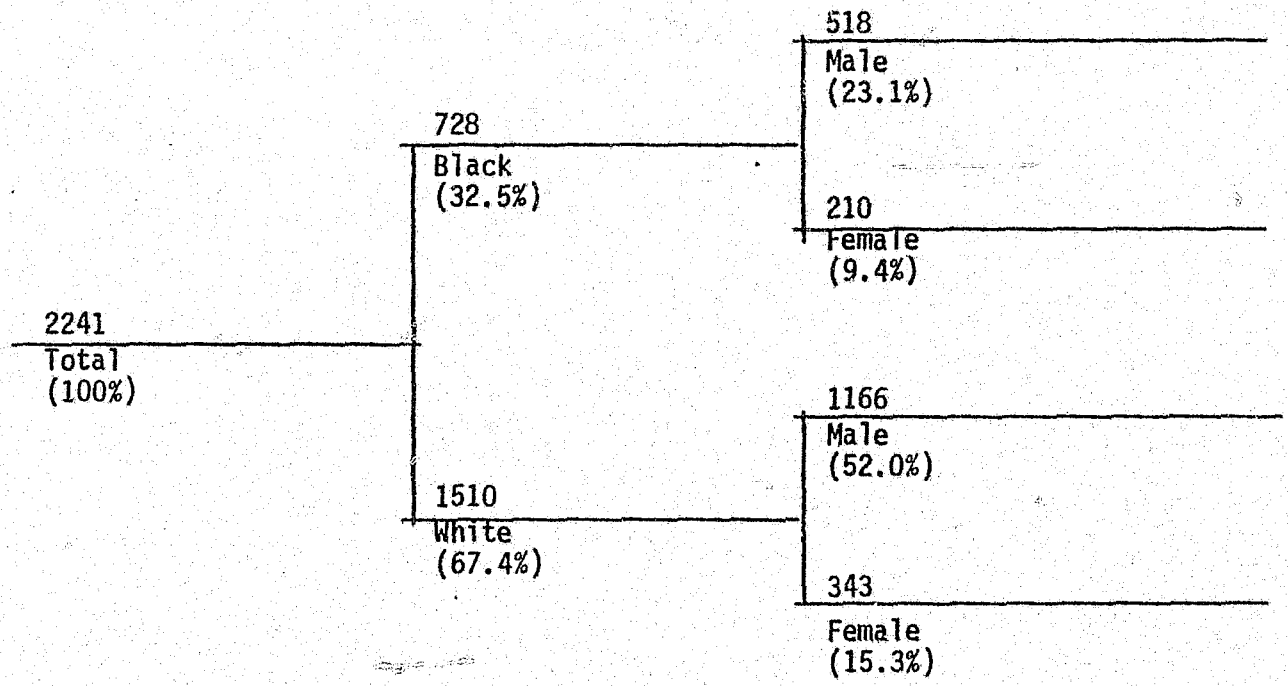
Juvenile Referrals by Race and Sex, St. Joseph County, 1970



*includes 17
Hispanic-surnamed students
not included in chart

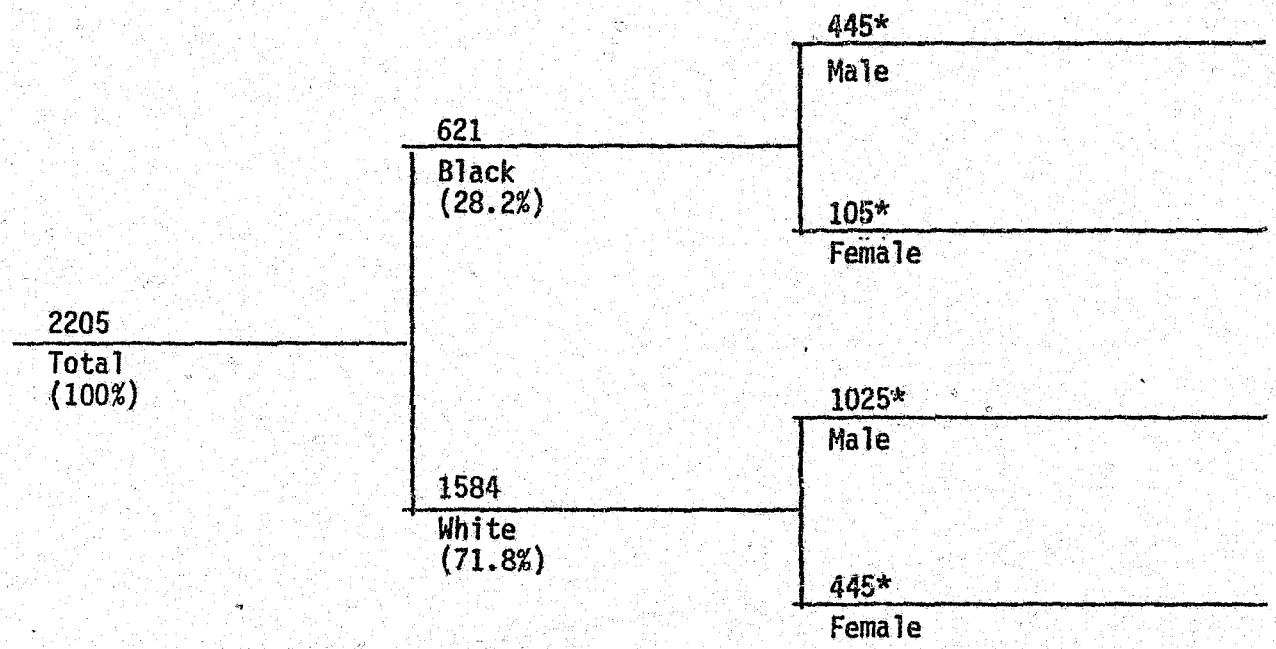
Graph III-7

Juvenile Referrals by Race and Sex, St. Joseph County, 1971



Graph III-8

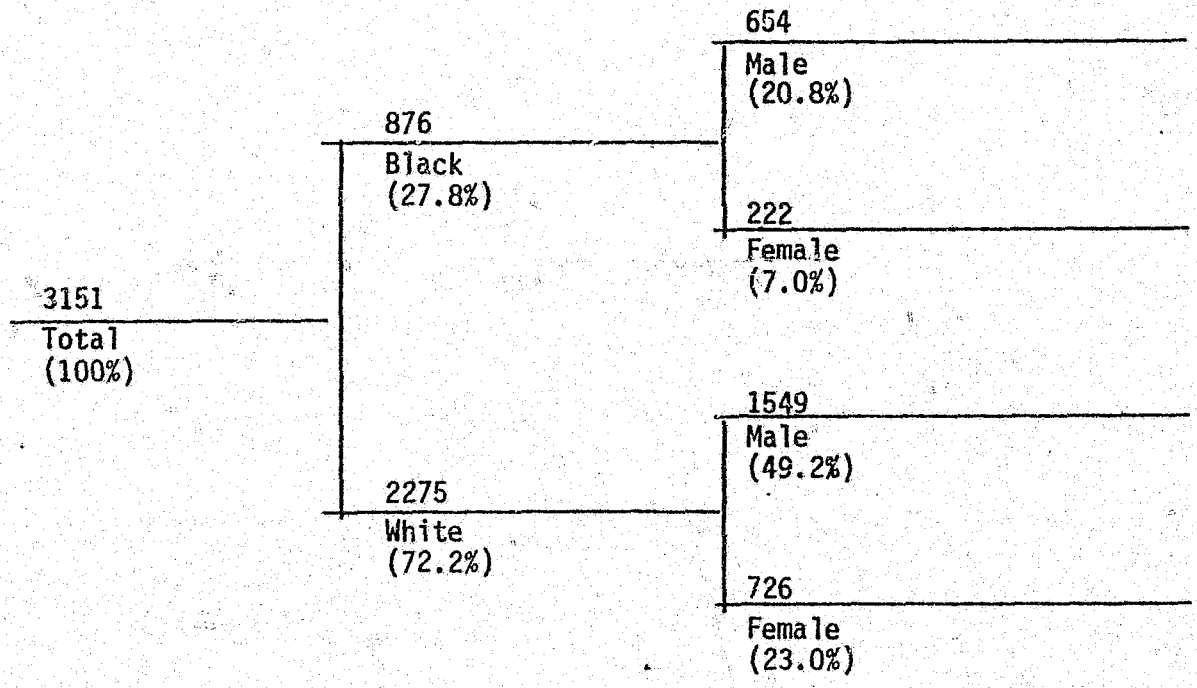
Juvenile Referrals by Race and Sex, St. Joseph County, 1972



* The figures in this column are estimates based on a sample of one-fifth of all juvenile arrests. All other numbers in this diagram are actual counts.

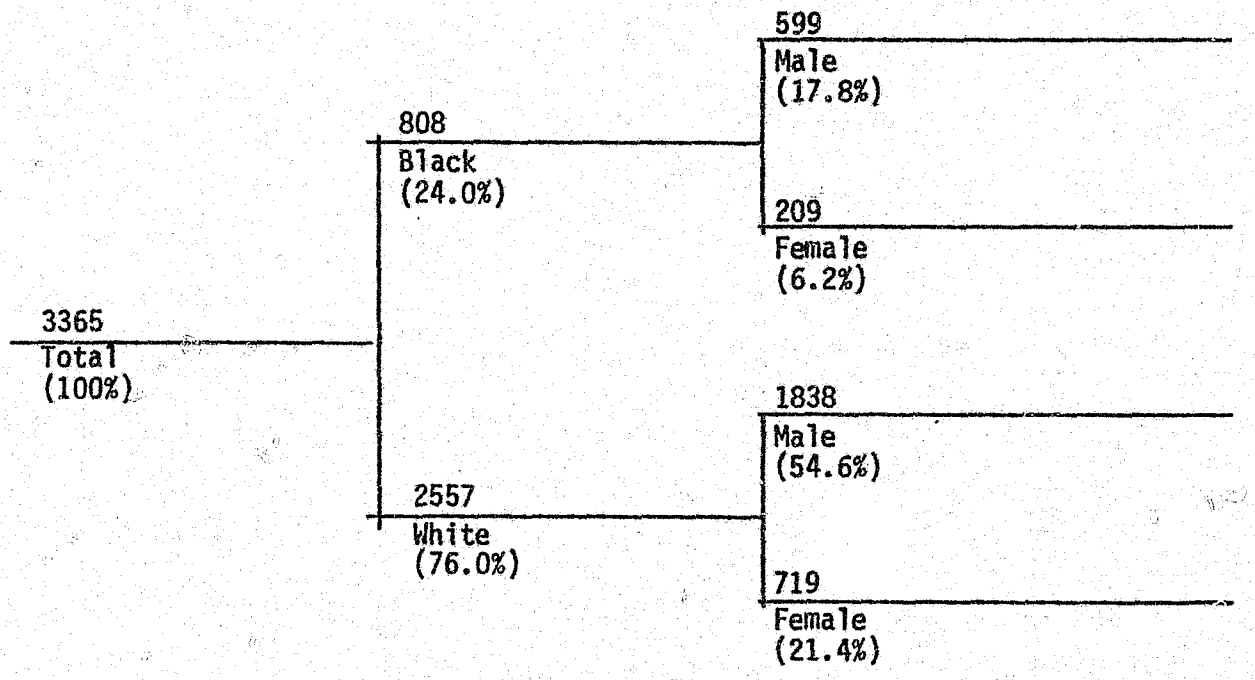
Graph III-9

Juvenile Referrals by Race and Sex, St. Joseph County, 1973



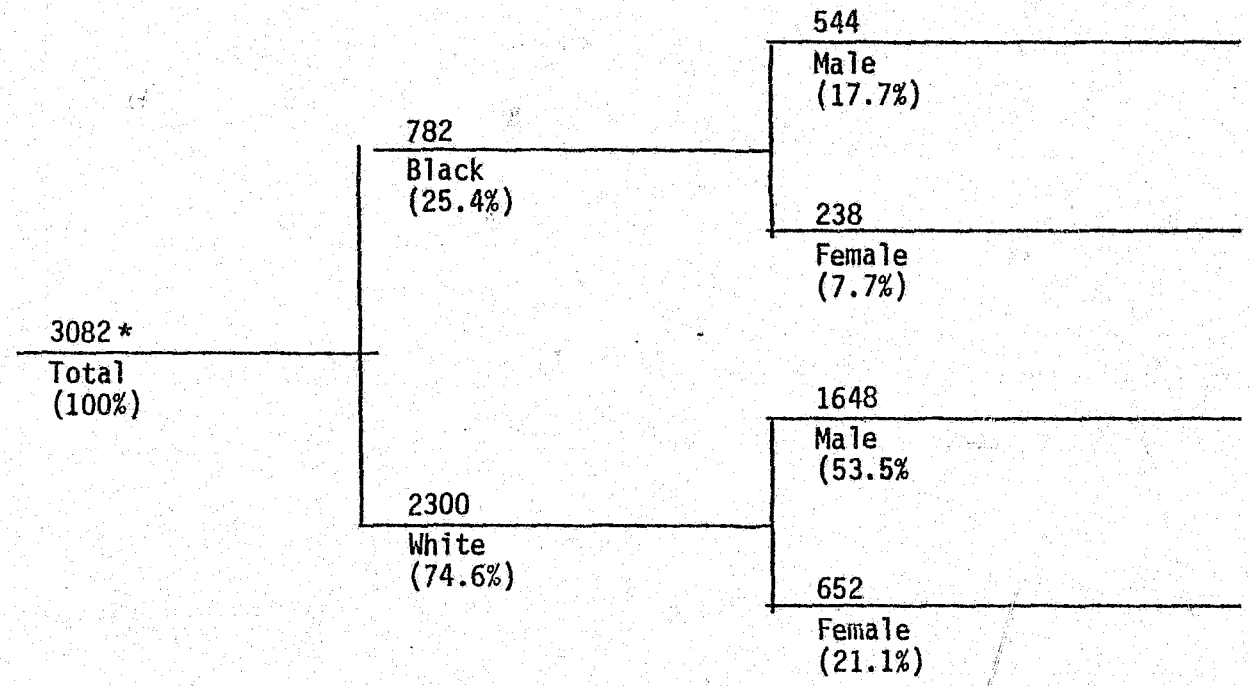
Graph III-10

Juvenile Referrals by Race and Sex, St. Joseph County, 1974



Graph III-11

Juvenile Referrals by Race and Sex, St. Joseph County, 1975

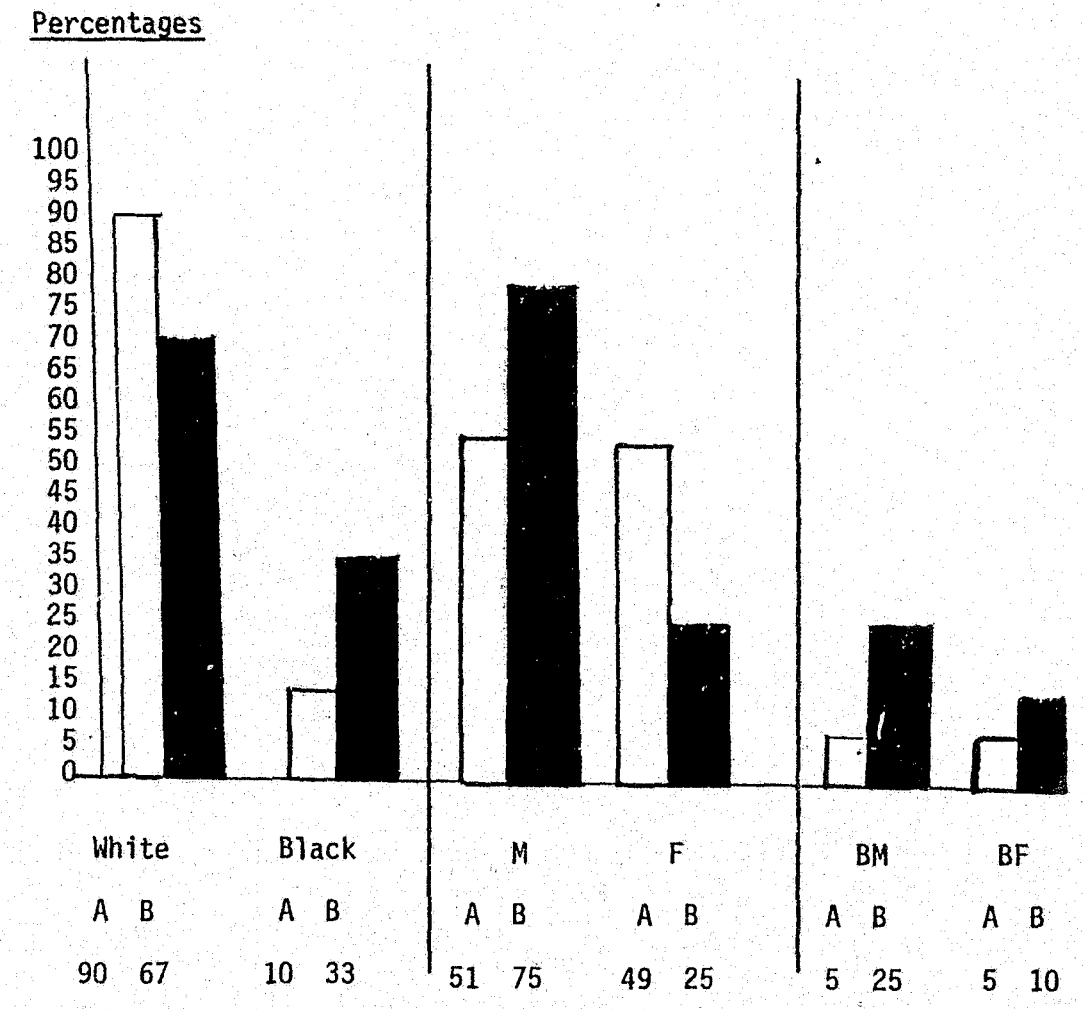


*totals for the first six months were doubled

This graph allows us to look at which referral groups are most disproportionate with respect to the entire juvenile population. It is assumed for these charts that repeat offenses in the same year are evenly distributed across the demographic groupings. (A more detailed analysis of characteristics of family status needs to be coordinated with the rates of recidivism in future analyses.)

Graph III-12

Demographic Characteristics of Juvenile Referrals as Compared with Whole Juvenile Population, 1970

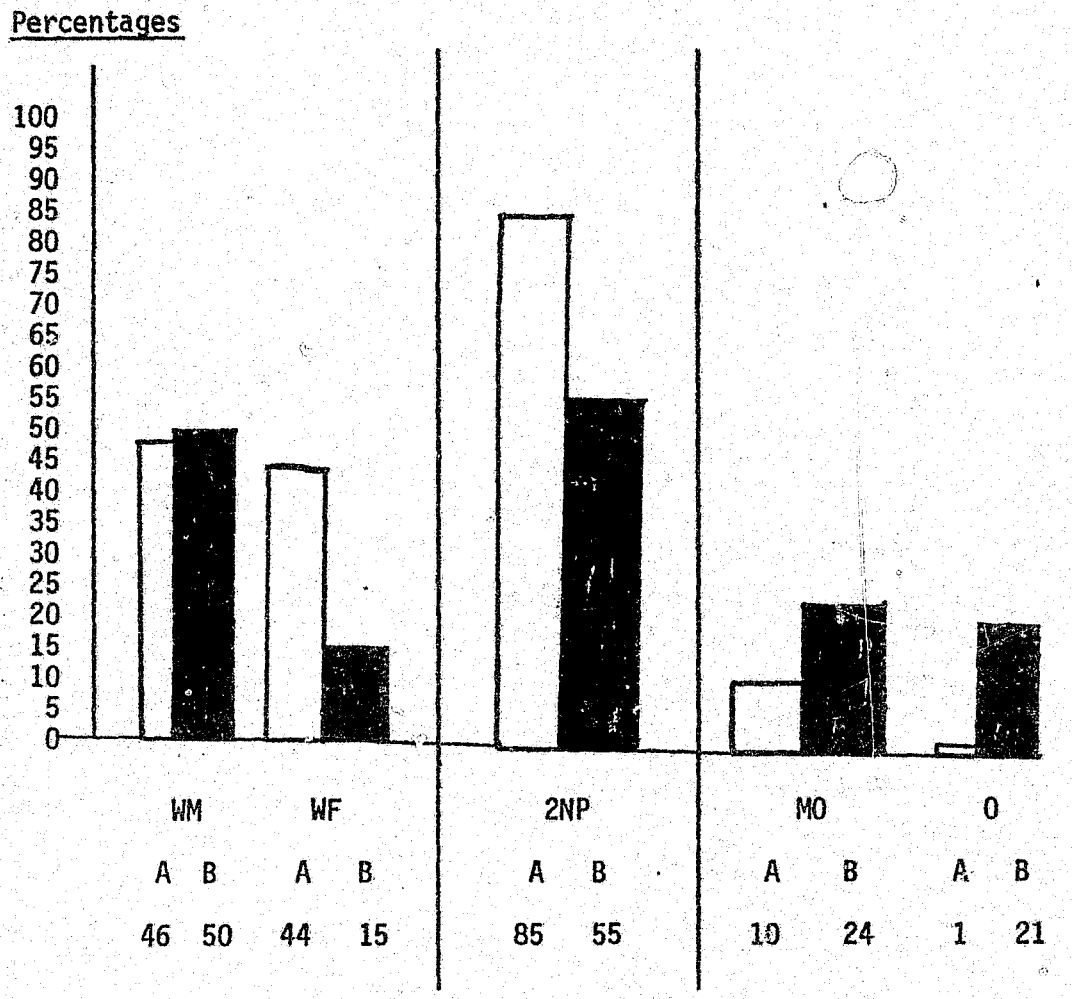


Legend

A = whole juvenile population
B = juvenile referrals
M = male
F = female
B = black
W = white
NP = both natural parents
MO = mother only
O = all other classifications

Graph III-12 (Con't)

Demographic Characteristics of Juvenile Referrals as Compared with Whole Juvenile Population, 1970



Legend

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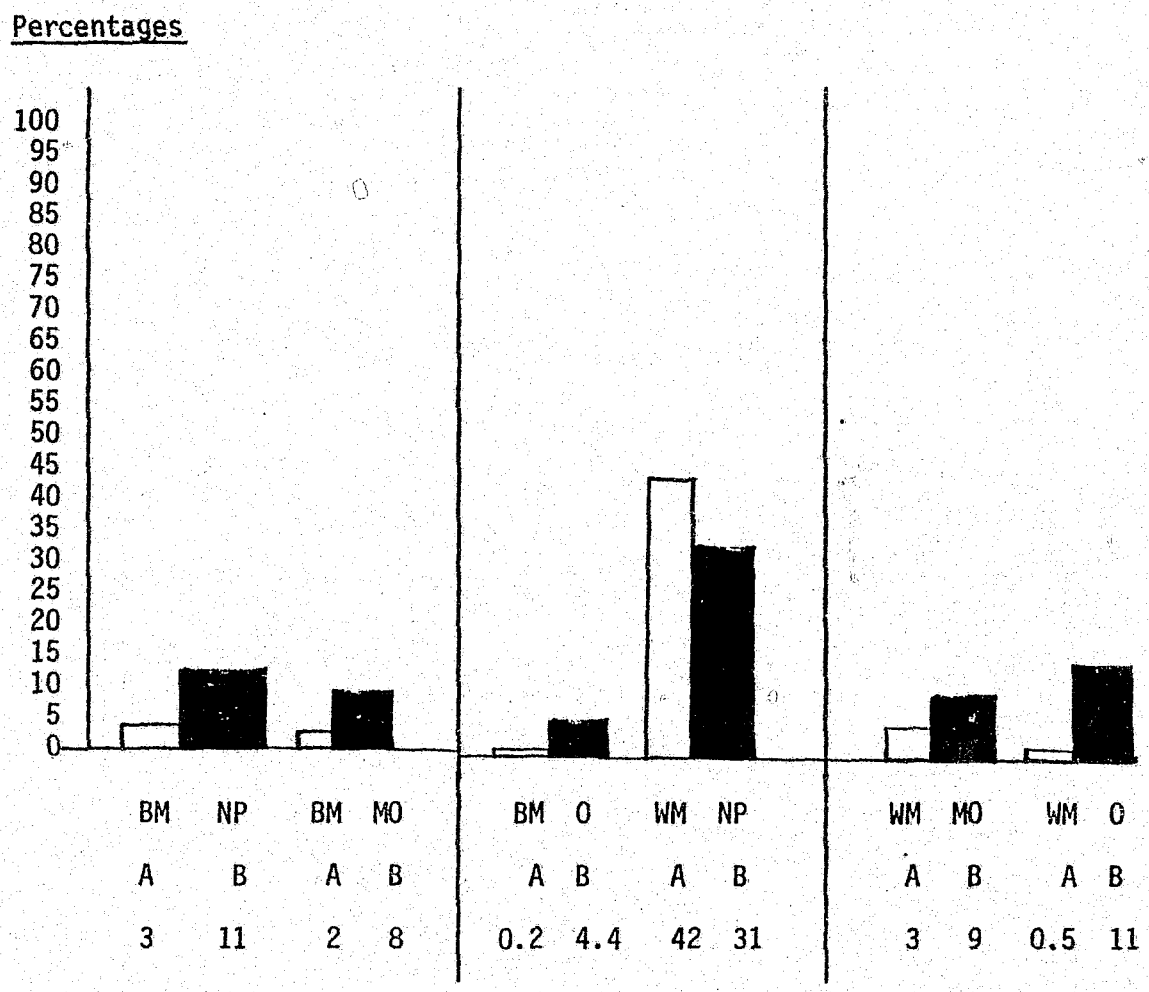
Graph III-12 (Con't)

Demographic Characteristics of Juvenile Referrals as Compared with Whole Juvenile Population, 1970



Legend

A = whole juvenile population
B = juvenile referrals
M = male
F = female
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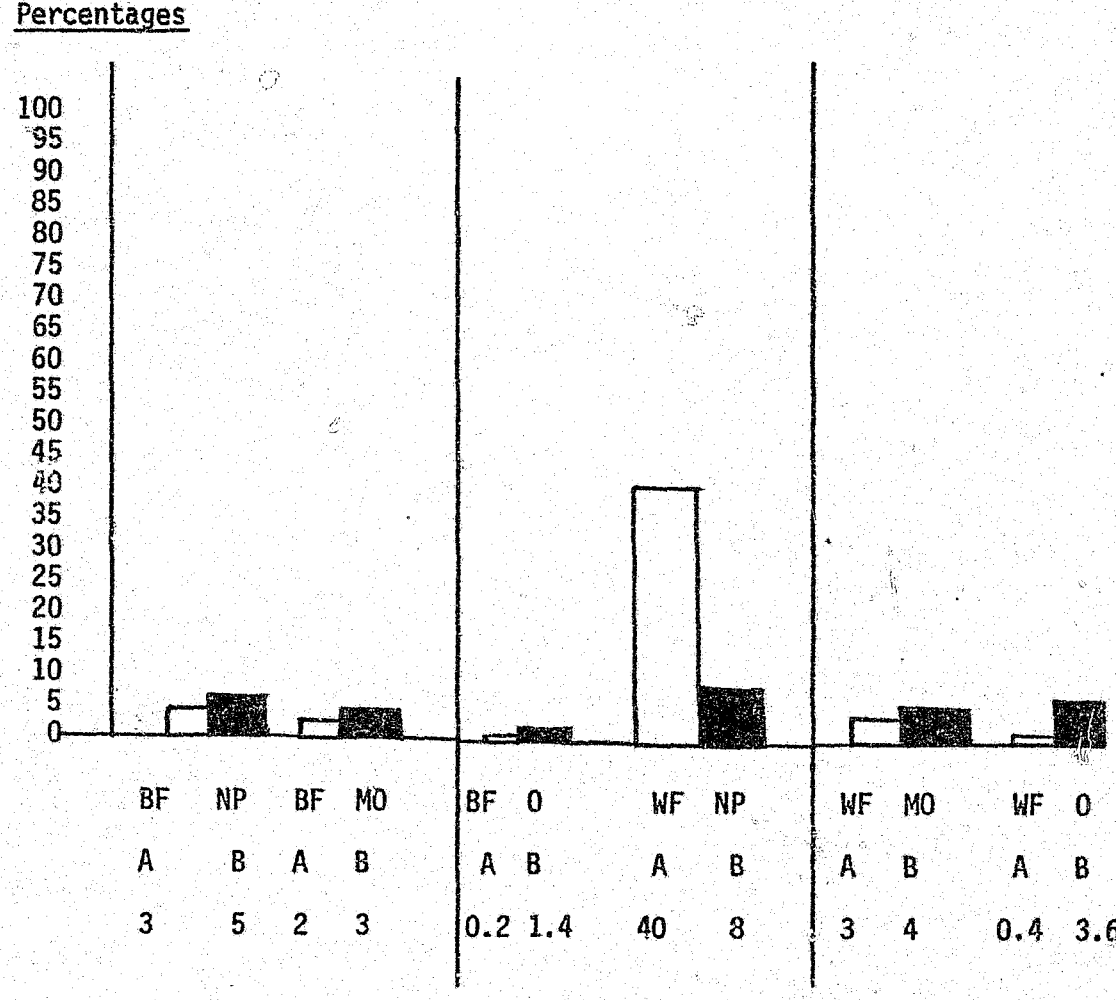
O = all other classifications

Graph III-12 (Con't)

Demographic Characteristics of Juvenile Referrals as Compared with Whole Juvenile Population, 1970



Legend

A = whole juvenile population
B = juvenile referrals
M = male
F = female
B = black
W = white
NP = both natural parents
MO = mother only
O = all other classifications

Source: 1970 Census and juvenile court records

Table 3.12 also illustrates the relationship between family status and sex among juvenile referrals, this time in 1971. In this case we corrected for repeats. Using 1971 referrals, the percentage of offenses which were second and third offenses in the year was 17%. Hence, to correct we multiplied the number of offenses in each demographic grouping of referrals by 83%, to get an estimate of the number of offenders in each demographic grouping. This number was then expressed as a percentage of the demographic group in the whole juvenile population. In effect this gives us a rate for each demographic group. The higher the rate above the average for the whole group (4.9%), the greater the strength of the demographic variable under consideration. For example, white females had a rate of 1.6%, far below the average; white males had a rate of 5.3%, somewhat above the average.

The most striking fact on the chart is the effect of family status. For black males, the referral rate for juveniles from "other family status" is almost 3½ times the rate for those from homes with both natural parents. For white males, the rate for "other family status" is almost 9 times the rate for juveniles with both natural parents. Clearly, family status-sex is a more accurate predictor than any other demographic variable examined. The higher rate for black males, however, is in major part accounted for by a higher incidence of "other family status" in the black population. When you control for family status, the rates for whites and blacks are much closer and probably not statistically significant. For example, the rate for black males of "other family status" is 30.8%, while the rate for white males of "other family status" is a similarly high 23.6%.

Table 3.12

COMPARATIVE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RATES BASED ON JUVENILE REFERRALS

1971 Base and Sample of Juvenile Referrals

SAMPLE

$$\frac{\text{Juvenile Referrals}}{\text{Juvenile Population}} = \frac{2241 \quad (1860)^*}{40{,}000} = 4.6\%$$

RACE

$$\text{Black} = \frac{728 \quad (605)}{4{,}000} = 15.1\%$$

$$\text{White} = \frac{1510 \quad (1253)}{36{,}000} = 3.5\%$$

SEX

$$\text{Male Black} = \frac{518 \quad (430)}{2{,}000} = 21.5\%$$

$$\text{Female Black} = \frac{210 \quad (174)}{2{,}000} = 8.7\%$$

$$\text{Male White} = \frac{1165 \quad (967)}{18{,}400} = 5.3\%$$

$$\text{Female White} = \frac{345 \quad (286)}{17{,}600} = 1.6\%$$

FAMILY STATUS

	RATE		Size of Demographic group		Extension	Correction	Other Family Status	Natural Parents
Male Black/Natural Parents	11.1	X	1,200	=	133	(110)		110
** Male Black/Other Family Status	37.1	X	880	=	326	(271)	271	
Female Black/Natural Parents	5.7	X	1,200	=	68	(56)		56
** Female Black/Other Family Status	14.3	X	880	=	126	(105)	105	
Male White/Natural Parents	3.2	X	16,800	=	538	(447)		447
** Male White/Other Family Status	28.5	X	1,400	=	399	(331)	331	
Female White/Natural Parents	0.82	X	16,000	=	131	(109)		109
** Female White/Other Family Status	16.6	X	1,360	=	226	(188)	188	
						TOTAL	895	722

* Numbers in parentheses include 17% correction factor for repeated offenses in same year.

** For all demographic groups, referrals in the "Other Family Status" have delinquency rates from 3 to 9 times higher than the average rate; they represent 55% of the juvenile referrals.

In any one year, then, a black or white male from the "other family status" group has between a 1-in-4 and 1-in-3 chance of being referred to the juvenile court. It should be remembered, also, that "other family status" comprises about 50% of all referrals between 1970 and 1975.

Another crucial aspect of family status and delinquency is the distribution of offenses according to family status. Table 3.13 shows the various offenses for which referral to the court were made in 1970 and 1971. The percentage of offenses per category committed by juveniles living with both natural parents is shown, as is the percentage committed by juveniles with "other family status."

For both 1970 and 1971 a pattern is visible. More serious crimes involve a higher percentage of juveniles from "other family status." "Other family status" juveniles constitute about 50% of the referral population, and yet they were referred for 66% of the robberies in 1970, 55% of the auto thefts in 1970, 75% of the auto thefts in 1971, 55% of the purse snatching in 1970, and so on. Table 3.14 lists the offenses in rank order according to average percentage in '70 and '71 for "other family status" juveniles. Notice too that there is a significant variation between the two years' data.

Let us introduce a further consideration - that of previous referrals. Juveniles from "other family status" with two or more referrals to the court in previous years committed 56.3% of all auto thefts and 35.4% of all burglaries. Table 3.15 shows the percentage of crimes committed by juveniles with both natural parents and zero or one previous referrals compared to juveniles from "other family status" and two or more previous

Table 3.13

Percentage of Juvenile Referrals for Various Offenses by Family Status, 1970 and 1971

Offense	1970		1971	
	Natural Parents	Other Family Status	Natural Parents	Other Family Status
Assault	44.0	56.0	69.5	30.5
Auto Theft	54.4	45.6	25.0	75.0
Bicycle Larceny	66.7	33.3	0	100.0
Burglary	50.0	50.0	34.2	65.8
Curfew Violation	64.9	35.1	60.0	40.0
Dependence & Neglect	50.0	50.0	33.3	66.7
Disorderly Conduct	66.7	33.3	75.0	25.0
Drug Violation	75.0	25.0	64.2	35.8
Fighting	66.7	33.3	66.7	33.3
Joyriding	42.8	57.2	60.0	40.0
Larceny	57.6	42.4	59.0	61.0
Liquor Violation	61.8	38.2	71.6	29.4
Malicious Trespass	65.6	34.4	65.6	34.4
Other Delinquency	72.0	28.0	54.5	45.5

Table 3.13 (Con't.)

Offense	1970		1971	
	Natural Parents	Other Family Status	Natural Parents	Other Family Status
Parole Violation	0	0	0	0
Probation Violation	0	0	0	0
Purse Snatching	44.4	55.6	50.0	50.0
Robbery	33.3	66.7	60.0	40.0
Runaway	44.6	55.4	40.5	59.5
Sex Offense	55.5	44.5	33.3	66.7
Shoplifting	47.9	52.1	50.0	50.0
Traffic Violation	100.0	0	50.0	50.0
Truancy	33.3	66.7	25.0	75.0
Ungovernable	60.6	39.4	47.2	52.8
Vandalism	0	100.0	60.0	40.0

Table 3.14

Rank Order Of Juvenile Offenses Committed by "Other Family Status" Juveniles, 1970 and 1971

Offense	
1. Truancy	70.9
2. Vandalism	70.0
3. Bicycle Larceny	66.7
4. Auto Theft	60.3
5. Dependence & Neglect	58.4
6. Burglary	57.9
7. Runaway	57.5
8. Sex Offense	55.6
9. Robbery	53.4
10. Purse Snatching	52.8
11. Larceny	51.7
12. Shoplifting	50.6
13. Joyriding	48.6

Table 3.14 (Con't)

Rank Order of Juvenile Offenses Committed by
"Other Family Status" Juveniles, 1970 and 1971

Offense	
14. Ungovernable	46.1
15. Assault	43.3
16. Curfew Violation	37.6
17. Other Delinquency	36.8
18. Malicious Trespass	34.4
19. Liquor Violation	33.8
20. Fighting	33.3
21. Drug Violation	30.4
22. Disorderly Conduct	29.2
23. Traffic Violation	25.0
24. Probation Violation	0
25. Parole Violation	0

Table 3.15

Percentage of Serious Crimes Committed by Selected Juvenile Groupings, 1970 and 1971

Offense	A	B
Auto Theft	6.3%	56.3%
Bicycle Larceny	33.3%	25.0%
Burglary	20.8%	35.4%
Dependence & Neglect	40.0%	0
Joyriding	28.6%	57.1%
Larceny	35.7%	23.5%
Purse Snatching	65.2%	17.4%
Robbery	0	37.5%
Runaway	22.6%	31.6%
Sex Offense	33.3%	33.3%
Shoplifting	43.8%	17.4%
Truancy	20.8%	41.7%
Vandalism	0	0

A refers to juveniles from a family with both natural parents and zero or one previous referral in previous years.

B refers to juveniles from "other family status" with two or more referrals in previous years.

NOTE: Figures will not agree with those in Table 3.13 since this information was not available for all referrals in our sample. Categories used are those with all data available.

referrals. Generally, the figures are higher for the juveniles from "other family status" with two or more previous referrals. Interestingly, purse snatching and shoplifting are higher for juveniles from natural-parent families. But robbery, burglary, and auto theft, perhaps the three most serious offenses, are much more likely to be committed by juveniles from "other family status" with past records.

Again, it is the magnitude of these data that is striking. Juveniles in the "other family status" comprise only about 11% of the juvenile population. For robbery, burglary and auto theft, almost no females were involved; so, we are dealing with 5.5%. Further, assume only one-third of these had two or more previous referrals. Then, for the three most serious offenses (robbery, burglary and auto theft) 37%, 35%, and 56%, respectively, of these three crimes were committed by juveniles who comprise only 1.8% of the total juvenile population.

Private and public agencies and individuals can take strong counsel from these facts. Males from "other family status" comprise only 5.5% of the juvenile population (1970 Census); those with previous referrals, only about 1.8%. This means about 720 youth are the target to which efforts should be directed. Two probable causes account for the striking magnitudes. First, broken-family status is usually associated with a variety of phenomena associated with delinquency: poverty, frustration, pressures, emotional pressures, and powerlessness. Second, these juveniles are more likely to be referred because of police attitudes and lack of parental intervention. Further research will hopefully look into this area. But in either case, the need for aid for these children is the same. The priorities should be clear.

Where did juvenile crime occur in St. Joseph County between 1970 and 1975?

Another aspect of the juvenile referral system that must be addressed is the origin of juvenile referrals in the county. Here again, myths sometimes tend to pervade our thinking. The conventional wisdom is that the majority of the referrals come from "inner-city" South Bend. Tables 3.15 and 3.16 shows the geographic origin of juvenile referrals in St. Joseph County from 1970-1975 as numbers and as percentages of annual juvenile referrals. As the tables indicate, a majority of referrals do come from South Bend, but not in disproportion to the juvenile population in the county. If one assumes that the referrals from social agencies and from others (parents, neighbors, etc.) are evenly distributed geographically, then it becomes clear that South Bend is not strongly disproportionate in its percentage of referrals.

If accurate recidivism statistics were available, it would be possible to express delinquency as a rate for the various geographical areas. By comparing the frequency of referrals to the juvenile population for specific geographic boundaries, it would be possible to pinpoint delinquency "hot spots" and thus facilitate policy response by public and private agencies. (The South Bend Urban Observatory has undertaken a project on "Neighborhood Conservation," which begins to analyze some of the demographic characteristics of various "organic" neighborhoods within the South Bend SMSA. It was originally anticipated that data could be gathered on the frequency of juvenile crime within such neighborhoods for inclusion within this project. That proved unworkable, however.) Future studies of overall crime trends should attempt to include such data. As was mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter, such an analysis could be easily accomplished if the Police Department's information gathering were expanded to detail more precisely the location of crime throughout the South Bend SMSA.

Table 3.16

Origin of Juvenile Referrals in St. Joseph County, 1970 - 1975

Source	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975**
Police:						
South Bend	1802	1276	1223	1733	1648	1578
Mishawaka	510	421	429	648	799	662
St. Joseph County	166	213	180	345	491	446
Other	252	175	211	216	232	176
	2730	2085	2043	2942	3170	2862
Schools	51	46	51	68	88	68
Social Agencies	63	57	52	37	38	32
Others (Family, etc.)	38	11	59	104	69	120
Total	2882	2199*	2205	3151	3365	3082

*There is a discrepancy for 1971. Total referrals for 1971 were 2241. Court records only account for 2199 of these referrals.

**Totals for the first six months were doubled.

Table 3.17

Origin of Juvenile Referrals in St. Joseph County by Percentage, 1970 - 1975

Source	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975**
Police:						
South Bend	62.5	56.9	55.5	55.0	49.0	51.2
Mishawaka	17.7	18.8	19.4	20.6	23.7	21.5
St. Joseph County	5.8	9.5	8.2	10.9	14.6	14.5
Other	8.7	7.8	9.6	6.9	6.9	5.7
	94.7	93.0	92.7	93.4	94.2	92.9
Schools	1.8	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.6	2.2
Social Agencies	2.2	2.5	2.3	1.2	1.1	1.0
Others (Family, etc.)	1.3	0.5	2.7	3.3	2.1	3.9
Total	100.0	98.1*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*This column accounts for 98.1% of all referrals because of the discrepancy between 2241 referrals (total for 1971) and the 2199 accounted for in court records.

**Totals for the first six months were doubled.

The Institute for Urban Studies' report on juvenile crime (1970-1971) provides a detailed model for such a geographic analysis. Rates of delinquency, corrected for recidivism, were calculated for census tracts within South Bend for 1970 and 1971. Table 3.17 shows the rates of delinquency for a sample of South Bend's census tracts.

In 1970, 14 of 35 census tracts significantly exceeded the average for the city in rate of delinquency. These were Census Tracts 6, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30 and 34. The actual number of offenses can be pinpointed with even less difficulty than crime rates. The South Bend Police Department data system could allow retrieval of this information upon a monthly basis if policy planners so desired. Table 3.18 shows the number of juvenile offenses by census tract in 1970 and 1971, and Map B presents those statistics on a census tract map.

Again, the policy implications are clear; the concentration of juvenile crime can be identified. In 1970 and 1971, high crime rates and the largest numbers of offenses occurred in neighborhoods characterized by broken families with few social or economic resources. The fear of crime and the fact of crime are a daily part of life in such neighborhoods, and policy planners must address themselves to some solution on the neighborhood level. Only a concentration of social and economic, both individual and institutional, resources can begin to affect some change in the present situation. As we have demonstrated, the problems can be identified both geographically and demographically. It remains for the resources to be committed and channeled into effective, community-based action.

Table 3.18

A Sample of the Juvenile Delinquency Rate by Census Tract

Census Tract	1970	1971
001	1.7%	2.8%
002	4.1%	3.5%
003.01	4.4%	5.4%
003.02	1.4%	0
004	2.7%	2.5%
005	3.4%	5.1%
006	8.2%	4.9%
007	3.1%	7.8%
008	3.4%	5.0%
009	11.3%	16.7%
010	9.6%	5.8%
011	1.0%	2.6%
012	0.7%	0.8%
013	1.4%	0
014	5.1%	4.0%
015	6.1%	2.4%
016	0	2.3%
017	27.9%	17.5%
018*	105.3%	95.1%
019	11.6%	5.7%
020	12.3%	9.3%
021	12.3%	11.5%
022	8.2%	7.6%
023	13.0%	11.1%
024	0.7%	7.7%
025	3.1%	1.6%
026	4.1%	3.9%
027	25.0%	17.8%
028	6.5%	12.6%
029	17.8%	14.6%
030	14.0%	17.0%
031	1.7%	3.6%
032	1.0%	2.4%
033	5.1%	17.3%
034	12.7%	5.4%
035	3.8%	18.1%

*The unusually high percentage is caused by the very small number of children living in this tract.

Table 3.19

Number of Juvenile Offenses by Census Tract, 1970 and 1971

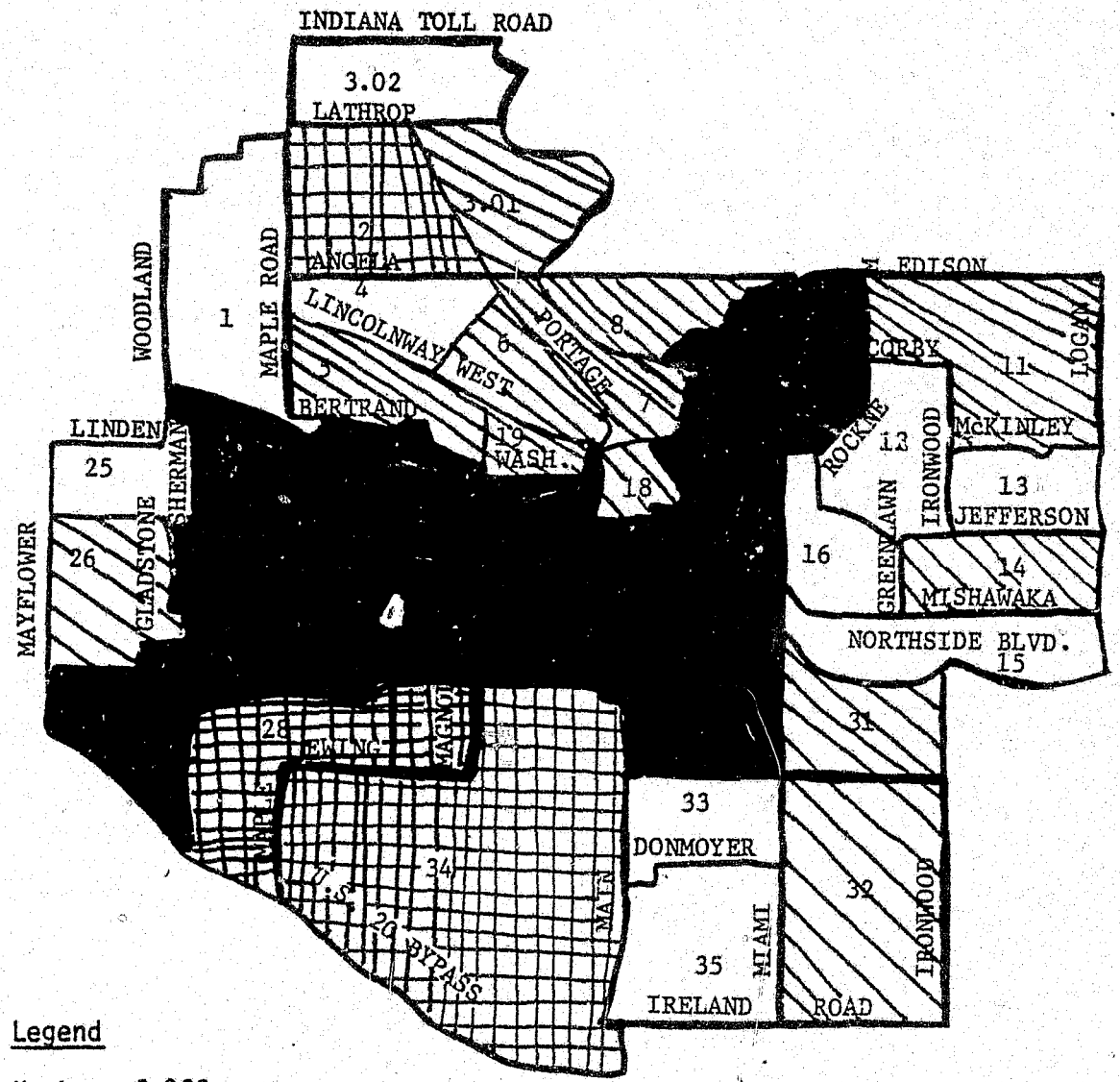
Census Tract	1970	1971
2	55	40
3.01	35	35
3.02	5	0
4	20	15
5	20	25
6	70	30
7	15	30
8	20	25
9	45	55
10	110	55
11	15	35
12	5	5
13	5	0
14	40	25
15	45	15
16	0	15
17	125	65
18	40	30
19	75	30
20	80	50
21	110	85
22	65	50
23	70	50
24	50	55
25	20	10
26	70	35
27	135	80
28	25	40
29	170	115
30	105	105

Table 3.19 (Con't)

Census Tract	1970	1971
31	10	25
32	20	35
33	35	10
34	125	45
35	25	10
101	60	30
102	40	60
103	70	50
104	15	35
105	30	50
106	55	45
107	80	65
108	0	10
110	30	10
111	45	70
112	15	15
113.01	45	40
113.02	35	25
113.03	20	25
114	25	10
115	50	80
116	45	35
117	10	25
118	10	10
119	20	30
120	0	30
121	15	5
122	10	15
123	20	0

MAP B

Number of Juvenile Offenses by Census Tract, 1971



Legend

Number of Offenses:

0 - 20

21 - 35

36 - 49

50 - 115

C. Proposal for Community Action to Alleviate the Fear of Crime and to Decrease the Fact of Crime

> Citizen involvement and support of crime prevention and remediation programs is not a fact or a temporary trend, but an absolute necessity if there is to be a more effective relationship between the offender and the society from which he comes and to which he returns.

That was the conclusion of the Indiana State Department of Corrections in their 1974-75 Annual Report after surveying present crime trends and the individual community programs designed to prevent and treat criminal behavior. It is also the main conclusion of this chapter.

The overviews of the fear of crime and the fact of crime presented earlier in this chapter pointed out specifically that these two interrelated problems manifest themselves differently in various cities and within various neighborhoods. If a general sense of security and satisfaction with life cannot be fostered, not only will the fear of crime increasingly paralyze our nation's urban inhabitants, but the fact of crime will also be likely to increase due to the lack of community resources necessary to combat it. The two aspects of this problem are inextricably related. If citizens can be convinced to coordinate their efforts to face the crime problem within their own neighborhoods, then not only will their fear of crime decrease, but their help can more easily be enlisted to fight the fact of crime. And, unless the fact of crime can be successfully controlled within separate neighborhoods, the resultant fear of crime will inevitably hasten the process of moral decay and urban deterioration. Moreover, since certain neighborhoods suffer more crime and, indeed, since socioeconomic conditions seem

to foster more crime in certain neighborhoods, adopting a crime prevention and remediation program which is based within the neighborhoods will provide a greater chance for a more efficient response to these two problems.

Three sets of proposals are presented to address the different aspects of the problem of crime in South Bend. THE FIRST PROPOSAL IS THAT FUTURE POLICY DECISIONS BY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES SHOULD BE ORIENTED ALONG NEIGHBORHOOD LINES. This project attempted to indicate that 1) South Bend residents do have a self-perceived, shared interest in their respective neighborhoods, and 2) a wide and diverse range of such neighborhoods exist within our community. Some of the neighborhoods are larger than others. Some are ethnically diverse, some are not. Some neighborhoods include a large mixture of socioeconomic groups; other neighborhoods are singularly characterized by opposite extremes in class and economic structure. The pluralistic composition of American society is a fact which can no longer be ignored. The conception of America as a "melting pot" has obscured the potential richness which characterizes the many peoples who call themselves Americans. The ideal of a shared community of interests, which the symbol of the "melting pot" made public for our forefathers, need not be entirely abandoned, however. Indeed, it is, perhaps, only by recognizing and allowing the full development of ethnic and cultural pluralism that the highest shared ideals of "liberty and justice for all" can ever be achieved. It will never be possible for America to fulfill her greatest desires if all of her citizens are forced into the same mold or stereotypic groups.

Therefore, because our research of both national and local trends has demonstrated the need to refocus the fight against crime on a neighborhood basis, we strongly recommend that future program planning and policy implementation for the prevention and remediation of crime be coordinated within the "organic" neighborhoods which exist in the South Bend area. (Chapter VI of this report deals more specifically with neighborhood rehabilitation; further analysis and proposals for action within the South Bend community will be presented there. Also, another project sponsored by the Urban Observatory, "Neighborhood Conservation," has dealt explicitly with the problem of identifying the existing "organic" neighborhoods within the South Bend area and with analyzing the demographic characteristics and the particular problems which are evidenced there. Readers of this report are referred to that report.) Certain specific recommendations pertaining to the fight against crime within these neighborhoods can be made here, nonetheless.

(1) By instituting a coordinated system of social service delivery within different neighborhoods of the city, more efficient service delivery and more accurate assessments of special needs can be achieved. (The United Way Southeast Side Social Service Delivery Project, which will be discussed in Chapter VI of this report, provides a comprehensive, workable model which is already being implemented and which can be adapted and replicated for other neighborhoods in the future.)

(2) Existing crime prevention programs which seem especially suited to a neighborhood model should be enlarged and expanded. The South Bend Police Department Crime Prevention Bureau, in effect, already operates

on such a neighborhood model, since much of their contact with the public is achieved either through individual home security checks or in larger public meetings of various neighborhood groups. It must be emphasized that two goals are served simultaneously by such programs: the probability of crime occurring is decreased, and the public confidence in the response to crime is increased. Future funding and manpower allocations within the Police Department should accommodate expansion of this important program. Similarly, the continued trend within the Police Department to organize patrol beats and to study crime phenomena on neighborhood models should be encouraged. With the possibility of identifying more specifically the "hot spots" of criminal activity, police manpower allocations can be adjusted. Here, too, the potential for increasing public trust in the Police Department is dependent upon increased contact between the policeman on the beat and the citizen on the street, within each neighborhood. The possibility of realigning police beats to correspond more closely to the boundaries of "organic" neighborhoods should not be overlooked.

This leads us to the second set of proposals for responding to the crime problem in South Bend. IT IS CLEAR THAT POLICE PLANNING IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE DEPENDENT UPON ACCURATE AND COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION. The South Bend Regional Computer Center was discussed in Section B of this chapter; its potential as well as present bottlenecks were analyzed. Tremendous steps have been taken in the past five years to develop a sensitive data gathering and retrieval system, and none of the remarks made above should be considered as criticisms of the fine work that has already been done.NEVERTHELESS, IT IS A FACT THAT

THE PRESENT COMPUTER SYSTEM IS NOT OPERATING UP TO ITS FULL POTENTIAL. TWO GENERAL AREAS IN WHICH FURTHER REFINEMENT IS NECESSARY CAN BE IDENTIFIED.

(1) Raw crime statistics should be coded in such a way that pre-programmed retrieval packages can produce both large overviews and precise close-ups of various aspects of overall crime trends. (The reports that were included in Section B of this chapter demanded many hours of work by a large number of people; too much of the time and money which went into these reports was spent on the manual gathering and re-arranging of the data.) Although the present computer system does store crime data according to time and location, no program currently exists to produce the composite studies of information such as were presented above. Similarly, crime offender statistics are gathered from arrest reports, but full composite profiles for the different categories of crime are not presently available. Also, no capacity exists to produce composite victim profiles, except by manual calculation. And, finally, recidivism statistics for the various categories of crime, both adult and juvenile, should be readily available for longitudinal studies. There is no technical reason that a computer program cannot be developed which would make all of the required F.B.I. Uniform Crime Report information available in summarized form, including charts, graphs, rates of increase, and offender-victim profiles. For the past three years, the annual reports of the Indiana State Department of Corrections have emphasized the need to expand the capacity to gather and analyze "flow data" on criminal activity, from time of arrest to final disposition. We recommend that the South Bend community increase its efforts to implement this suggestion.

(2) Somewhat beyond the present capacity of the Regional Computer Center are the types of demographic analysis which seem so necessary for a full understanding of the complex matrix of causes which engender crime. Statistical studies of offender profiles have shown that certain age, sex, and race groups are more likely to be arrested for criminal behavior than others. As local studies of juvenile referrals have shown, family status seems to be closely related to antisocial behavior; more juveniles from broken homes than from homes with both parents are referred for delinquent behavior.

Most of this information seems to be common sense; none of us needs a state juvenile probation officer to name the families that he has worked with for a period of more than seven years with more than three children in each family being sent to state juvenile homes. We all realize that crime does in fact seem to occur with higher frequency among certain groups, and particularly among certain family types. But, the simple fact of the matter is that the present criminal justice planning system does not have the capacity to utilize these commonsense perceptions to understand the data it has already gathered. Perhaps some of this capacity is too specialized to justify the expansion of the types of computer analysis. This policy decision must be considered seriously. At the least, however, the possibilities of utilizing such information should be evaluated. (The Jackson County, Missouri computerized court information system, which will be described in Chapter IV, demonstrates that such proposals are workable and that they increase manpower efficiency in responding to the problems of administering a criminal justice system.)

The Institute for Urban Studies at the University of Notre Dame has performed an analysis of criminal statistics in the past, utilizing Police Department data and U. S. Bureau of the Census information. The method allows the geographical dispersion of criminal offenses to be studied in relation to such variables as age, race, sex, employment, family composition, housing accommodations, and total population for different neighborhoods. Such information is available not only by census tract but also in smaller groupings, "block groups" and individual "blocks." At present, the Regional Computer Center has the ability to work with information by census tracts and by patrol beats, described earlier. Increased flexibility in information retrieval could be achieved by selectively enlarging the system to produce information by block groups and blocks. This capacity need only be developed selectively, since the localization of crime incidents and of identifiable "organic" neighborhoods will ease the burden of introducing this procedure system-wide.

The advantages of such a proposal are manifold. The most significant advantage is that such a program would allow complete utilization of existing demographic information stored on Bureau of the Census tapes at the University of Notre Dame. Since it would not be necessary to duplicate this information, all that would be necessary is that information be coded by compatible units and routines for specific analysis be developed. The second major advantage that would accrue from such a program is that existing police geographic units could be used more precisely than at present. As was mentioned in Section B of this chapter, census tracts, patrol beats, and police-

designated neighborhoods do not correspond precisely in their boundaries. Nor do any of these geographic units correspond to the actual "organic" neighborhoods which exist in the South Bend area. Therefore, by increasing the capacity of the computer system to analyze data on selected, smaller geographic units, both the overall view of crime trends and the specific neighborhood view of crime trends can be compiled and understood with greater precision. This proposal obviously demands a coordinated planning effort by all the parties involved. (The Urban Observatory project on "Neighborhood Conservation" has proposed a similar program involving the Community Development Program.) A unified approach which eliminates duplication and maximizes cooperation is called for here, and it is the recommendation of this report that future programs of information utilization be studied with this goal in mind.

THE THIRD SET OF PROPOSALS ADDRESSES THE POSSIBILITY OF ATTACKING THE CRIME PROBLEM AS A JUVENILE PHENOMENON. The most readily identifiable group of criminals is juveniles; both national and local statistics indicate that the majority of crimes are committed by juvenile offenders. As was mentioned earlier, reliable sources estimate that up to 75% of all crime in the South Bend area is juvenile crime. This same youth group is most easily accessible for prevention and remediation programs through the schools and through existing social welfare and law enforcement agencies. This report has no intention of multiplying the number of those agencies. Instead, the entire thrust of this report is to insist that the largest area for increased efficiency in the response to juvenile delinquency is within the area of inter-agency cooperation. The 1975 report of the Indiana State Department of Pro-

bation made this point clear when it listed the following four recommendations for changing the traditional concept of juvenile delinquency programs.

(1) Staff and delivery of services should be decentralized in the metropolitan areas.

(2) Group counseling, family counseling, including "Parent Delinquent Education," and special therapy programs should be developed through cooperative projects with other agencies or by direct referral.

(3) The role of the community resources coordinator should be developed.

(4) The planning, development, and utilization of services for complete diagnostic and treatment on adult and juvenile level should be adapted to local and regional needs.

These four recommendations contain the essence of what this report proposes should be adopted in the South Bend community. ESSENTIALLY, TO FIGHT CRIME AS A JUVENILE PHENOMENON THROUGH BOTH PREVENTION AND REMEDIATION PROGRAMS, THE NEIGHBORHOODS SHOULD BE THE FOCAL POINTS OF A DECENTRALIZED COALITION BETWEEN EXISTING YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS. The state Probation Department is obviously not a liberal reform group of uninformed troublemakers; it is a group of men and women who have dedicated their lives to the treatment of crime in our communities, and their experience should be valued and accepted. Among the specific proposals that the state Probation Department made was one to increase the cooperation of law enforcement agencies with colleges and universities which could help provide diagnostic services, planning programs, staff training projects, direct client services, and volunteer interns to ease the manpower burden of these agencies. This and other proposals will be more closely examined in Chapter IV of this report, which surveys and

evaluates existing youth-serving programs.

People are our community's greatest resource. It is the effective use of that resource which this chapter recommends. Existing neighborhood groups and social service delivery agencies need only be brought together in a unified coalition in order to realize the opportunity for a more effective response to the fear of crime and the fact of crime.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO THE NEEDS OF ITS YOUTH

A. Introduction and Overview

The fundamental assumption of this research project has been that one of the major causes of neighborhood deterioration is the fear of crime. A secondary assumption has been that one of the most effective ways to alleviate the fear of crime is to attack the fact of crime as a juvenile phenomenon.

As the preceding chapter demonstrated, the fear of crime is not directly linked to the mere probability of crime occuring, but rather is a product of a complex network of causes: media reports on increasing crime, the general loosening of traditional moral standards, the sickening feeling that society in the modern world has become so complicated that no effective remedy is possible, and the immediately realized fact that the individual citizen in the United States often abandons both the right and the responsibility to participate in most of the decision-making processes that affect his daily life. It is perhaps not surprising that, plagued by this sense of helplessness, many citizens react fearfully to the real or imagined threat of crime in their neighborhoods.

The fact of crime is very real. The crime statistics and the juvenile referral statistics presented in the preceding chapter needed no one to interpret the fact that they represent a very serious problem for the South Bend community. Proceeding from our stated assumption of the relationship between crime and neighborhood deterioration, Chapter III attempted to supplement the overview of total crime trends by indicating the techniques

of crime analysis presently available to locate specific patterns of criminal behavior within separate neighborhoods. The proposed expansion of computerized analysis of crime trends advocated at the end of the chapter is intended to help police and law enforcement agencies better understand the localized nature of crime in the South Bend area, by providing methods to pinpoint high-crime neighborhoods. The proposal to computerize the juvenile justice system "data flow" is an extension of the Indiana State Department of Corrections' recommendation to the same effect.

By analyzing more closely the socioeconomic factors which contribute to delinquency, more effective treatment and prevention programs can be instituted. If, as the preceding chapter indicates, children from broken homes are more likely to become juvenile offenders, then some community response must be made to supply the guidance and counseling which the family cannot provide. Otherwise, we all pay the price of crime and fear, later.

Similarly, if a child's father is out of work, or, worse, is wasting his paycheck without meeting his family's needs, then who is to blame the child for shoplifting food for his immediate needs or other objects which he can "fence" for needed cash? As the six-year crime statistics in the preceding chapter show, juvenile shoplifting has shown the greatest increase of any of the 21 categories of referrable offenses. The child's family background and his economic needs, however, are not the only factors which affect his behavior. What is an untrained juvenile who can't read, can't write, and can't stand to be constantly reminded of these "failures" going to do when he finally decides to drop out of school? Or when he is pushed out because of attendance policies? He is very likely to get into trouble. Serious trouble.

In other words, unless the total needs of a child are met, his insufficiencies are likely to produce problems. Common sense tells us that. But common sense does not tell us how to meet these needs, to make up for the broken-family relations, to identify and satisfy the economic needs, to help each youth fulfill his own potential and meaningfully express his creative energies. Nor does common sense tell us how to deal with those admittedly troubled youths whose antisocial behavior marks them as special cases with deep psychological and social disabilities. Specialized programs are necessary to meet the total needs of our community's adolescents. Different programs must service different needs. But sooner or later all of those basic human needs must be met if the juvenile population of the South Bend area is to be prepared to become the adult population of the South Bend area one day. Taking care of today's problems today helps prevent tomorrow's problems from ever occurring.

Through the dedicated labor of many years, a large number of public and private agencies which deliver services to our youth have evolved in the community. Some of these organizations are primarily recreational and only enter tangentially into the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Others reach such a limited number of youths that it would be impossible to expand them sufficiently to affect the overall trends of juvenile delinquency. The services provided by these agencies are important indeed, since they maintain the stable fabric of society upon which community moral standards depend and allow involved citizen groups to serve their community in a productive fashion. What seems necessary to fight the problem of juvenile delinquency successfully, however, is a comprehensive youth service delivery system which coordinates existing programs to

insure the delivery of necessary services to all neighborhoods of the city.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, different neighborhoods are characterized by different crime patterns, different socioeconomic makeup, different mixtures of racial and ethnic groups, and different perceptions of their own role in community action programs. Therefore, no single centralized program for youth service delivery should be expected to succeed. Rather, a flexible decentralized system which coordinates the flow of services between existing agencies would seem more suitable. By decentralizing the youth service delivery system, accountability to the individual neighborhoods is established, and the neighborhoods' sense of control is enhanced. It cannot, perhaps, be overemphasized that unless individual citizens begin to regain control over the decision-making mechanisms which affect their lives, their resultant apathy and despondent helplessness may spell the doom of urban America. Of course, there is no need to prophesy doom as long as the avenues for effective action remain open. If the energies and emotions which recognize and complain about the increase of crime and danger in the streets can be mobilized into effective neighborhood-based action programs, both the fear of crime and the fact of crime can be substantially decreased.

The functions of this chapter, then, are to survey the present community response to the needs of its youth and to identify successful models for the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency. Most of the programs surveyed here operate on a centralized, community-wide model. Nonetheless, the key to successful decentralization is not the literal fragmentation of the staffs and facilities of these or any other programs. Rather, most of the process of decentralization is a matter of re-orienting

the process of policy planning to accommodate input and feedback at the neighborhood level. This goal can be accommodated in a number of different ways.

Specific suggestions about alternative methods of increasing the efficiency of the existing youth-serving agencies will be made in the third section of this chapter. In Chapter V, the central role of the school corporation in the problem of the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency will be discussed, as will the possible means for increasing neighborhood accountability within the schools. In Chapter VI, the problem of neighborhood rehabilitation will be addressed directly, and specific recommendations about efforts toward decentralization will be made. All of these problems are interrelated, and no single facet can be ignored if the complex problem of neighborhood deterioration and the fear of crime is to be addressed successfully within the South Bend community.

B. Local Project Inventory and Analysis of Primary Youth-Serving Agencies in the South Bend Area

The intention of this section of Chapter IV is to provide an inventory of existing programs which are designed to meet the various human needs of youth growing up in the South Bend area. These needs may be grouped into four basic categories: (1) Education; (2) Recreation; (3) Employment Opportunity; and (4) Special Counseling and Treatment. None of these needs is peculiar to juvenile delinquents; they are shared by all of our community's children, to a greater or lesser degree. Therefore, it must be the responsibility of the entire community to insure the delivery of services designed to meet those needs.

By providing brief descriptions of the primary youth-serving agencies in the South Bend area, this section hopes to identify model approaches for youth service delivery that have shown success in the past and that show the greatest potential for further development. This inventory process is, then, necessarily accompanied by an analysis and an evaluation of relative success and failure in order that the sufficiencies and deficiencies of the present youth service delivery system be made clear. However, it must be stated at the outset that one of the strongest impressions which this research and evaluation process has produced is that each of the agencies surveyed is fully committed to helping the juvenile population of South Bend face the difficult problem of growing up in an increasingly complex, urban environment. Any criticism included in this report is intended as constructive criticism, for the benefit not just of the agency involved but for the youth of our community. The strongest desire of the staff members of each of these programs, after all, is that by maximizing the community's response to the needs of youth, many of the larger problems which face our society may be alleviated and even prevented.

Most of the youth-serving agencies studied here address themselves to more than one of the four, listed categories of basic needs. A description of the services offered by each program will be provided, broken down into these four needs. The staff, the physical facilities, the source of funding, and the planning capacity of each agency will also be analyzed. Since Chapter V of this report will deal exclusively with the school corporation and its central role in the community's response to juvenile delinquency, evaluation of the educational capacity of each program will generally be limited to a description of its working relationship with the school

corporation.

Finally, it must be made clear that this inventory of youth-serving agencies is not, and was not intended to be, comprehensive in scope or depth. The South Bend community is fortunate to have so many interested citizen groups and social welfare agencies dedicated to easing the difficult problems of growing up and of providing professional guidance and training for troubled youths. New programs are being initiated every year; more than four new programs have begun since this project's inception in June, 1975, including not only the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project and the school corporation's Peer Influence Program, but also new projects by the YWCA, Family and Children's Center, and Catholic Social Services. Because of the limited scope of some of these projects and because of the limited resources of this research team, it was not feasible to include an inventory and analysis of all existing youth-serving programs. Moreover, many such programs have been studied in previous community planning projects. The most comprehensive study that has been done in the past in this area is the report by the University of Notre Dame's Institute for Urban Studies on the St. Joseph County juvenile justice system. Detailed descriptions of Big Brothers, Big Sisters, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Family and Children's Center, Fire Group Home, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and the Council for the Retarded of St. Joseph County are included.

1. Youth Services Bureau

A Youth Services Bureau (YSB) was initiated in South Bend on a limited basis in late 1970. The YSB was originally operated under the united

auspices of the South Bend Police Department and the Mayor's office. After early developmental problems were settled, the YSB gradually became, perhaps, the single most important, youth-serving agency in the community. This fact has been recognized by all and has been publicly promulgated with the regular inclusion of YSB supplemental funding in the South Bend city budget. Funds have been granted the YSB in the past through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act (LEAA), but the future maintenance and expansion of YSB services demand the continued financial support of the city government.

The Youth Services Bureau is now permanently housed in a renovated home at 1011 East Madison. Staff offices, counseling facilities, group discussion rooms, and recreational facilities are provided at this location. Weekly staff meetings are held for all personnel, thus insuring that up-to-date, inter-staff communication is maintained. Specific cases are sometimes discussed at these staff meetings in order to seek out alternative solutions to particular juvenile problems. Equally important are the in-service training and the program planning functions which these staff meetings fulfill. Each meeting, representatives of other youth-serving agencies are invited to attend for the purposes of updating staff members on services available elsewhere and providing guidance on specific problems. A member of the Mental Health Center staff attends these meetings regularly, not only to answer specific questions, but also to facilitate the planning of larger group strategies designed to promote healthy juvenile behavior patterns. Both short-range and long-range planning projects are usually aired at these staff meetings, though more intensive program planning is usually a task assigned to particular staff personnel. The staff is

directed by Cappy Gagnon and includes nine regular members, plus student interns from Notre Dame and Indiana University at South Bend (IUSB) when possible.

The Youth Services Bureau is designed to be a comprehensive youth-serving agency and, therefore, offers regular programs to meet the educational, recreational, employment, and special needs of South Bend youth. The educational needs of juveniles must, of course, be met within the traditional school setting for most adolescents. Since there are so few alternatives to the traditional school available within the South Bend community, the purpose of the educational program of the Youth Services Bureau is to help keep children in school.

The prevention of truancy and dropouts and providing assistance in counseling for school-related problems are the two main goals of the YSB School Service Coordinator Program. The School Service Coordinator Program was initiated in Oklahoma and adopted for use in South Bend in 1973. Through it, the YSB staff work in the schools assisting administrators, counselors and teachers as detached-work counselors. Currently, ten schools are served by this program. Besides the full-time YSB staff, student interns help implement this program, raising the total number of school coordinators to fifteen for 1975. The coordinator spends six to twelve hours per week at a school, working with students, counseling, tutoring, and making referrals. In addition, home visits are made to meet parents and family and to discuss the problems the student is having in and out of school. The YSB is always conscious of the fact that adolescents do not lead compartmentalized lives, capable of being cut apart into sections. The total youth environment is always

considered in the service delivery program. The thrust of this School Service Coordinator Program has been delinquency-related problems. It is believed that if help can be given at an early age to children who are having problems, there is a good possibility they may never come into contact with the juvenile justice system. More than 1,000 students have been reached by this program since its inception.

The recreational needs of youth are also serviced by YSB. In 1974, a therapeutic recreation project was initiated in cooperation with the Parks Department, the YMCA, the Boys' Club, and the city-wide neighborhood centers. Whenever there is a need which the Youth Services Bureau cannot provide single-handedly, an attempt is made to coordinate the delivery of necessary services through cooperative programs with other youth-serving agencies. In this program, staff and interns conduct recreational programs for such groups as the special-needs class at Madison School, for the St. Mary's College Parents-Delinquent Education Program while it was in operation, and for other selected groups of needy clients. YSB individual sports teams are contemplated for the future, and a basketball team has already been organized for boys between the ages of 12 and 15. In 1975, YSB staff member Pat Flemming helped coordinate the summer recreation programs for the Youth Services Bureau, thus providing guidance and supervision for youth who might otherwise end up in trouble. Year-round recreation activities include group outings for swimming, shopping, skating, and tours of local places of interest. Each year approximately 400 youth are involved in these recreation programs.

The Manpower Work Experience Program is operated through the Youth

Services Bureau in cooperation with the Manpower Office of the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) project. The YSB staff handles the training site placement and job coaching for youth. First priority is given to economically disadvantaged school dropouts between the ages of 18 and 21. These youth work in various public agencies for a period of no less than 13 weeks and then are helped to find work in private business. Some of the youth who have gone through the program have returned to school or have enrolled in further technical training. Jobs made available through this program include opportunities to work with such agencies as the Street Academy; ACTION, Inc.; El Campito Day Care Center; the Armed Forces Recruiting Center; St. Joseph Hospital; YSB; and others. Those enrolled fill a variety of roles, such as janitor, teacher/aide, clerk/receptionist, etc. Approximately 300 youth have been served through this program.

Beside serving the educational, recreational, and employment needs of South Bend area youth, the Youth Services Bureau also operates an Outreach Program, designed to meet the special counseling and treatment needs of adolescents. Without diminishing the tremendous work which the YSB does in the other three areas, it is fair to say that the Outreach Program is the most important aspect of the total YSB service delivery program. Juvenile referrals are received from many sources, including the South Bend, Mishawaka, and St. Joseph County Police Departments, the St. Joseph County Juvenile Probation Department, area schools, concerned parents, and often by caseworkers from other youth-serving agencies. Caseworkers then meet with their clients at home, school, or wherever the client can be found.

The chief goals of Outreach have been to help the client find

solutions to his/her problems and to find constructive releases for energies. In general, the counseling offered is informal. However, personal and family counseling is available to those who request it. Other youth-serving agencies such as the Northern Indiana Drug Abuse Service (NIDAS), the Department of Public Welfare, St. Vincent de Paul, and the Mental Health Center are often called upon to help a client when services are required which the YSB staff cannot itself provide. This cooperative funneling of services is undoubtedly the greatest resource of the YSB, since it allows them to operate as a rudimentary youth service clearinghouse. Nearly 1,500 referrals are handled yearly by the Outreach Program. The Outreach staff is available evenings and weekends to help clients in crises and distress. Unlike most other social service agencies in the community, then, the Youth Services Bureau is able to serve the youth of our community during the hours when they are most available for services, i.e. after school, at night, and on weekends.

As mentioned earlier, the Youth Services Bureau is continually evaluating its program and is planning new strategies to meet the needs of South Bend youth. At the present time, for example, YSB is attempting to compile composite profiles of the clients served by their different programs, thus helping to identify the larger population of youths with similar needs who are not yet involved in such programs. Long-range planning is undertaken by the local staff and also in cooperation with the Indiana State Association of Youth Services Bureaus. The Youth Services Bureau also maintains a comprehensive filing system pertaining to juvenile services in the South Bend area. This file contains descriptions of programs, lists of staffs, newspaper clippings of youth activities,

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and other materials vitally necessary to maintaining an up-to-date youth delivery system. With continued community support and increased cooperation with public and private youth-serving agencies, the potential for the YSB to increase its capacity to aid troubled youth is significant. Any limitations or cutbacks in its program would be a serious loss to the community.

2. Juvenile Probation Department and Parkview Detention Home

The St. Joseph County Juvenile Probation Department handles more than 3,000 juvenile referrals per year. Chapter III of this report provides comprehensive statistics of the total number of referrals, the age, race, and sex of referral clients, and the distribution of offenses for which clients have been referred from 1970 to 1975. As was explained in Chapter III, the Juvenile Probation Department operates under the auspices of the St. Joseph County Juvenile Court. Judge Francis X. Kopinski serves as both juvenile court judge and county probate court judge. It bears repeating here that the present juvenile justice system in St. Joseph County is severely limited by state legislation which mandates that no county shall have a separate juvenile court judge unless its total population exceeds 250,000. This same legislation limits to 10 the number of juvenile probation officers for St. Joseph County. With the addition of Mr. Hal Brueseke, juvenile court referee, and a limited number of student interns who sometimes work for the Probation Department, this completes the entire staff of the St. Joseph County Juvenile Probation Department.

The operations of the Juvenile Probation Department are carried out at Parkview Detention Home, 1921 Northside Blvd. Administrative offices, counseling rooms, and temporary detention facilities are located at Parkview. Juveniles who are referred by the South Bend, Mishawaka, or St. Joseph County Police Departments can be held at Parkview until proper treatment or remediation is available. In some instances, detention is used as a psychological corrective, to demonstrate to juvenile referral clients the seriousness of their offense. The detention center can house about seven boys and five girls at one time; the average length of detention is two to three days. Funding of Parkview comes from the Juvenile Probation Department, which in turn receives funds from the county and the state.

The main thrust of the Probation Department is to meet the special counseling and treatment needs of juveniles, in order to prevent any more serious event of antisocial or delinquent behavior in the future. As the primary funneling agent for the juvenile court, the Probation Department makes recommendations to the court on whether a juvenile offender should be referred to another agency for treatment or service, admonished on an informal basis, or legally filed upon by the court for adjudication proceedings. The tremendous responsibility of such decision-making only emphasizes the severe limitations under which the present staff is working. Preliminary investigations about the cause of referral must be made in each case; social and psychological case histories must be prepared when necessary; and appropriate treatment or adjudication measures decided upon. Nonetheless, the Juvenile Probation Department does attempt to serve all four categories of need whenever possible. Recreation and employment needs, when identified, are referred to other agencies, primarily to the Youth

Services Bureau.

Those educational needs handled by the staff consist mainly of truancy intervention, on an individual basis. During the 1974-75 school year, Probation Officer Paul Smith, assisted by student interns, operated a very effective Truancy Intervention Program for Clay Middle School. Basically this project involved preparing case studies of individual truants, using cumulative school records, school counseling records, and interviews with teachers. Following this preliminary step, counseling with the individual student and with his parents, if necessary, was begun, and remediation for specific school-related problems was initiated. Both the Probation Department staff and the Clay Middle School administration felt that the program was very successful, not only in decreasing truancy but in preventing dropouts and alleviating other learning difficulties. The Truancy Intervention Program was discontinued during the 1975-76 school year, primarily due to the staff and training limitations of the Probation Department. The means to reinstitute and replicate this program in other schools have been discussed. But without unified community support, the manpower and funding shortages which prohibit such a program cannot be conquered.

Another educational program that the Probation Department participated in during past years was the Parents-Delinquent Education Program, operated by St. Mary's College. This program was designed to reach chronic truants under 16 years of age and included home visits for family counseling and a daily alternative educational program for enrolled participants. Along with almost every other youth-serving agency surveyed in this report, the Probation Department lamented the fact that the Parents-Delinquent

Education Program was discontinued. Part of the funding for this program had originally come from an LEAA grant, but no reason exists why a duplicate program to reach chronic truants could not be funded locally if sufficient community support could be enlisted. Although some program planning and development does take place within the Probation Department, the duties are largely defined by the juvenile court and state legislation. The Probation Department's ability to identify precisely deficiencies in the present youth service delivery system, however, should not be overlooked as a tremendous resource in future policy planning.

The primary responsibility of the Probation Department, however, is the supervision of juvenile offenders who are referred to the juvenile court. Between 300 and 400 youth are supervised by the staff on a regular basis. Given the dilemma of whether to commit a young girl or boy to the state juvenile penal institutions or to seek community-based treatment for the child, the Probation Department always advocates suitable local alternatives <u>if</u> they are available. In the past, juveniles who must be removed from their homes have been referred to foster homes, to Fire, Inc. (for boys), and to the YWCA Group Home (for girls). (Such alternative placement will be discussed further in the next section, where the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project is discussed.) The point that needs to be made here is that even with the facility of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project at its disposal, the Probation Department staff still feels the dire need to find other, alternative placement homes for troubled youth. At present, no suitable residential placement program exists to care for the large number of referred youths who are never formally sentenced by the juvenile court and who, therefore, are <u>ineligible</u> for placement under the present

system. Until such alternative placements can be achieved, the total range of youth-related problems which exist in the South Bend community cannot be effectively treated.

3. Indiana State Juvenile Parole Office

The Indiana State Juvenile Parole Office ought to be mentioned before describing the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project. This program is operated under the auspices of the State Department of Corrections and is entirely distinct from the county-based Probation Department. When a juvenile returns from the Indiana State Boys' School or Girls' School, he/she becomes a ward of the Parole Office, not of the Probation Department. One of the consequences of this arrangement is that any future criminal violation results in the juvenile being held as a state ward by the adult police authorities, rather than being referred through the previously described juvenile justice system (see Chapter III).

Unfortunately, such repeated offenses are not rare, with an average of 10% recidivism in recent years. Even more shocking than individual recidivism rates are the rates for cumulative offenses by members of the same family. Like many of the other social workers interviewed during this research project, Terry Braun, the local State Juvenile Parole Officer, could recount story after horrible story of three and four children from the same family being sent to state juvenile penal institutions over a period of years. This is not a matter of being repeatedly referred to the Probation Department for disorderly conduct or curfew violations; this is repeated adjudication and sentencing to jail. The despair that such recidivism engenders is perhaps one of the most pervasive

signs of the magnitude of the problem of juvenile delinquency, locally.

Unless effective prevention and remediation can be interjected at early stages in the juvenile justice system, Brown and other judicial officers know that the probability of repeated offenses are greatly magnified. Although Brown praised the treatment programs available at the Indiana Girls' School, he deplored the consistent failure to create similar programs for remediation at the Indiana Boys' School. His opinion was that more effective remediation for boys generally took place before or after incarceration at the Boys' School, and he echoed the pleas of the county probation officers for alternative placement institutions that could treat delinquency problems within the local community. Brown's program handles from 70 to upwards of 100 juveniles per year and is too limited to be discussed further. But his insights into the problems of delinquency warrant his consultation and recommendations on future youth service delivery programs.

4. Regional Juvenile Corrections Project

The Regional Juvenile Corrections Project is a community-based, federally funded program designed to supplement the existing diagnosis and treatment alternatives available within the present juvenile justice system. The Law Enforcement Assistance Act provides federal funds which are channeled to the project through the Indiana Criminal Justice Planning Agency and participating county juvenile courts. The Regional Juvenile Corrections Project will provide services for the juvenile courts of Elkhart, Marshall, Kosciusko and St. Joseph Counties and derives all authority and jurisdiction from those courts. The staff is directed by

Dr. Richard Kiekbusch and includes a recreation coordinator, an academic coordinator, two trained diagnostic specialists, and a trained group of treatment personnel who will eventually staff the residential treatment centers. (This section was compiled in December, 1975.)

The total needs of each child will be serviced through this project. Two distinct components of the project are now being implemented: diagnosis and treatment. Diagnostic services will be provided to the four participating juvenile courts in order to identify clearly the problems which a subsequent treatment program must meet. Whereas many programs include a diagnostic screening process, which basically functions as a grouping mechanism for pre-packaged treatment programs, the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project will diagnose each clients needs irrespective of such considerations. Obviously, the final treatment will be limited by the existing alternatives, but the diagnostic program is designed to handle a far wider range of clients than merely those who will be recommended for residential placement. For instance, the diagnostic recommendation may involve the referral of the client by the court to some other youth-serving agency for supervision and remediation. Thus, the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project will be effectively linked with such other programs as the Youth Services Bureau, NIDAS, the Mental Health Center, and so forth.

Unfortunately, however, these diagnostic services will only be available to juvenile referrals by the court, not to other youth. However, the model for diagnosis which the project intends to implement could easily be replicated for other agencies through a cooperative program with the Mental Health Center. Both Dr. Kiekbusch and Dr. Ivan Pangrac, the director of the

Mental Health Center, expressed their enthusiasm for such an expansion of diagnostic services within the South Bend community. Presently, all youths who are formally adjudicated by the juvenile court do not receive such diagnostic services; most of the total juvenile referral population are never provided with such services. Diagnostic services will take between two and two and one-half weeks, during which time most juveniles will reside at home. A residential diagnostic unit will be implemented for special cases. Approximately 200 juveniles per year will be handled by this diagnostic system.

The treatment program of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project will eventually include four residential treatment centers, two each for boys and girls. Two of these residential treatment centers have been operating in South Bend for some time and have been taken over by the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project only recently. The first of these is the YWCA Home for Girls, at 520 N. Lafayette, and the second is the boys home operated by Fire, Inc. Negotiations are currently proceeding concerning the use of Healthwin Hospital for the project. Two additional residential treatment homes, as well as staff offices and a short-term residential diagnostic center, would be established at Healthwin. If additional local and federal funds are made available, future plans call for the establishment of other residential treatment homes, a number of which might be located outside of St. Joseph County.

Anticipated case loads for the treatment centers will be 50-60 juveniles per year, each for a period of five to five and one-half months. The treatment program is based upon the Positive Peer Influence concept, in which individual peer group members must accept the responsibility for their own

acts and for that of their peers. Successful use of this approach in other areas of the United States makes Dr. Kiekbusch both enthusiastic and optimistic about its chances for success in the South Bend area. Follow-up supervision will be initiated subsequent to discharge from the treatment center, in order to reinforce positive behavior patterns during the crucial period of transition when the juvenile returns to his home. Residents of the treatment center will continue attending school on a regular basis, so that their educational needs will be met and so that they may readjust more easily to a normal school routine once treatment has ended.

Because of the demand to find suitable alternative treatment programs for the diagnosed needs of their clients and because of their connection with the Indiana Criminal Justice Planning Agency, the staff of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project will be involved in many different aspects of policy planning. Hopefully, cooperative planning with other youth-serving agencies will enable a broad range of prevention and treatment methods to be made available to all South Bend juveniles who have need of them.

5. Mental Health Center

The Mental Health Center of St. Joseph County is located at 711 E. Colfax and houses the staff offices, counseling rooms, and group treatment facilities for the entire county. Working from the special counseling and treatment needs of their clients, the Mental Health Center attempts to deal with the total needs of each individual. Of more than 35,000 total patient-contacts (including repeated visits) each year, approximately 40%

are child-related cases. Dr. Ivan Pangrac, director of the Mental Health Center, explained the three main programs that his staff is involved in: (1) the Outpatient Clinic, which is staffed by two M.D.'s, four Ph.D's, two M.S.'s in psychology and psychiatry, and twelve social workers; (2) a cooperative diagnosis and treatment program with the Northern Indiana Drug Abuse Services (NIDAS); and (3) a similar diagnosis and treatment program in cooperation with the Community Alcohol Program. While NIDAS clients are both youths and adults, most clients of the Community Alcohol Program are adults.

The Outpatient Clinic offers a complete range of diagnostic, treatment, and referral services. Cooperative relationships exist with the Juvenile Probation Department, Youth Services Bureau, and the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project, among others. NIDAS provides day treatment at Aurora House, therapeutic live-in care at Delos House, and a methadone support program at the Lighthouse. Also an emergency two-man, 24-hour, drug intervention team operates from Delos House. The Community Alcohol Program not only treats the overt symptoms of alcholism, but also diagnoses and treats the underlying causes.

Each of these programs is operated on a needs-delivery basis, where an existing need must be identified in order to justify the expansion of treatment programs. Dr. Pangrac made it quite clear that he wishes that more youth-serving agencies would make use of the Mental Health Center for diagnosis and treatment on a regular basis since he feels that this is one of the largest areas of deficiency in the present youth service delivery system. If more agencies would refer juveniles to the Mental Health Center, Dr. Pangrac is committed to expand his program to

accommodate them.

Along with virtually every other youth-serving agency in the South Bend area, Dr. Pangrac lamented the discontinuance of the Probation Department's Truancy Intervention Program and the St. Mary's Parents-Delinquent Education Program. Both projects, he feels, should be refunded on a local basis and replicated for area-wide coverage. He especially suggested that the Truancy Intervention Program be replicated and instituted in hard-core schools, which experience the highest rates of absenteeism and dropouts, in order to fully prove the effectiveness of the project. Ms. Dorothy Limbert of the Mental Health Center staff is trained to provide consultation and education services and, if the community demand were great enough, she could help train the personnel necessary to staff such a program. Obviously, such a proposal would demand primary cooperation from and with the school corporation. But if the need is there to be met, the method to meet it is available. Dr. Pangrac emphasized that he, Ms. Limbert, Dr. Bob Wolosin, and other members of the Mental Health Center staff are already working on planning programs with other youth-serving agencies and that more such cooperative efforts should be encouraged and would be welcomed by his staff.

6. Police Department-School Liaison Program, School Corporation Peer Influence Program, and Street Academy

The last three, youth-serving programs to be reviewed here are the South Bend Police Department-School Liaison Program, the school corporation Peer Influence Program, and the Street Academy. Inventories and evaluations already exist for each of these programs. While each of the three programs

has suffered initial setbacks, each has been recognized to meet the real needs of our community's youth. Therefore, their continued expansion in the future is urged as necessary.

The Police Department-School Liaison Program suffered from an image problem at the outset. But by eliminating the use of police uniforms and by initiating special in-service training sessions for project staff members, these problems were largely eliminated. Captain John Haney of the South Bend Police Department's Juvenile Division recommends expansion of the program as soon as suitable personnel and sufficient funding is available.

The school corporation's Peer Influence Program suffered similar image problems last year (1974) when it was operated on a limited, experimental basis by NIDAS and, to a lesser extent, this year (1975) under school corporation supervision. Although it was intended that two male and two female (three white, one black) counselors would be used in the program, intra-staff problems prohibited the implementation of this plan. At present, three counselors (white males) are involved in the program. While Mr. Dick Hendricks, the project director, is confident that the project will succeed despite these difficulties, it is clear that many of the same staffing problems that affect other youth-serving agencies are evident in the Peer Influence Program also -- it is difficult to hire and maintain trained female and black employees.

Perhaps the only youth-serving program that doesn't suffer from this handicap is the Street Academy. On the contrary, from the beginning of its existence, the Street Academy's greatest achievement has been its ability to reach inner-city, black youth through its alternative education

program. However, the Street Academy suffers from an equally significant failure -- its inability to reach white, middle-class, suburban youth. The needs for increased educational alternatives and for additional dropout and truancy intervention programs will be discussed in Chapter V. We commend the Police Department-School Liaison Program, the school corporation's Peer Influence Program, and the Street Academy for fulfilling the youth needs that they do. Still, much is left to be done.

C. Proposals for Community Action

The vast majority of youth-serving agencies in the South Bend area are designed to deliver treatment and remediation services; very few of the programs discussed above actually serve the purpose of preventing antisocial behavior. Instead, the initial contact between the juvenile client and each agency is usually the result of a referral for some specific problem or incident which requires remediation.

As was explained in Chapter III, all youths face a series of natural "problems" during adolescence, and most youths learn to control these problems with the help of their parents, their teachers, their church group, and their friends. (Refer again to Table 1.1, page 10.) When this process of adjustment is disrupted due to family problems, school problems, loss of moral and religious values, and association with friends who corrupt rather than correct, then the problem is likely to grow worse and to manifest itself finally in some incident which is serious enough to have the youth referred to a treatment program. It is at this point that the existing youth service delivery system begins to operate in full force. Some prevention does take place, undoubtedly. But it is especially

difficult to measure how much prevention actually occurs, since the only indicator that exists at present is the group of failures -- those not reached by prevention programs and eventually referred for some crime or behavior problem. What must be understood, however, is that the juveniles who are referred have not failed by themselves; the youth service delivery system has also failed to prevent their normal "problems" from becoming socially unacceptable incidents.

The major deficiency, then, of the present youth service delivery system in the South Bend area is that it has not yet been able to identify successfully the children who are likely to need help handling their problems and must be served by some primary prevention program if antisocial behavior is to be avoided. Existing information concerning youth service referrals should be compiled to identify the profile characteristics of the referral population.

The Probation Department already compiles such profiles in a rudimentary fashion, and suggestions were made in Chapter III about the possible expansion of their capacity for data analysis. (Kansas City, Missouri's juvenile justice system is one example which has computerized its data on the juvenile courts. No doubt many other models for such information retrieval systems exist. The possibility of adopting one of these models for use in the South Bend area should be explored in the near future.) The Youth Services Bureau has already initiated its own program to compile a profile of referred youths; technical assistance and funding for such a program should be considered, since the product of such a study would be an important instrument for future youth service planning across the entire community. Finally, a cooperative program with the school corporation

should be explored in which such composite profiles of the juvenile referral population are used to identify target groups for juvenile delinquency prevention programs. (A more elaborate discussion of the alternatives involved in such a project will be presented in Chapter V, which deals exclusively with the school corporation.)

If such an identification process and cooperative program can be established, many advantages which increase the efficiency of the youth service delivery system accrue. Since students within the geographical boundaries which delineate the flow of students from the lower level "feeder schools" into the five area high schools are brought together daily for twelve years of their lives, the potential for creating a sensitive system for the delivery of preventative services to specific neighborhoods is tremendous. The school corporation already recognizes the fact that different educational problems exist in the different neighborhoods, and it realizes that effective measures must be instituted to alleviate those problems if the learning process is to proceed unimpeded. The racial and ethnic mixtures of the schools reflect the racial and ethnic mixture of the total population. So too, the socioeconomic and family backgrounds of each neighborhood are necessarily reflected within these schools. As will be shown in Chapter V, there is a nationwide trend to decentralize the education system and to maximize accountability to local neighborhoods. Implications of this movement for the South Bend area are clear. Since it is probable that the school corporation will be creating programs to meet these specific neighborhood needs in any case, it seems logical to maximize the efficiency of its programs by coordinating them with a decentralized youth service delivery system. The school corporation already refers

juveniles to the youth service system and, indeed, must continue to receive such help in the future. All that is suggested here is that both the school corporation and the youth service delivery system will benefit by coordinating their efforts along neighborhood lines. This proposal will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The function of identifying troubled youths and of diagnosing their problems must be addressed on both the community level and the individual level. The preceding suggestions have dealt with the process of community identification. An increase in individual diagnostic services must be encouraged also. While most of the programs surveyed in this chapter provide some diagnostic services, only two programs offer comprehensive diagnosis to their clients: the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project and the Mental Health Center. These two agencies are, in fact, sharing their own diagnostic resources. The other agencies either do not offer comprehensive diagnostic services or else refer their clients to one of these two programs. More extensive social histories, school histories, and psychological case studies are needed for many youths referred for treatment and remediation. Captain John Haney of the South Bend Police Department emphasized his concern that many arrested juveniles need psychological care more than judicial punishment and lamented the lack of present programs to provide such care. Dr. Richard Kiekbusch made it explicit that one of the major goals of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project is to increase the number of juveniles who have received comprehensive pre-sentencing diagnosis; he made it equally clear that his program could not even begin to reach the many juveniles who need such services. Dr. Ivan Pangrac and Dr. Bob Wolosin of the Mental Health Center agreed and responded

enthusiastically to the proposal to identify and provide diagnostic services to more youths in the South Bend area. In sum, there is a shared perception among existing youth-serving agencies that more intensive diagnostic services must be offered to juveniles in the future. The need and the commitment to meet that need already exist. All that is necessary now is that these organizations make a coordinated policy decision to implement a program to meet these needs. As Dr. Pangrac repeatedly stated, the Mental Health Center is both capable and committed to expanding its youth diagnostic services. What is needed, then, is a concerted effort to reach the youths who need those services.

The treatment programs which exist at the present time could all stand improvement. Youth Services Bureau needs more staff, increased funding for recreational programs, and more extensive long-range planning capacity. The Probation Department needs a larger staff, modernized data processing capacity, alternative treatment programs, and most importantly, increased detention and residential placement facilities. Hopefully, if the 1980 Census shows that St. Joseph County has exceeded the 250,000 population level, some of these changes can be accommodated.

More immediate action should include the expanded use of student interns (possibly trained by the Mental Health Center or one of the universities in this area), and the consideration of enlarging the detention facilities at Parkview. More than anything else, the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project needs the unified support of the entire community in order to allow its fledgling program to become firmly established. Local funding for future support of the Regional Juvenile Corrections Project should be anticipated. The Mental Health Center needs to stimulate its

Outpatient Clinic operations by developing outreach programs and other methods to identify potential clients. The Peer Influence Program needs to expand its staff to include females and blacks and needs to address itself to an in-service training program to transfer peer influence methods to classroom teachers. The Street Academy needs to increase the range of clients served to include more white students. The Police Department-School Liaison Program needs to increase its staff and to extend its program to include in-service training for other policemen who come into contact with juveniles on a regular basis. Although small steps have been taken in this direction, all of the youth-serving agencies need to restructure their working hours to provide services to their clients when those clients are most accessible: after school, at night, and during weekends. Such limited, specific proposals could be extended indefinitely; while all such proposals are fruitful possibilities for expanding youth service delivery, it might be better to separate three proposals for special consideration.

Without exception, the following three proposals were mentioned and encouraged by every major youth-serving agency contacted during this research project. Such unanimity can only be interpreted as indicating that these three recommendations should be considered as high-priority goals. Each proposal is stated in its minimal form; it is hoped that an expanded version of each project will in fact be implemented.

(1) The Probation Department-Clay Middle School Truancy Prevention Program should be reestablished and replicated throughout the school corporation. Officials at Parkview and at the Mental Health Center agree that the problem of training staff for such a project is a problem which can be

solved. Student interns from the University of Notre Dame or IUSB might be recruited, or in-service training for school corporation counselors and teachers could be carried out by Ms. Dorothy Limbert of the Mental Health Center. A variety of ways of meeting the staff requirements are possible, including in-service training of staff members from other youth-serving agencies, such as YSB. (This proposal will be discussed again in Chapter V.)

(2) The Parents-Delinquent Education Program should be reestablished. The need to reach beyond the juvenile, back to the parents, in order to solve some behavior problems is self-evident. The PDEP program was rated as highly successful by youth-serving agencies, and the need to create an expanded version was agreed upon. If LEAA funding cannot be secured, other avenues of federal or local funding should be investigated. Problems with the program in the past were clearly identified by those involved, and the chances for a more successful program are great.

(3) A policy commitment must be made to provide enlarged residential treatment homes for both boys and girls. The financial burdens involved in substantially increasing such facilities are beyond the capacity of any single private agency or any single, existing public program. Some additional program is needed to provide residential care not just for adjudicated delinquents and pregnant girls, but for the large number of youths who could benefit from a residential diagnostic and treatment program. The costs involved and the necessary planning strategies are already common knowledge among the directors of existing residential placement centers. The number of such centers being created across the United States insures that some model adaptable to our local community needs

and resources exists. But a policy commitment must be made to decide upon and to implement some such program.

Obviously, none of these three proposals has to be implemented. But, the continuing price of juvenile delinquency and inefficient youth service delivery will be paid if none are implemented. The stark form in which these proposals are stated corresponds to the stark needs of our community's youth. Hopefully, policy planners will agree with the directors of the youth-serving agencies that these three items should be given high priority on any agenda for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Perhaps one of the first steps toward implementing these three proposals, or any of the other suggestions listed above, would be to create a Youth Support Clearinghouse, which could help coordinate existing programs and could be responsible for overseeing specific planning projects. Such a Youth Support Clearinghouse would in no way duplicate existing services. Rather, it would increase the efficiency of existing programs by providing a centralized funnel through which referrals could be made from one agency to another. The United Way Southeast Side Service Delivery Project provides a model for such a Youth Support Clearinghouse and will be explained further at the end of Chapter V. By creating such a neighborhood-based delivery system for youth services, it is hoped that the immediate needs of today's youth can better be met and some of the problems of tomorrow's adults avoided.

A bibliography on law enforcement programs and community participation programs has been compiled and included as Appendix C. Planning in this area might benefit from a consideration of these materials, by utilizing them to limit and evaluate policy alternatives. Further, the South Bend

League of Women Voters, in cooperation with the Indiana State League, is presently involved in an evaluation of the juvenile justice system, as is the Indiana Juvenile Justice Task Force. Information about proposed changes in the Indiana Juvenile Code, as well as about new treatment and prevention programs, can be obtained through these groups. By establishing communication of this sort, community support for the prevention of juvenile delinquency can be maximized, and an efficient treatment program can be established.

CHAPTER V

THE SCHOOL CORPORATION AS THE KEYSTONE TO THE PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

A. Overview of the Problem: National and Local Trends

Late in the 1960's, the South Bend School Corporation began to become aware of the fact that the dropout rate for local schools was increasing regularly and that some comprehensive program for community action was necessary to remedy the problem. The problems of dropouts and of racial and ethnic disturbances in schools were not unique to our community. Throughout the nation, cities were plagued by these same problems and by the related problem of increasing juvenile delinquency. Educational and community leaders began to see that none of these problems was isolated; all were related to the tremendous changes which the nation was undergoing at that time and were manifestations of the social problems that accompanied such changes.

The post-World War II and post-Korean War baby-boom children were now school-aged, and the burgeoning school population was forcing educational expansion at too fast a rate. The increasing militancy of the civil rights movement and student activism groups could not but affect the larger community in which they existed. Many young students felt for the first time the right and the need to express their discontent.

Nationwide crime statistics reflected the proportional increase of the juvenile population in the skyrocketing rates of juvenile offenses. And many juvenile probation officers across the country echoed the director of the Massachusetts' Probation-Youth Service Department when he said, "Ninety-eight percent of the children we handle have been

involved in school problems." Whether or not it was desirable, whether or not it required tremendous changes in the present system, the educational process in the United States was becoming the focal point of society-wide problems and was being forced to provide equally wide social solutions.

Since the late Sixties, yearly in-house studies of the local dropout problem have been compiled, although the full dimensions of the problem have never been revealed publicly. During the summer of 1971, the Institute for Urban Studies sponsored an Educational Dropout Workshop for school personnel, community leaders, and social agency representatives. The South Bend, Mishawaka, and Penn-Harris-Madison School Corporations participated in this workshop, as did representatives of United Way, Upward Bound, Action, Inc, the South Bend Federation of Teachers, the Welfare Department, the Mental Health Center, and many other groups. Clearly then, as early as that 1971 workshop, there was a community-wide recognition that the school corporation could not handle the droput problem alone, but that it must provide the initiative and leadership to combat this grave educational problem successfully.

During those same years of the late Sixties, another major educational problem began to manifest itself publicly in the South Bend area: racial and ethnic tensions began to escalate into violence in the schools. Limited incidents flared into large-scale problems; police intervention was frequently necessary to quell the disturbances. The school corporation reacted to the problem by suspending and expelling students from school and resisted the idea that help from the outside community

was needed to solve the problem. Finally, in response to demands from the media that a blue-ribbon community committee be established to address the problem of violence in the schools, the school corporation began to change its perception of the problem. The committee that was eventually formed, in early 1972, was composed of minority leaders from the community and prominent figures from business, industry, government, religion, and education and was known as the Education Task Force.

Before turning to the specific problems which burden the South Bend schools, it may be helpful to look more closely at the national educational trends, in order to understand the complex matrix of problems which seem to characterize public education in the country. These problems have engendered a peculiar response from different communities, almost always directed toward increased community participation in the educational process. By comparing these national trends with our local situation, it may be easier to formulate our own reform strategy for the South Bend area. After this overview, a summary of the Education Task Force "Action Now" report will be presented, in order to delineate the specific problems which must be addressed locally.

Reform Strategies in Education

Public education is one of the most important and controversial areas of social interaction in the United States. Since the 1954 Supreme Court case of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, the nation's schools have been the focal point of intersecting problems, both theoretical and practical, which are of the essence of American life. Basic questions concerning the ends and means of life in a democratic republic were brought to light in the decision to overturn the "separate but equal"

doctrine of Plessy vs. Ferguson which, since 1896, had not only legalized segregation but had also promulgated certain values that affected the moral, economic, and political well-being of the entire country. Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka gave the impetus to both citizens and legislators to seek redress for past wrongs and to create new means to secure the civil rights of all the nation's people. The intention of this discussion is not to survey the legislation and court decisions that followed this revolutionary case, nor to characterize the civil rights movement and its related cultural and ethnic developments. Rather, this discussion attempts to understand the interrelated educational problems which, it is felt, reflect the same ends and means that characterize the modern democratic experience.

Race, Culture, Ethnic Identity, and the Ends of Modern Public Education

The title of Leon Hall's recent essay, "School Desegregation: A (Hollow?) Victory," implies a question almost perfectly antithetical to the viewpoint expressed by Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka. Twenty years after the "right" to an equal education was legally secured, many blacks are asking whether that education is worth the price of harassment, disproportionate disciplinary expulsion, classification as mentally inferior, and the loss of cultural identity which they suffer in the schools.[1] Hall is still in favor of continued efforts for desegregation, as are the majority of the southern black students he interviewed:

> Any damage (to the Black community) is not caused by desegregation or integration by themselves but by the way desegregation is carried out in most school systems (firing of black educators, closing of black schools, demotion of blacks, etc.) and by the hostile and negative

atmosphere that has usually accompanied mass school desegregation.[2]

Yet, unless the abuses of the present desegregated systems can be eliminated, Hall foresees an increase in the sentiment among blacks to isolate themselves once again in "separate but equal" schools.

Four types of criticisms are levied by Hall, and they seem to categorize adequately the interrelated goals which an educational system must meet. First, students should be given a competent education in content areas (i.e., reading, math, science, etc.) Second, students should be given a competent education in ethnic, cultural, and affective areas. Third, not only should the students be given an education that prepares them to be economically self-sufficient, the members of all social groups should also be given an equal opportunity to participate in the economic exchange of the school system, i.e., equal job opportunity. Fourth, the politics of school administration should be representative of the constituency which it serves. Each of these goals can be justified on different grounds, and it is important to consider each more carefully to understand what is at stake in aspiring to such ends.

That a student should be given a competent education in content areas would seem, a priori, to be the goal of any educational system. But, as educators are increasingly coming to recognize, the ways in which competency is determined are themselves based upon assumptions that can no longer be supported. The cultural bias of language-oriented I.Q. and achievement tests often precludes the possibility of a student receiving a truly competent education, since he may remain for his entire school career in a "slow-learner" tract because of the results of such measurements.

Similarly, the culturally acquired behavior patterns of students, e.g., eye aversion, unwillingness to participate in class discussion, can, if improperly understood, result in their being marked as "underachieving" or "poorly motivated," thus crippling their performances in content courses. George Overhalt, Don Martin, Diana Drake, and Ruth W. Diggs have all called attention to the necessity to develop more adequate testing procedures, to sensitize teachers, and to adapt curricula in order to accommodate cultural and ethnic differences.[3]

These same authors have spoken out for the need to provide multi-ethnic perspectives in the affective areas of education. As Diana Drake put it, "We need to understand that middle-class Anglo culture is not the center of value, civilization, and wisdom from which other cultures deviate."[4] In order to promote intercultural harmony in a pluralistic society, education must provide the student with opportunities to understand his own cultural heritage as well as that of others. Individual self-awareness, self-esteem, and self-confidence are affected strongly by the educational process and its treatment of cultural and ethnic problems. As Andrew Billingsley pointed out in his essay, "Black Families and White Social Science," social scientists in general, as well as educators in particular, have been guilty of perpetuating erroneous myths about blacks and other minority groups, and thus have encouraged many of the cultural misunderstandings that have tormented the United States in recent decades.[5] As William G. Pickens so aptly put it, when educators say that students are "culturally deprived," they ought really to admit that the students are being "deprived of their culture."[6] Indeed, the almost perfectly interchangeable euphemisms used to designate such students,

e.g., "culturally deprived," "minority," "disadvantaged," "ethnically exceptional," all reflect the inherent normative bias that underlies a large part of modern social science and educational theory. That there are significant and real differences between different groups of students cannot be argued with. That these differences should unexaminedly become the norms upon which critical educational judgments are made must be argued with if all students are truly to receive an equal education.

The interrelationships of cultural identity, self-identity and the educational process have been the focus of much research in recent times. While there is some evidence that "disadvantaged children do not necessarily reflect negative self-perception or lower self-esteem than advantaged students,"[7] there is also evidence that unrealistically high self-perceptions are defense mechanisms for the disadvantaged child who perceives himself in an alien and hostile environment.[8] The literature in this area seems to support the conclusion that even if a student does not enter school with a "low" or "negative" self-concept, he is often conditioned or educated to conceive of himself in such a fashion by the school system. Almost all educators agree with Ruth W. Diggs and Thomas R. Yawkey that multiethnic curricular materials can positively affect the attitudes of students and that the biased, misinformed, and sometimes blatantly racist materials identified by Billingsley, Morris D. Coplin, and Leedell W. Neyland should be abolished in favor of multiethnic materials.[9] The inadequacies of the treatment of the blacks, the American Indians, and the Mexican-Americans in social studies materials are the most glaring examples of the distortion and

ethnocentric bias that has characterized much of the affective area of education in the past. The assumptions that blacks or Indians were somehow less than full citizens who must be cared for by the majority culture, and that Spanish and other foreign languages were unacceptable for use in an American school system ("Why can't they speak English like the rest of us?"), are now being abandoned. But much more is left to be done. Unless some multiethnic alternative that can meet the needs of individuals, cultural subgroups, and democratic society as a whole is adopted, there seems to be a strong possibility that Leon Hall's fears about the return to the separatism of Plessy vs. Ferguson may be all too terribly realized.

A widespread trend towards vocational and career education in the nation's schools partially indicates the tacit acceptance of the third goal of modern education: to provide equal economic opportunity both to students graduating from the schools and to community members seeking jobs in the school system. Parallel with the larger trends that the civil rights movement has fostered, schools are increasingly opening their doors to applicants from minority groups, in order to equalize such opportunities as well as to meet the two goals discussed above. (The only major exception to this trend seems to be the hard-core segregationist element in the deep South, which sometimes uses quotas to fire black teachers from previously segregated schools now being forced to integrate. Cf. Leon Hall, supra.) There seems to be no argument that the school does have the responsibility to prepare the student "to be a productive member of society," i.e., to be able to get a job. Nor does there seem to be any argument that all members of

the community should have equal access to job opportunities within the school system if they are equally qualified to perform the job. (This last point will be considered again more fully.) The two major problems that surround the implementation of the goal of economic opportunity are: (1) either by design or chance, career and vocational education can be used to segregate those disadvantaged or minority students who do not meet the biased norms that were described earlier, thus depriving them of the chance to pursue a college-oriented education or to develop more fully their own intellectual and artistic interests; and (2) either qualified non-minority (read "WASP") employees or teachers may be forced from their jobs unfairly or unqualified minority applicants may receive preferential treatment at the hiring table, to the detriment of the quality of education offered the students. George Henderson's recent editorial in Educational Leadership, "Toward Economic and Ethnic Diversity," represents the perception of the school administrators that this third goal is inextricably bound to the first two and that it cannot be solved separately at their expense.[10]

The fourth goal of modern education seems to be the hardest to articulate because of the problematic assumptions engrained in it. The goal is that the politics of school administration should be representative of the constituency which it serves. Assumed by this goal is both the fact that school administration is political and the theory that it should be. Without entering into a philosophic discussion about the nature of politics and the nature of education, it is necessary to delineate as clearly as possible the parameters which seem to circumscribe this goal. The very least that this goal asserts is that there should

be due process, equal protection, and equal representation in the political processes that control the education of our children. Beyond this, it is also implied that the means to attain the goals of education are susceptible to being adjudicated by the political process and that because of the pluralistic makeup of the United States, there should be, and will be, different alternatives adopted in different communities. This radically transcends the first three goals that have been discussed since it asserts that there is no standard professional method or social-scientific technique that could be applied mechanically to all individual educational contexts. It asserts that the educational process and experience is somehow more than the total of the constituent parts (course content, affective value and cultural training, and equal opportunity). Education is not simply competency-rated, union-controlled, teacher college-formula routine and methodology. Education is a means of understanding, a means of attaining , and, seemingly, a means of transforming the political and social world which we inhabit.

As the second part of this discussion should make clear, politics is, practically speaking, a part of education. A more complete and ongoing study of the nature of politics in the United States would be an essential part of defining more clearly the political goals of education. The goals of the larger pluralistic society must inevitably have their effect upon the politically controlled mechanisms of education. The desirability or fact of increasingly ethnic polycentrism in America will be reflected in the education that our children receive. Goals can change, and the means to achieve these goals may vary. But it seems clear that the goal and the nature of political activity in education deserve closer

attention if any of the goals of education are to be attained. Should there be an attempt to minimize the politics of education? An attempt to expand? To reform? Some indications of the answers to these questions are offered in the next section of this discussion, which attempts to survey the struggle for the control of the means of education.

Politics and Education: Decentralization, Community Participation, and Community Control

Public education, because it is public, operates within the sphere of politics. The power to finance and the power to control school administration are the two largest aspects of this political activity. Recent Supreme Court and state court decisions have highlighted the political nature of school financing and have foreshadowed future controversy concerning the distribution and use of local, state, and federal educational funds. Because of the problems concerning school finance alone, it is possible to conclude, as did James W. Guthrie and Paula H. Skene, that there will be continuing and probably increasing involvement of the state and federal governments in educational matters, thus affecting and limiting the flexibility of local or community control of the schools.[11] (Indeed, when the burden of school financing is joined with the burden for educating school administrators and teachers and the tendency for teachers to organize into labor unions, there is every reason to suspect that local control of education always has been and

always will be somewhat of a myth.[12])

By far, the most heated arguments concerning politics and education have not concerned finances but rather have been focused upon decentralization, community participation, and community control. The problem of who controls school administration swallowed even the desegregation issue, since those who control the administration automatically control the means of implementing and avoiding desegregation. As Leon Hall put it, "The greatest obstacle to desegregation is that the resistors are now, and have been for some time, the implementors."[13] (It will be seen later that this same complaint characterizes the tension between advocates of school decentralization and the proponents of a national teachers' union.) Of course, it must be kept in mind that decentralization is only a major problem in those cities that are large enough to be centralized, to begin with. Nontheless, the arguments surrounding decentralization reflect, in varying degrees, the problems that a multiethnic community of any size would face.

As Allan C. Ornstein has shown in his 1973 analysis of all school systems in the United States over 50,000 students, the movement towards decentralization is fast, sometimes violent, and only partially a success; but it is always a force to be reckoned with.[14] Ornstein presents the most comprehensive analysis of decentralization up to the present time. He studied 65 of the 77 largest school systems in the United States and delineated the degree of decentralization that had been implemented in each instance. His study made a useful distinction between: (1) simple decentralization, in which control is moved to smaller bureaucratic divisions without including the community to any greater extent than before;

(2) decentralization with informal and formal community participation, where legal and political responsibility still resides with the school administration; and (3) decentralization accompanied by legal and political incorporation of community control (implemented by local school boards, etc.). All 65 of the school systems he studied are grouped according to these three categories, and descriptions of the size and nature of the decentralized units are included.

Although it is clear from the outset that his rhetoric favors the second alternative, community participation, he presents basically sound theoretical arguments supported by factual data to defend his conclusions. Ornstein enlarges Charles E. Billings' conclusion that "conflict over community control... represents nothing more or less than a struggle for power between blacks and whites,"[15] to include the struggle for power between all ethnic groups. In its worst and most frequent manifestations, community control is motivated by economic and political self-interest and is separatist and generally disruptive in practice, according to Ornstein. He concludes that the movement for community control has lost perspective of the four educational goals discussed earlier.

Ornstein arrives at this conclusion after his general survey of trends in decentralization and a close analysis of the two largest examples of decentralization with community control, New York City and Detroit. The cases of New York City and Detroit are infamous in the literature about decentralization because they represent the widest range of problems with the largest magnitude of intensity. It is worth the trouble to trace the course of the problems in New York City briefly

in order to understand more clearly the internal dynamics of the process of decentralization.

Decentralization began in New York City as a result of complaints by parents that their children were not receiving a competent education. Most glaringly, it could be shown that certain schools and sections of the school system were far below both the national and the city norms for standard reading achievement. (Since all other course work depends, directly or indirectly, upon the basic ability to read, reading achievement scores are the most common single measure of educational achievement.) Since the problem (poor reading achievement) seemed to be localized, it was decided that control of the school administration should descend from the central level to the community level, where a more flexible response to individual needs could be attained. Before decentralization became a city-wide policy, however, it was adopted on a three-year, experimental basis in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district. Diane Ravitch has done a remarkable study of the history of this experiment from its inception to the time it was swallowed up by state-legislated, city-wide decentralization.[16] Along with Bernard Bard of the New York Post, R.O. Washington, and Paul Ritterband, she has documented the aspirations and the almost universal failure of community control as a method to implement decentralization.[17] Bard carefully documents the patterns of conflict between advocates of community control and the representatives of the teachers' union (U.F.T.). Although the union argued rightfully that many of the local authorities who were going to be put in control were not professionally competent to run a school district, Bard documents the featherbedding that alienated

any sympathy for their position. Similarly, he shows how quickly the need for individualized and flexible school administration decays into a patronage pool for local political control. Although, as Ritterband shows, some parts of the city were able to organize and to take advantage of both the ethnic power and the union power to avoid serious problems during the school strike of 1968, the general consensus of educators was expressed by Washington when he said that as a result of the problems in New York City the "concept of community control has lost a great deal of its appeal." Diane Ravitch put it even more strongly when she said "Of Ocean Hill-Brownsville it cannot be said that anyone gained educationally by community control."

The paradox that one is left with after reading of the failure of decentralization and community control in such instances is that almost universally the educators seem to agree that decentralization must continue, but that either the movement toward community control must reform itself or else community participation without any formal or legal community control must be the limit of decentralization. Ornstein voices their opinion most strongly. The literature on the subject gives a few clues as to why this situation exists. First, there does exist a real educational problem that needs to be reformed (as evidenced by the disparate levels of reading achievement, etc.) Second, there is an increasing militancy upon the part of ethnic groups to maintain and to promote their own cultural identity by seeking recognition in the school curriculum and administration. Third, there is a simultaneous movement upon the part of ethnic groups and community leaders to solidify their control of the economic and political forces of their daily lives (the movement towards

"reform" government and away from centralized, bureaucratic structures). The basic problem of decentralization seems to be that these three areas are not sufficiently articulated by the proponents of the reform of school administration to allow for adequate evaluation of the reform process. Sometimes decentralization is grossly described by the reform leaders in rhetoric that leads the people to believe it is the cure for all educational problems; it is not. Also, as Ravitch and Ritterband document, reform administrators have in the past adamantly refused to provide proof of improvement (in reading levels, etc.), even though they originally justified their own positions by the need to improve such performance levels. Similarly, there is more than a grain of truth in the teachers union's assertion that the uninformed changes instituted by a lay board of control could not possibly produce their stated objectives. And, finally, as this nation has been painfully reminded in the past few years, politics at any level is subject to corruption, favoritism, and graft; that the education system suffers from these same ills is merely symptomatic of the larger disease from which the country suffers.

Conclusion

There cannot really be a conclusion to any discussion such as this, since the process that it attempts to describe is an ever-changing one. A discussion of the ends and means of public education can never be concluded; it must always continue. Nonetheless, at the end of a discussion that describes the controversies and arguments that have embroiled our nation's schools in recent years, it would hopefully be possible to point beyond the shouting adversaries to a place in the future where the quiet dialogue of progress may take place.

In order to quiet the voices of dissent, more than the empty rhetoric of reform is going to have to be proffered. Certain concrete and realistic goals are going to have to be agreed upon both by the community-at-large and by the teachers and administrators of our nation's schools. The battle between the unions and the proponents of community control must cease. Serious dialogue between all parts of the community, including the students, must accompany this process of determining future educational goals. Within the available, and possibly changing, political structures, full participation by all citizens must be encouraged; the extremely low voter turnouts for school board elections across the nation must be reversed if political patronage and graft is to be replaced by participatory democracy. Teachers, administrators and guidance personnel must increase their efforts to sensitize themselves to the various ethnic and cultural components of the community and must adapt their curriculum and teaching methods accordingly. And, in order to avoid the chaos that has accompanied decentralization and reform in the past, there must be a clear articulation of the goals that are agreed upon, so that an adequate evaluation can be made of the progress toward those goals.

All of these suggestions are of a general nature and do not necessarily presuppose a choice about the alternatives between decentralization, community participation, and community control. As was stated both theoretically and practically in the first and second parts of this discussion, education is becoming an increasingly political problem. It will be a test of the American political system and of the democratic ideals upon which it is founded for the problems of modern public education

to be solved in a fair and just manner. Community control advocates must include multiple values in their strategies. Meaningful participation of the constituents in the decision-making is certainly essential. But, on the other hand, the school system must maintain a concern for standards, goals, rights and values which are necessary in the community as a whole. For example, citizen participation is crucial for neighborhood development; but citizen participation cannot be allowed to override certain society-wide values such as integration and open housing. Somehow, strategies for educational reform must realize that the tensions between parts and wholes is never resolved. They must recognize these tensions and attempt to be faithful to both poles.

The conflict between dominant culture versus multicultural education and between centralized versus decentralized control of education parallel fundamental tensions in the American system. Congress continually faces the problem of reconciling constituents' interests. While this is a great source of frustration in the legislative branch, it is also the source of much creative interplay. The question of multicultural education appears to be the same. It is unjust, as well as foolish, to impose a single arbitrary culture on all students. At the same time, the nation and the communities which comprise it demand some common affective standards (e.g., respect for the rule of law, fairness, justice, and certain proscribed behavior). Some have argued that multicultural education will lead to furthering racial strife and furthering a splintering of society. What we must be aware of is that the two alternatives

are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Strategies for multicultural education sometimes appear to state that the goal is both an individual's self-awareness and identification with his own ethnic and cultural heritage. Strategies based on this assumption are probably bound to fail. Two other goals are essential, theoretically and practically. First, strategies must aim at different cultures becoming aware and respectful of the best in one another. Second, strategies must aim at a common sharing of certain attitudes and values. The aim of education cannot be the comprehensive domination of the Anglo-Saxon culture. At the same time, it cannot be the comprehensive and solitary experience of particular ethnic cultures; for this replaces one folly with another. The American school system should aim at individuals who are aware and proud of the best in other cultures in a pluralistic society and who have an awareness and respect for the basic values of tolerance, the law, and justice.

The Education Task Force: "Action Now" Recommendations

South Bend's Education Task Force was almost perfectly in tune with the national trends just summarized: (1) the need for increased community participation in the educational process was emphasized; (2) the development of multicultural curriculum materials was strongly advocated to ease racial and ethnic tensions; and (3) the realization that the dropout and truancy problem must be attacked through the revision of present educational procedures and the creation of alternative procedures was articulated. However, South Bend still lags behind in moving toward

an effective, decentralized educational process.

As the preceding summary indicated, some cities have suffered setbacks because they proceeded too quickly with decentralization measures. Unless South Bend begins to act soon, the opposite tendency, to decentralize too slowly, may produce equally unsatisfactory results. The Education Task Force's "Action Now" report is already more than four-years-old; yet, its implementation is not complete. The careful adaptation of reform strategies to local community conditions is, of course, necessary; but equally necessary is effective and immediate action.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to rehash the entire painful process that accompanied the investigation by the Education Task Force. Instead, a brief summary of the recommendations of the "Action Now" report will be provided, and the corresponding response by the school corporation, indicated. The members of the Education Task Force divided into six subcommittees: Administration; Curriculum; Employment Practices; Parental Rights and Obligations; Teacher Responsibilities; and Teacher Training. For six months the subcommittees examined documents and interviewed people to secure a complete picture of the school system. Each subcommittee then submitted recommendations for action. In substance, these called for the following:

ADMINISTRATION - The solving of racial-human relations problems should be declared the number one priority of board, administration, faculty, students, parents and community.... Computerized studies should be undertaken to make possible further social, economic and racial balance in feeder schools and fuller utilization of classrooms.... More should be done to keep the public informed of school affairs.

CURRICULUM - South Bend's diversity of ethnic and racial traditions can be an educational advantage, not a handicap or annoyance.... The total community must be involved in the curriculum development process....

Teachers, textbooks and testing must meet the needs of students of all cultures, all backgrounds.

EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES - The present staff of teachers, counselors, coaches and administrators does not accurately reflect the community's racial and ethnic composition.... Qualified minority group members must be added to the staff as rapidly as possible.... Others must be promoted within the system.

PARENTS' RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES - Positive parental involvement is important, and it should be encouraged.... Direct communication between teachers and parents must be fostered.... A parents department should be established in the central school administration.... Each school should have a meaningful parents' council, and more should be done to encourage parents' organizations independent of school control.

TEACHERS' RESPONSIBILITIES - No child should be denied the positive influence of an effective teacher.... All teachers should have a clear understanding of their responsibilities especially in human relations.... To assure that these responsibilities are discharged, the teacher evaluation process must be strengthened.

TEACHER TRAINING - Educators must keep up with developments in their fields of special interest and keep in tune with community thinking.... The schools, professional organizations and the community must provide meaningful continuing education for all teachers.... In human relations, this can best be done by a team of educators and citizens.

These recommendations were presented to the school board in the summer of 1972. After further negotiation, the decision was made to create joint committees of top school system officials and task force members to study the recommendations and submit findings to the school board. This entailed six months more of detailed investigation of the operation of the school system. The final report of this group, known as the "Administration's Final Report," was a detailed set of objectives for all phases of the school system. The school board then studied this report and ordered it implemented. It should be noted that, almost without exception, some form of each recommendation was accepted and an appropriate implementation program planned.

The most significant, recent development in the implementation process was the appointment of Archie Bradford as the Director of Human Resources within the school corporation. It is the hope of all members of the community that Mr. Bradford will be able to stimulate further implementation of the recommendations.

The problems of school dropouts and truancy, racial and ethnic tensions, and inadequate prevention of juvenile delinquency still exist in South Bend schools. (Earlier chapters of this report have focused more closely on the problem of juvenile crime, but the fact that effective education is also effective delinquency prevention cannot be overlooked. Students who can learn how to lead productive lives, how to gain adequate employment, and how to coexist successfully with members of other racial, ethnic, religious and economic groups are not likely to become criminals, now or later in life.) Thus, the school corporation is failing to meet the needs of an increasing number of students each year.

One indication of the community's unwillingness to accept such failures is the formation of the Task Force on Education for the Handicapped, a group of concerned parents, educators, and community leaders who feel that an insufficient response has been made to the special education needs of many South Bend youth. (This task force will be discussed again, later in this chapter). Another indication of continued community concern and unrest is the coalition this summer (1975) of a group of youth-serving agencies and policy planners who are interested in assisting the school corporation in its reponse to the dropout and truancy problems. This committee has organized itself around Mr. Bradford's Office of Human Resources within the school corporation and is dedicated to the implementation of the "Action

Now" report. The point of all of this seems clear. An agenda for action has been created. Specific problem areas have been identified. Willing community leaders and youth-service resources are already organized to work with the school corporation in attempting to solve these community problems.

The second section of this chapter will focus upon the dropout problem and will attempt to outline the basic facts about it that are presently available. By limiting our scope here to the dropout problem we make no concessions to the responsibility to fulfill the rest of the "Action Now" proposals. Rather, our intent is to analyze one of the central problems which the school corporation faces today and try to suggest fruitful alternatives. The relationship between the dropout problem and the larger social malaise which produces juvenile delinquency seems self-evident: in both problem areas, insufficient means to satisfy the needs of our community's youth produce unacceptable antisocial behavior.

As was indicated in the last chapter, the youth-serving agencies in the South Bend area all agree that the school corporation is the keystone to any successful program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. State law requires children from 6 to 17 to attend school regularly, so the schools provide a natural starting point for initiating contact with youths. The schools also have the means to administer behavior modification programs, for example, as part of their regular curriculum. And, finally, the additional diagnostic and treatment services that must be administered outside of school can never succeed if they are not properly coordinated with the formal educational process. For these reasons, then, it is hoped that by building a prevention and treatment program to deal specifically with the dropout problem, a successful model of cooperative

delivery of youth services may be created and may be extended to other problem areas within the school system. The final section of this chapter will make specific proposals toward this end.

B. Local Project Analysis of School Dropout Problem and Educational Alternatives

The purpose of this section of Chapter V is to establish the basic facts about the dropout problem in the South Bend schools. The withdrawal statistics gathered by the school corporation for school years 1973-74 and 1974-75 are presented and briefly discussed. Besides analyzing these overall figures, suggestions are made about future statistical information which ought to be gathered on dropouts. Next, the existing educational alternatives for high school dropouts are reviewed. And, finally, a survey of possible treatment and educational alternatives is made. This survey includes two parts: a glance at the possibility of implementing a client-monitoring project for special education students and dropouts; and a brief bibliography on programs of educational reform in the United States. (This is included as Appendix D.)

Dropout Statistics

The South Bend School Corporation has compiled annual reports on dropouts for some years. The school corporation tactfully refers to dropouts as "withdrawals." In fact, however, most students never formally withdraw from school; they merely quit attending.

Some students never return to school in the fall after the summer vacation; such students are so hard to trace that the school corporation has no formal records on how many students fail to return. Other students, for one reason or another, simply never go back to school after the first day, deciding they have had enough. The director of Pupil Personnel explained how hard it is to contact such students who just quit coming but admitted that not enough effort is made to contact them once they are gone.

Although state and local regulations allow pregnant students to remain in classes as long as they are physically able, few are encouraged to do so, and most are dissuaded.

Overall, less than half the students who drop out of school ever receive any preventive counseling prior to their "withdrawal." And this occurs despite the fact that the local attendance officer's mandatory yearly report records 1,578 referrals for truancy out of 2,942 total referrals, of which 2,884 referrals were followed by a "home visit." We italacize "home visit" since reliable sources are very skeptical about the true nature of these visits: "Knocking on a black, working-mother's door at 2:30 in the afternoon is hardly a home visit," as one source put it.

At the present time, not much stands in the way of a student if he decides to drop out of school. The youth-serving agencies surveyed in Chapter IV seem to prevent more dropouts than the school corporation does. There are probably good reasons why that is true, some of which will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. But first, let's consider the facts about dropouts.

Table 5.1 presents the school withdrawals by grade level for the seven area high schools during the 1973-74 and 1974-75 school years. It will be noticed that the total number of dropouts for the seven high schools increased from 576 to 655, or 13.7%, in one year. The distribution pattern of withdrawals was stable, however, with the largest number of dropouts occurring during the sophomore year and the second largest during the junior year. While it might be encouraging to suppose that the lower rates for senior year indicate some improvement in the problem, it is probably more accurate to interpret this decline as the simple reflection that most of the

Table 5.1

High School Withdrawals by Grade, South Bend, 1974 and 1975

High School	Grade:	1974 9	10	11	12	Total	1975 9	10	11	12	Total
Adams		32	34	13	10	89 (15.4%)	32	38	39	21	130 (19.8%)
Clay Sr.		-	55	17	13	85 (14.8%)	1	33	41	21	96 (14.7%)
Jackson		8	15	11	12	46 (8.0%)	4	11	15	8	38 (5.8%)
LaSalle		-	54	42	30	126 (21.9%)	-	51	39	23	113 (17.3%)
North Liberty		2	4	9	5	20 (3.5%)	4	9	4	10	27 (4.1%)
Riley		19	40	54	34	147 (25.5%)	32	34	38	24	128 (19.5%)
Washington		15	15	12	21	63 (10.9%)	49	30	30	14	123 (18.8%)
Totals		76	217	158	125	576	122	206	206	121	655
Percentage of All Dropouts		13.2%	37.7%	27.4%	21.7%		18.6%	31.4%	31.4%	18.5%	

remaining students are willing to "stick it out" for one last year. A factor that might affect the low rate of dropouts during the freshman year is that some ninth graders (potential dropouts) in the system attend Central Middle School and Clay Middle School and thus are not included in these figures. Future calculations involving dropouts should include figures for all schools which offer classes to any of grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve.

Table 5.2 presents the dropout rates by age for the seven high schools for the school years 1973-74 and 1974-75. Although these statistics may be skewed somewhat, due to the exclusion of ninth-grade, middle-school dropouts, it gives an accurate indicator of when a student is most likely to dropout: when he reaches seventeen years of age, the legal limit of compulsory school attendance. While this fact appeals to a commonsense perception of the dropout problem, it may in fact indicate only one of the main reasons why he was staying in school (i.e., the law), not why he dropped out. If it is disturbing to note that from 24-28% of all dropouts were allowed to withdraw from school although they were below the legal age limit, it is almost tragic to learn that from 39-44% of all dropouts managed to stay at least one and sometimes two years beyond the legal age limit and still found school so unacceptable that they dropped out.

Table 5.3 presents the withdrawal rates by sex for the school years 1973-74 and 1974-75. Although the totals for males and females were very stable (55%-45% and 54%-46%), specific schools were significantly different from the norm. North Liberty recorded more female withdrawals than male withdrawals for both years; marriages and pregnancies at North Liberty were proportionately high, but they do not completely account for this pattern.

Table 5.2

High School Withdrawals by Age, South Bend, 1974 and 1975

High School	Age:	1974 15	16	17	18	19		1975 15	16	17	18	19	
Adams		3	22	32	17	15		15	24	51	36	4	
Clay Sr.		1	31	26	17	10		1	17	25	38	15	
Jackson		4	10	18	8	6		1	8	16	9	4	
LaSalle		2	21	43	36	24		2	26	31	34	20	
North Liberty		1	4	5	7	3		4	5	5	10	3	
Riley		5	33	51	33	25		5	25	35	44	19	
Washington		7	16	15	8	17		7	19	47	36	14	
Totals		23	137	190	126	100	= 576	35	124	210	207	79	= 655
Percentage of All Dropouts		4.0%	23.8%	33.0%	21.9%	17.3%		5.3%	18.9%	32.1%	31.6%	12.1%	

Table 5.3

High School Withdrawals by Sex, South Bend, 1974 and 1975

High School	1974		1975	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Adams	49	40	61	69
Clay Sr.	53	32	59	37
Jackson	25	21	20	18
LaSalle	60	66	57	56
North Liberty	9	11	10	17
Riley	88	59	80	48
Washington	33	30	67	56
Totals	317	259	354	301
Percentage of All Dropouts	55.0%	45.0%	54.0%	46.0%

In separate years, LaSalle (1974) and Adams (1975) recorded more female withdrawals than males. In light of the increasing rates of female juvenile and adult crime, these dropout rates at Adams and LaSalle might be early indicators of an increase in female-related social problems. Further analysis of the reasons for withdrawal and longitudinal studies will be necessary to evaluate this phenomenon.

Table 5.4 records the school withdrawals by race for the 1973-74 and 1974-75 school years. Two points must be made here: (1) Even without considering the relative racial balance of the respective high schools, a disproportionate number of minority students, compared to white students, dropped out of school; and (2) When the relative scarcity of minority students at Clay Sr., Jackson, and North Liberty is considered, it becomes even clearer that minority students at the other four high schools were dropping out at a much higher rate. (This statistic should actually be computed according to the enrollment totals for each race; it is recommended that these figures be computed in the future.)

Table 5.5 presents the total number of students, the number of withdrawals, and the withdrawals as a percentage of total students, by high school for the school year 1974-75. Seven percent of all students enrolled in high school during the 1974-75 school year dropped out. Only Jackson enjoyed a significantly lower rate of withdrawal; Riley showed the highest rate of dropouts with 9.4%.

Table 5.6 lists the current categories which the school corporation uses to record the reasons for withdrawal, the number of withdrawals, and the percentage of all withdrawals for each category during the 1974-75 school year. Before analyzing the statistics, it should be noted that the

Table 5.4

High School Withdrawals by Race, South Bend, 1974 and 1975

High School	Race:*	1974 C	1974 N	1974 SA	1974 AI	1975 C	1975 N	1975 SA	1975 AI
Adams		51	34	3	1	91	38	1	0
Clay Sr.		85	0	0	0	95	1	0	0
Jackson		46	0	0	0	38	0	0	0
LaSalle		74	51	1	0	65	45	3	0
North Liberty		20	0	0	0	26	0	1	0
Riley		87	56	3	1	91	36	0	1
Washington		45	18	0	0	65	43	15	0
Totals		408	159	7	2	471	163	20	1
Percentage of All Dropouts		70.8%	27.6%	1.2%	0.3%	71.9%	24.9%	3.1%	0.1%

*Legend:
C = Caucasian
N = Negro
SA = Spanish-American
AI = American Indian

Table 5.5

Total Students, Withdrawals, Withdrawals as Percentage of Total Students, South Bend, 1974-75

High School	Total Students	Withdrawals	Withdrawals/Students
Adams	1875	130	6.9%
Clay Sr.	1294	96	7.4%
Jackson	1170	38	3.2%
LaSalle	1616	113	7.0%
North Liberty	418	27	6.5%
Riley	1363	128	9.4%
Washington	1636	123	7.5%
Totals	9372	655	7.0%

categories listed are often ambiguous, overlapping, and of doubtful validity in measuring the true reasons for withdrawal. To take an example, no satisfactory explanation could be made to this researcher why categories 14 and 15 were separate. This is especially interesting since in 1974-75 Washington recorded 35 of its 37 withdrawals in category 15, and no reasonable explanation could be offered by the central administration as to what this might mean. Also, how does the "Need or Desire to Earn Money" differ from "Preference of Work over School"? There is no sense creating artificial categories for analyzing withdrawals if the categories are meaningless, arbitrary, or uninterpretable.

The director of Pupil Personnel admitted that quite a bit of variance exists in applying these categories, that sometimes the authorized personnel do not in fact compile the forms but delegate the responsibility, and that efforts to enforce uniform recording practices in the past have not been successful. As a result, when the principal of Riley High School chose to list 67 students (out of a total of 87 for all schools) as withdrawn due to "Incorrigibility-Discipline," there was no way to tell that most of those students had been expelled for excessive absences and might more properly be listed under category 16, "Disinterest in School's Curriculum." Since no dropouts have actually been recorded for categories 17 and 29 ("Dislike of Teacher(s)" and "Friends-Peer Group Pressures"), there is some indication that either very few students would ever admit to such facts or else that very few teacher/administrators are likely to record them as such. Whichever is the case, such categories ought to be thrown out unless some more sensitive way to determine the reasons for withdrawal (e.g., counseling by a "neutral" party) can be established. The reason for

Table 5.6

Reasons for Withdrawals in South Bend High Schools, 1974-75

School Code #	Reason	Total	Percentage of All Dropouts
14	Physical and/or Mental Disabilities	13	2.0%
15	Learning Disabilities not Covered Above	37*	5.6%
16	Disinterest in School's Curriculum	211	32.2%
17	Dislike of Teacher(s)	0	-
18	Disruptive School Environment	1	0.1%
19	Disruptive Home Environment	20	3.1%
20	Armed Forces Enlistment	40	6.1%
21	Need or Desire to Earn Money	19	2.9%
22	Marriage	31	4.7%
23	Pregnancy	20	3.1%
24	Drugs-Narcotics-Alcohol	2	0.3%
25	Incorrigibility - Discipline	87*	13.3%
26	Committed to Correctional Institution	7	1.1%
27	Preference of Work over School	62	9.5%
28	Parental Encouragement	8	1.2%
29	Friends - Peer Group Pressures	0	-
30	Desire for Vocational Training Not Offered in School	2	0.3%
31	Frequent School Transfers	0	-
32	Record of Failure	11	1.7%
40	Deceased	3	0.4%
41	Other	81*	12.4%
	Total	655	100.0%

* See discussion of table in text

12.4% of all dropouts is simply listed as "Other"; presumably no record is kept of what these "other" reasons are. Finally, as was mentioned above, some students never formally withdraw from school, they simply quit going. When they are "withdrawn" by school authorities, nonetheless, the requisite reasons for withdrawal are listed. This sheds great doubt upon the reliability of most of these statistics, since the accuracy of such recording practices is probably not high.

We recommend that future dropout statistics be gathered in a strictly administered format, with trained personnel responsible for the accuracy of the original categories and the results of the gathered data. If it is necessary to establish home visits after a dropout has already occurred, then the effort should be taken in order to gain the data necessary to prevent other dropouts. National statistics provided by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare indicate that children from broken families are three times as likely to be unenrolled due to dropouts, truancy, or disciplinary suspension, and it would be surprising if some of these reasons were not evident in the South Bend area, also.

Just as Chapter III suggested the expansion of the data processing capacity of the Juvenile Probation Department, this chapter highly recommends that expanded use be made of the Regional Computer Center to recover data about dropouts. In the past, the school corporation has compiled in-depth studies of dropouts which include family status, number of siblings, parent's occupational status, past attendance records, past grade records, etc. Most of this information is already gathered and stored for use by the school corporation for various local, state and federal reports. Programs should be compiled to provide both individual and composite profiles

on dropouts, according to all of these categories of information, plus the new ones suggested earlier. Although the present statistics tend to indicate that the dropout problem is widely dispersed geographically, a sample study of geographical and socioeconomic distribution should be compiled as a means of identifying the controlling variables which engender the urge to dropout. While effective prevention and response to the dropout phenomenon require sensitive teaching and counseling methods, the identification of the problems involved in dropping out requires equally sensitive analysis of data about past dropouts.

Despite these criticisms of the present record-keeping system, Table 5.6 does reveal some interesting, though depressing, information. First and foremost, more than 32.2% of all students who dropped out of high school last year, did so because of "Disinterest in School's Curriculum." For reasons mentioned earlier, most of the 87 students grouped under category 25 ("Incorrigibility-Discipline") should probably be included here, as should those listed under category 32 ("Record of Failure") who were, no doubt, disinterested in the work they were constantly failing. Adding up the withdrawals in these three categories (16, 25, and 32), then, 47.2% of all students dropped out of school because of disinterest in the school curriculum, repeated failures, excessive tardiness and absences, and disciplinary exclusions ("pushout" by expulsion).

Another 12.4% dropped out to seek employment (categories 21 and 27). Even if the desire in such cases was to spend money lavishly rather than on necessities, which is rather doubtful, the school system still seems to have failed to teach such students the long-range economic advantage of a high school education.

The question of why 7.6% of all dropouts were excluded due to some learning disability (categories 14 and 15) will be touched upon again later in this section. But one question such statistics raise is: "Who will teach such children if the school system won't?" The answer, unfortunately, is "Probably, no one."

The problems involved in keeping married and pregnant girls in school are,admittedly, many; but the school corporation and the South Bend community must finally weigh the long-range benefits against the short-range difficulties. An education lasts a lifetime; the problem of accommodating married and pregnant students, only a short while. If such students are to be given an equal educational opportunity, some commitment to encourage and to accommodate more of them to stay in school must be made. By refusing them such opportunities, the productive possibilities for their lives and their new family's lives are unnecessarily limited.

Similarly, the problem of encouraging armed forces enlistees to complete their high school education is a thorny one; the armed forces simply do not offer the type of education a normal high school does. Most of these students eventually return to the South Bend area once their enlistment is up, and then the problem is probably beyond help. Potential enlistees should be encouraged to postpone enlistment until after graduation from high school.

Only by seriously addressing the immediate task of implementing daily programs to identify and to meet the basic human needs of the potential dropout can the increasing withdrawal rate be brought under control. Administrative commitments must become effective action within the schools. Many of the community's youth-serving agencies stand ready to help the school

corporation in the implementation of such programs; but the process for change must start from within.

Educational Alternatives

Educational alternatives have been created by the South Bend School Corporation in the past in order to alleviate part of the dropout problem. The Street Academy was mentioned in the previous chapter as one alternative. As stated at that time, however, the Street Academy does not and, perhaps, cannot reach white, middle-class students, who comprise more than 70% of all dropouts. The only other alternative education that is presently offered such students is the school corporation's night school program. Since the age limits were lowered a few years ago, more youths have been taking advantage of the night school program, but the director of Pupil Personnel admits that the present program simply isn't extensive enough to meet the needs of the entire dropout population. An extension of the night school program might be considered.

Also, the C.O.G. Program for pregnant girls, which is operated with the cooperation of the YWCA, is neither large enough to handle all married or pregnant girls, nor does it offer the full range of educational resources available in a normal school situation. Other alternatives for pregnant and married students, and new alternatives for other female students, are needed.

The Parents-Delinquent Education Program was a successful program for all dropout students and the adaptation of its counseling methods within the normal school operation might be considered. Indiana Vocational Technical College and other vocational training programs serve a very real need for the community. But they are currently and primarily aimed at high

school graduates, not dropouts. Yet, if the statistics presented on withdrawals can be relied upon, few students who drop out of school are likely to enroll in such programs. If they need or desire money, they will gratify that need or desire immediately, not by enrolling in another training program. The "Action Now" report pointed out the necessity of enlarging the vocational education program within the school system. Presently, the lower socioeconomic groups are underrepresented in such programs. More vocational programs and cooperative work-study programs should be planned and implemented using the dropout population as the primary target group.

Finally, the creation of alternative modes of teaching using a wide and diverse range of curriculum materials must be made a high-priority item for all the city's schools, not merely to satisfy the needs of the present dropout population, but also to serve the needs of all students within the school system. The recent advance toward a multiethnic curriculum is discussed in the final section of this chapter. The widening of the grounds for shared interests among South Bend students should help eliminate the racial and ethnic tensions which have disturbed the educational process in the past. Such a multiethnic program should be able to reach some of those category-16 students, who are "distinterested in the school's curriculum."

To conclude then, alternative education must be offered in two forms: within the present, traditional classroom and in separate programs such as the Street Academy and C.O.G. The advantages of the former are tremendous; the necessity for the latter will probably remain for some years to come.

Recently, the parents of children with special education needs have formed the Task Force for the Education of the Handicapped, in cooperation

with prominent community leaders and educational and research specialists. The basic concept behind their project, Client Monitoring of Special Education, is to study, in detail, the special education program in the school corporation. What is important to recognize, we believe, is that the necessary process of identifying students, recording the flow of policy decisions, measuring curricular and counseling techniques is suited not only to special education students but also to all dropouts. Their methods could be accommodated to provide an in-depth study of the dropout program. By combining the two needs-analyses, for special education students and dropouts, increased efficiency is achieved and the need to create a separate plan for evaluating the dropout program is largely disposed of. Some slight modification of the present proposal might be necessary, but the largest part could remain intact. We recommend that the school corporation make all attempts to consider the merits of this proposal and implement some such joint program, whether federally or locally funded. Appendix D is a bibliography of recent articles and monographs on specific educational reform strategies. The included items suggest and describe workable programs to help the variety of troubled youths who don't fit into the present school system. We believe that the dropout problem can be alleviated by making the school system more open to the various needs of such students.

Finally, one of the recommendations made in the last section of this chapter is that a committee for the implementation of a school dropout prevention program be established within the school corporation's Department of Human Resources, to evaluate the alternatives and to initiate their establishment within the South Bend community. The time is ripe: the community is demanding more response to the dropout problem; youth-serving

agencies are committed to cooperate in the implementation of such a program; and some effective action needs to be forthcoming.

C. Proposals for Community Action

As stated at the outset of this chapter, this project does not intend to rehash all the "Action Now" proposals. Hopefully, some of the proposals made in this section will facilitate the implementation of the "Action Now" report. The project team shares with the South Bend community a basic confidence that Archie Bradford will be able to carry out the full implementation of the "Action Now" report through his Office of Human Resources in the school corporation. Clearly, this office is a hub of future educational reform, since it is through his office that the school corporation can best maintain flexible lines of communication with existing youth-serving agencies and with the parents of students throughout the community.

Some steps have already been taken toward implementation of the "Action Now" report. One of the most important programs implemented thus far is the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program, designed in cooperation with the Education Department of Indiana University at South Bend and the Institute for Urban Studies of the University of Notre Dame. This program is being implemented at the lower levels of the school system during 1975-76. In-service training sessions are being held during the school year to sensitize teachers to the concepts and methods involved in multiethnic education. Basically, the Ethnic Heritage materials consist of three types of information: background, resources, and classroom study activities. Background information for Hungarian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Italian-Americans, and Afro-Americans has been compiled and summarized in

pamphlet form by the program. These short pamphlets contain overviews of the different ethnic groups within American society and specific information about the history of each ethnic group in the South Bend community. Short biographical sketches of ethnic community leaders of the past and present are provided, so that the unique cultural achievements of these groups may be a source of pride to students and a means of cross-cultural understanding between ethnic groups by stimulating an appreciation of cultural pluralism and the wholesomeness of ethnic diversity.

Two types of resource information have been prepared for use by the program. First and foremost, a community-wide ethnic resource guide has been prepared; it describes the resource persons, organizations, churches, communications media, holidays and celebrations, and foods of each of the ethnic groups which exist in the South Bend area. Also included are a series of multicultural presentations which are available for use within the schools. The tremendous advantage of this resource guide, and indeed of the entire Ethnic Heritage Studies Program, is that it has been specifically tailored to the South Bend community, thus assuring maximum effect and success. The second resource material that has been prepared is an extensive bibliography of multiethnic materials, again covering each of South Bend's ethnic groups. Each section of this bibliography refers to other bibliographies, to biographies, histories, social interpretations, and artistic and literary works which pertain to each cultural group. Brief annotations are provided for each bibliographic entry so that teachers may easily choose whatever materials best suit their students' needs.

Multiethnic activities have been planned and described for both the lower-elementary and upper-elementary levels. Manuals describing games and

other individual and group activities are provided for each level to supplement the extensive file of activities cards which comprise the backbone of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program. These activities cards are arranged according to subject, such as uniqueness of child, nonbiological needs, ethnic heritage, prejudice, and feelings. Each subject is divided into related subtopics, and each major category is linked in an ascending scale of conceptual complexity to the next major category. The activities begin with the individual child and conclude with the modern pluralistic society which exists in America. Each activity card specifies a particular educational objective and then lists the materials and activities necessary to attain that objective. These activities cards are presently available for the lower- and upper-elementary levels. Plans for expanding these materials for use at higher grade levels throughout the school system are being considered . Such programs clearly deserve high priority. Besides the materials being produced by this program, an even more complete inventory of materials is currently being compiled by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

The embodiment of the cultural aspirations of South Bend's ethnic groups within this curriculum program is a magnificent sign of the progress which can be made in implementing educational reform through cooperative action between the school corporation and outside agencies and institutions. The combined efforts of the school corporation, Institute for Urban Studies of the University of Notre Dame, and the Education Department of IUSB have produced a workable program which will stimulate cross-cultural understanding within our pluralistic community. The fact that such materials are locally designed and administered insures their relevance to community needs.

It is this type of cooperative planning and implementation that is necessary to attack the interrelated problems of school dropouts and juvenile delinquency in the South Bend area.

Chapter IV of this report concluded with three recommendations; two of them are repeated here.

(1) The Clay Middle School Truancy Intervention Program should be reinstituted and replicated throughout the school system; and

(2) The St. Mary's Parents-Delinquent Education Program should be reinstituted and replicated to include not only adjudicated delinquents but also other potential dropouts who need an intensive remedial program as an alternative to the traditional school situation.

In order to facilitate these two proposals and in order to provide a permanent locus for future policy planning and program implementation for delinquency and dropout prevention, a third proposal is offered here. A YOUTH SUPPORT CLEARINGHOUSE, WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MONITORING AND COORDINATING THE DELIVERY OF SOCIAL SERVICES TO SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN, SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES OF THE SCHOOL CORPORATION. This clearinghouse would operate under the supervision of Archie Bradford and would also serve as the central planning forum for government and private youth service delivery programs.

Each of these three proposals deserves further explanation in order to defend its workability and desirability. The Clay Middle School Truancy Intervention Program was a limited staff program which required limited

training and limited funding. The program was operated on a volunteer basis by the St. Joseph County Juvenile Probation Department under the direction of Probation Officer Paul Smith and with the assistance of student interns. The assistant principal of Clay Middle School was very enthusiastic about the program and, since his promotion to principal, has lamented the discontinuance of the project. As mentioned in Chapter IV, Dr. Ivan Pangrac of the Mental Health Center has stated that his Community Education Coordinator, Ms. Dorothy Limbert, and other members of his staff could assist in any necessary training involved in reestablishing and replicating the program. The professional opinions of both Dr. Pangrac and Mr. Smith were agreed that a large part of the necessary services could be administered by existing counselors and teachers in the school system who might be enlisted to implement the program. Other possible sources of staff include the Mental Health Center, YSB, the education departments of local colleges and universities (for student interns), and/or specially hired staff members to be funded by outside grants under LEAA or other programs. The heads of these agencies have all indicated their interest in such a proposal. In the opinion of this research team, no serious financial, staffing, training, or coordinating problems exist which might prevent immediate action. Dr. Pangrac has suggested a full-scale pilot program in a hard-core target school, with modification and implementation at other schools as soon as possible. This research team supports his suggestion. We believe it is the clear responsibility of the school corporation to act upon the alternative means of implementing this program without delay.

We recommend that the Parents-Delinquent Education Program also be

reestablished. The need to offer counseling and treatment services to both the juvenile and his parents is a product of the relationship between delinquency and family problems. As was shown in Chapter III, children from broken families are more likely than those from families with both parents to be involved in delinquent behavior. So too, children from unstable families are more prone to antisocial behavior than those from stable home environments. The staffing, funding, and physical facilities involved in reestablishing this program are admittedly greater than those needed for a reestablished Truancy Intervention Program. Nonetheless, some such alternative education program is clearly called for; there is little reason to abandon a successful model because of personality difficulties or funding limitations. Any program will face internal frictions and funding problems; these difficulties must be surmounted. It is our recommendation that an immediate effort be made to secure funding for the Parents-Delinquent Education Program; all avenues of finance such as LEAA, city Department of Human Resources funds, H.E.W. funding, state funding, and local funding should be evaluated and necessary proposals prepared. Considerations for including nonadjudicated juveniles should be made in these calculations. Even if such a program can only be established at its originally funded level, the benefit to the South Bend community juvenile population will be significant.

Finally, we recommend that a Youth Support Clearinghouse be established within the school corporation's Department of Human Resources in order to coordinate juvenile referral procedures for school-aged children and to provide a permanent forum for policy planning between public and private youth-serving agencies. The core for such a clearinghouse has actually

surfaced during the process of this research, and efforts are already under way to actualize such a proposal.

No new services, as such, are to be provided by this clearinghouse. Instead, the unit is to serve as a funneling and monitoring center for all youth service delivery programs within the city. By thus coordinating the referral and monitoring of youth service referrals, four significant advantages over the present delivery system are realized.

(1) Specific programs which supply particular types of service are identified, and these agencies are made more accountable for their specified functions.

(2) Gaps and duplication of services between agencies can be eliminated by monitoring and funneling the delivery of services to specific agencies.

(3) A more accurate overview of the kinds of services being delivered and of the kinds of services actually required can be established as a result of the monitoring function of the clearinghouse.

(4) Increased flexibility and enlarged community participation is achieved by allowing the clearinghouse to funnel both input and output of referrals according to the existing resource characteristics of separate neighborhoods.

Such a clearinghouse could be modeled after and linked to the United Way Comprehensive Service Delivery System. This latter system is presently being implemented in the Southeast Neighborhood on a pilot basis; it will eventually be replicated throughout St. Joseph County.

Basically the clearinghouse's function would be to segment the school system according to feeder school-central school boundaries and to focus service delivery and planning projects with the needs of those particular segments in mind. More sensitive adaptation to the needs of particular schools and particular neighborhoods is established by such a system.

A decentralized system of youth service delivery such as proposed here increases the possibility for effective community participation through neighborhood groups and youth-serving agencies. Increased accountability within the school corporation and between the youth-serving agencies is produced by the centralized monitoring system and by the inclusion of neighborhood input into the system. No longer will separate neighborhoods be left without an effective voice about how their schools or how their service agencies are meeting particular local needs. The full implementation of this plan will require the establishment of effective parents' associations within individual neighborhoods, as well as the independent stimulation of community participation programs throughout the South Bend area.

The first step towards this important project should be the establishment of the Youth Support Clearinghouse as described above. Various funding possibilities for such a clearinghouse exist - and outside of the school corporation, since the entire community realizes that such a project is and must be a shared responsibility. (Dr. John Kromkowski, who headed this research project, is aware of some of these possibilities and can provide assistance to Mr. Bradford in the next steps toward implementation of such a clearinghouse.)

Other proposals need to be mentioned here, although their importance

should not detract from the serious consideration of the three proposals listed above. These proposals are aimed at school policies and procedures which affect the school dropout program.

First, a school corporation policy should be established for all schools concerning truancy, tardiness, and suspensions. At present, only two high schools, Adams and Riley, have specific attendance policies. As the Riley withdrawal statistics indicate, extreme latitude in the administration of attendance policies still exists, despite the "Action Now" recommendations. The school corporation as a whole should seriously reconsider whether suspension and exclusion from classes is an effective solution to truancy and dropout problems.

Second, and related to this same problem, some school corporation policy should be established to increase the accountability of each school to the neighborhood it serves, as well as to the central administration. The maintenance of a flexible response by school administrators is necessary, but this should not be allowed to infringe upon the parent's right to affect the shape of his child's education.

Third, an accurate system to monitor tardiness and absences should be established as the primary line of defense against dropouts. Past studies have shown that irregular attendance almost always precedes withdrawal from school.

Fourth, a mandatory process of pre-withdrawal counseling is recommended, to allow temporary flare-ups to subside and adequate guidance and advice to be offered to potential dropouts.

CHAPTER VI

NEIGHBORHOOD REHABILITATION

A. An Overview of the Problem

Throughout this report a central argument has been proposed: only through a unified response of both public and private agencies, supported by citizens and citizen groups at the neighborhood level, can the interrelated problems of school dropouts, juvenile delinquency, fear of crime, and neighborhood deterioration in South Bend be controlled. The "Neighborhood Conservation" project of the South Bend Urban Observatory (June, 1976) has been concerned with the analysis of factors which measure and identify the process of neighborhood deterioration. Various strategies have been discussed in that research. It is important, however, to note that the fear of crime and the fact of crime should not be viewed as isolated features of the neighborhoods. The fear of crime and the fact of crime are elements of neighborhood life which are related to the range of indicators presented in the neighborhood profiles developed by the "Neighborhood Conservation" project.

Factors which contribute to the deterioration of neighborhoods include: demographic change; economic change; national and local housing and entrepreneurial patterns; the allocation of private capital and the risk assessment of insurance companies; the renewal and relocation patterns, particularly the placement of displaced persons; the mobility of newly prosperous families; the life-style preferences and appropriation of an ideology of single-family privatism by upper-middle and upper income groups; etc. The importance of these factors can be illustrated by the net migration of

citizens from the corporate limits of South Bend and the change in ethnic composition of various neighborhoods since the 1960 Census. The impact of the Chapin Street renewal project is illustrative of government-induced change.

By way of example, the development of public housing alternatives certainly met the physical requirements of rehabilitating a previously delapidated residential location, but even the director of the South Bend Public Housing Authority admitted that he is at a loss for ways to identify the services needed and which services might work for persons in the family units. Elderly tenants apparently feel they were forced out of neighborhoods; they have different perceptions of neighborhood life than the young black families in the projects. Of the 1000 PHA units, one-third are for senior citizens, two-thirds are family units. Sixty-five per cent of the tenants are black, 65% of the senior citizens are white. Though the Housing Authority is struggling mightily to develop a sense of rehabilitated neighborhood life, the task of reconstituting the disrupted lives of its tenants is overwhelming. It should be more than obvious that physical renewal is not sufficient for, though in many respects it is a necessary feature of, neighborhood revitalization. Public policy plans should be particularly attuned to this reality -- in sum, demolishing and rebuilding neighborhoods is not a cure-all.

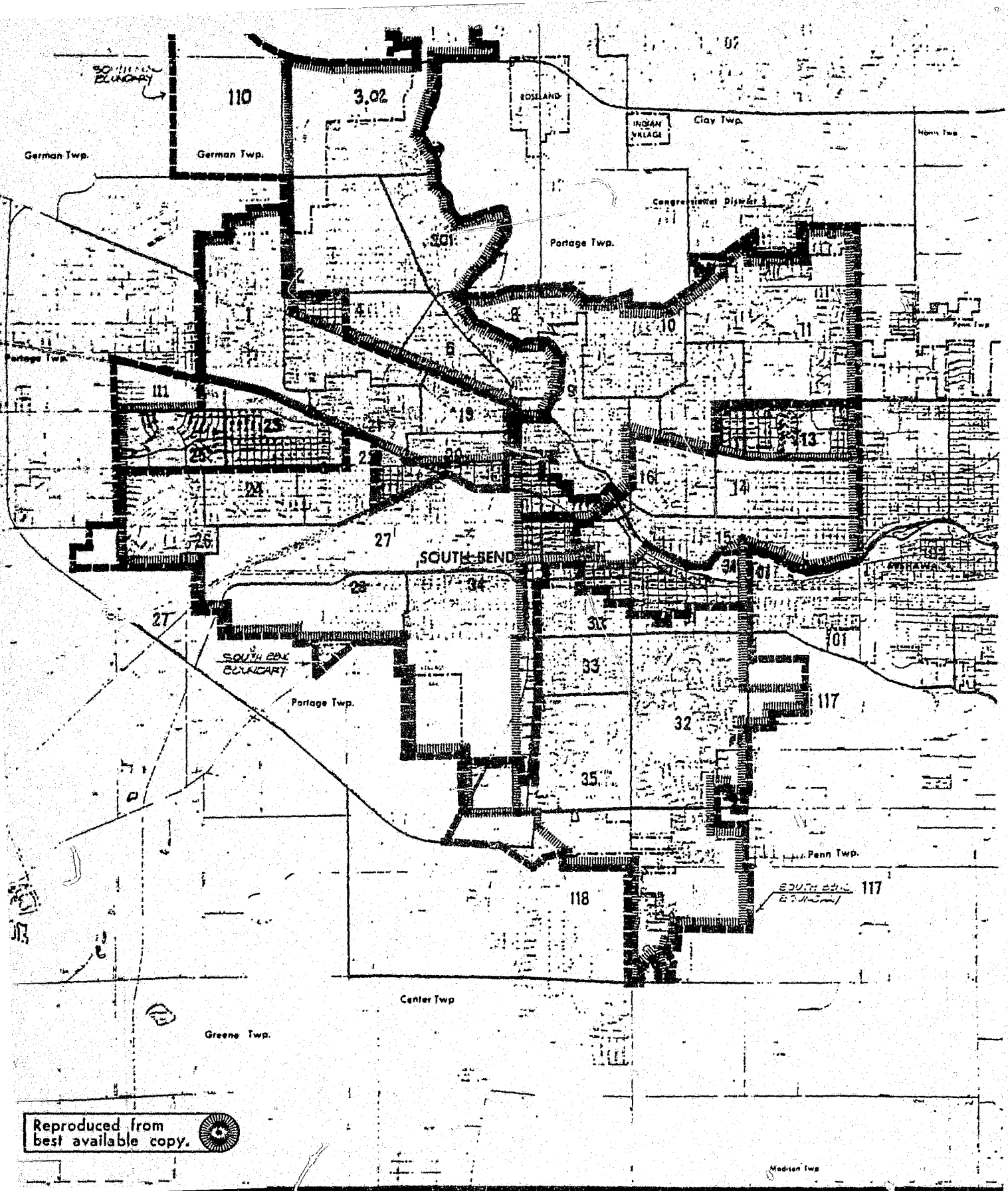
Another factor contributing to neighborhood deterioration is the lack of citizen awareness of public services. A lack of confidence in the regular delivery of these services can be attributed, in part, to faulty political representation and, in part, to a lack of clearly defined responsibility for the delivery of public services. Although the process of deterioration

in the Southeast Neighborhood was clear prior to 1969, the councilmanic redistricting of that year fragmented whatever neighborhood political leverage the neighborhood possessed. Map C illustrates the councilmanic districts prior to 1969 and after (the current councilmanic districts).

Neighborhood deterioration is marked by a growing lack of responsiveness to efforts which might begin the revitalization of a neighborhood. Neighborhood revitalization is a political process and knowledge of the access points through which public policy is formed is essential to both public planners and neighborhood groups. Various neighborhood groups would be well advised to develop strategies for articulating their needs to their various political representatives.

B. Local Efforts

A review of the neighborhood profiles developed in the "Neighborhood Conservation" project indicates that elderly and financially dependent persons suffer the effects of being left in neighborhoods that have multiple pathologies. The magnitudes and intensities of these pathologies are not, however, overwhelming. A quality of life study recently demonstrated that the South Bend SMSA is clearly an outstanding human settlement. This can be attributed to a variety of features, not the least of which are existing rehabilitation programs (e.g., Renew, Inc.; the several Bureau of Housing programs: Emergency Repair Program, Project Rehabilitation, Nonprofit Group Rehabilitation, Home Improvement Loan Program, and Urban Homesteading Program; and the Housing Allowance Experiment) which attempt to insure the preservation of neighborhoods. These programs can make significant contributions to the proposals recommended in the previous chapters of this report.



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urban institute: university of notre dame

1975 ELECTION DISTRICTS

1968 ELECTION DISTRICTS

south bend indiana

An additional initiative which various community leaders and public planners might explore includes a strategy prepared and available through the National Center for Urban Ethnic Development for neighborhood revitalization through economic development. Also, South Bend's River Park neighborhood could be examined as a model of decentralized small business development, and the efforts of the Western Avenue Business Council suggest that neighborhood economic development can be a source of community leadership.

At bottom, self-generated defense of neighborhood life is the essential ingredient in neighborhood preservation. Public officials could aid the development of neighborhoods by insisting that all planning data be aggregated according to the neighborhood boundaries suggested by the "Neighborhood Conservation" project. In fact, our interviews with neighborhood groups suggest that neighborhood participation in public affairs would be greatly enhanced by possession of such data.

The preservation of neighborhoods also involves monitoring activities in the private sector, such as mortgages, savings and loans, and insurance practices. In fact, some urban areas have legislated the full disclosure of investment practices as a means of preserving neighborhoods threatened by disinvestment and calculated neglect.

This report assumes that the process of demolishing neighborhoods is no longer an acceptable urban strategy and that healthy neighborhoods are essential to a healthy city. When neighborhoods, often through no fault of their own, lose the strength to command needed services, they begin to lose their ability to continue as a community. At this point, they can no longer be viewed as neighborhoods: "people helping people, people helping themselves."

The organic life of a neighborhood, created by the persons who live in a particular geographical area, is always a fragile reality. A neighborhood's character is determinec by a host of factors, but most significantly by the kinds of relationships that neighbors have with each other. A neighborhood is not a sovereign power -- it can rarely write its own agenda. Although neighborhoods differ in a host of ways, a healthy neighborhood has some sort of cultural and institutional network which manifests itself in pride in the neighborhood, care of homes, security for children, and respect for each other.

A recent concept, that of community education, appears to be an approach to neighborhood preservation toward which neighborhood groups are moving. This process may well be arduous, because a comprehensive assessment of needs is not easily developed. Local neighborhood assessment of social services can be aided significantly by using the manual produced by and available through the United Way. A unified series of profiles could be developed, then, by various neighborhoods. An expanded list of neighborhood concerns might include some or all of the following: housing, education, employment, government, culture, public information, women, youth, ethnic and racial pluralism, and lending practices. Our assumptions and research suggest that using neighborhoods as a base for planning and delivering public services is a sign of community vitality. Both the growth of these neighborhood groups and the willingness of public planners to legitimate these groups are rooted in the desire to reduce the gap between the people in the neighborhoods and their elected policymakers.

C. Proposals for Community Action

The importance of neighborhood associations to neighborhood preservation leads us to recommend that the Community Development Program support and urge the expansion of neighborhood organizations and the South Bend Area Neighborhood Council, which began this summer (1975). Staff and planning assistance, as well as data gathering and analysis, could be made available. Information should be sought from these neighborhood associations for use in zoning administration in the city, so that future zoning and redevelopment programs can be shaped to correspond to the perceived needs of these existing, organic neighborhoods. Fiscal support for such neighborhood-based projects as Renew, Inc., should also be considered by the city government.

While this research project has attempted to discuss overall neighborhood strategies, it is obvious that neighborhood needs will vary from neighborhood to neighborhood. The Southeast Side neighborhood is currently experimenting with a social service delivery system, through the United Way. It would be premature to recommend this model to the entire city at this time; nevertheless, the information and referral model being used has features which seem to assure the delivery of social services without overlap and gap. Further investigation of this program, with an idea toward adaptation in other neighborhoods of the city, is recommended.

A third recommendation concerns the availability of leadership at the neighborhood level. Neighborhoods have varying social structures, leadership styles and institutional structures. A community talent search should be initiated to identify the reservoir of expertise and goodwill that abounds

in this community and channel it toward the task of developing agendas for each neighborhood. The bicentennial year is an appropriate time to invite all citizens to exercise their public responsibilities.

In conclusion and summary, this research project has given voice to an assessment which capsulizes our assumptions and findings. Many existing problems are the product of an inefficient use of resources presently available. By increasing public awareness of the resources that are available, by streamlining delivery systems, and by promoting the growth and development of neighborhood organizations, the quality of life in South Bend can be substantially improved both for the individual neighborhoods and for the entire city. This would help to reduce that part of the fear of crime which is the result of helplessness in the face of neighborhood deterioration.

By focusing attention on the school corporation and, particularly, upon the dropout problem, a concentrated effort can be made to eliminate those problems which contribute substantially to local juvenile delinquency. The promotion of social understanding through the use of multiethnic materials should not only help to alleviate unrest in the schools, but should also instill those values which assure long-range neighborhood stability and citizen participation in self-help activities.

All steps which are necessary to preserve the quality of life in organic neighborhoods should be taken, in order to prevent their decay and dissolution. Policy planning by social service agencies and governmental bodies should be informed by a cognizance of the inner dynamics of neighborhood life. This will involve and require their becoming more responsive to the citizenry on a neighborhood basis, which, in turn, will require some reorganization and vastly increased cooperation among the youth-serving agencies.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V

1. Leon Hall, "School Desegregation: A (Hollow?) Victory," Inequality in Education, 17 (June, 1974), p.7.

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11. James W. Guthrie and Paula H. Skene, "Local Control Gives Way," Compact, 8:2 (March/April, 1974), pp. 17-20.

12. Cf. Sally H. Wertheim, "The Myth of Local School Control," Intellect, 102:2351 (October, 1973), pp. 55-59. Although this article is obstensibly an historical study of pre-Civil War public education in Ohio, it is clearly organized and intended to reflect upon the parallel, modern myth of local control.

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15. Ibid., p. 673. Cf. Charles E. Billings, "Community Control of the School and the Quest for Power," Phi Delta Kappan, 52:5 (January, 1972), pp. 277-8.

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Appendix A

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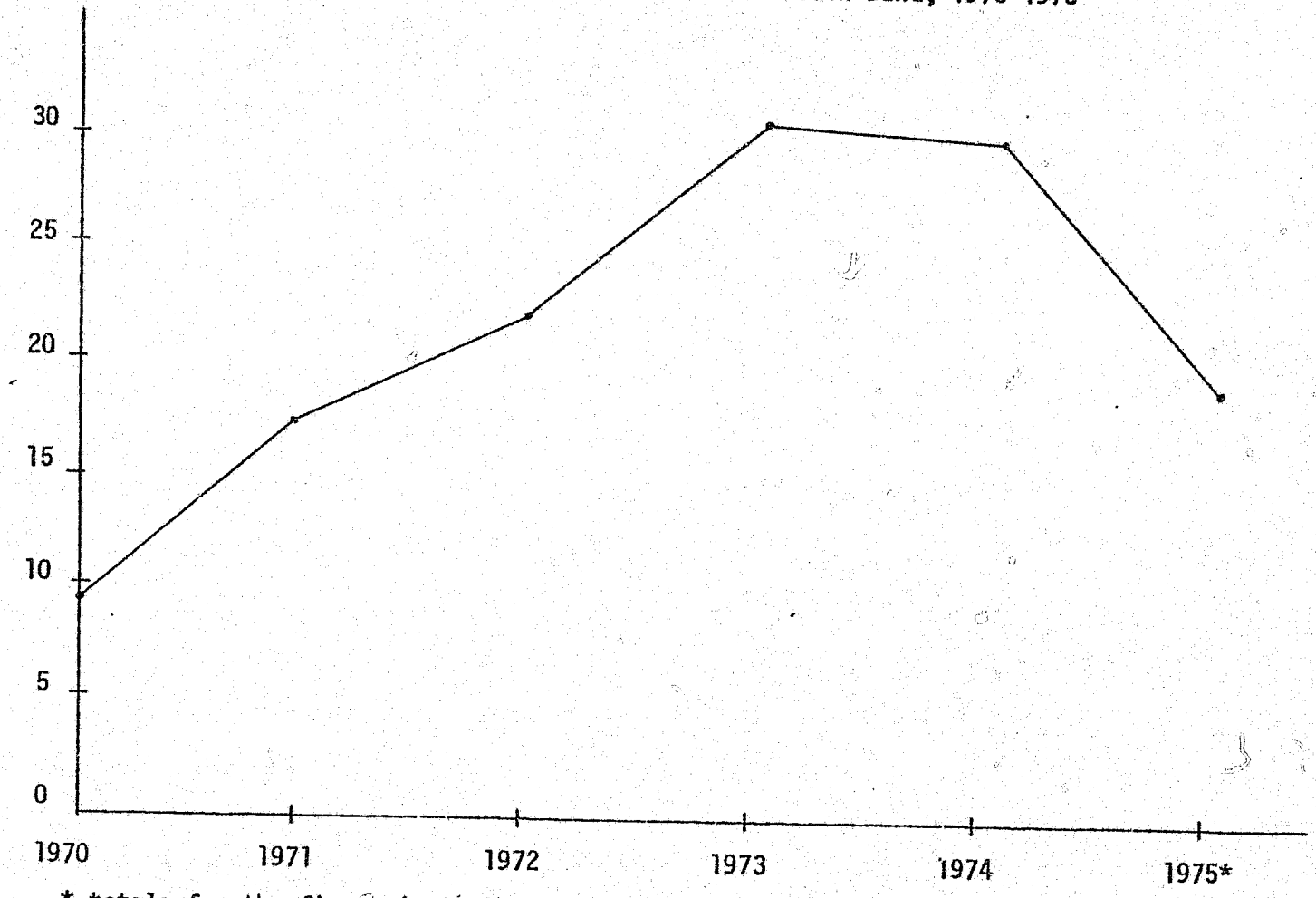
Appendix B

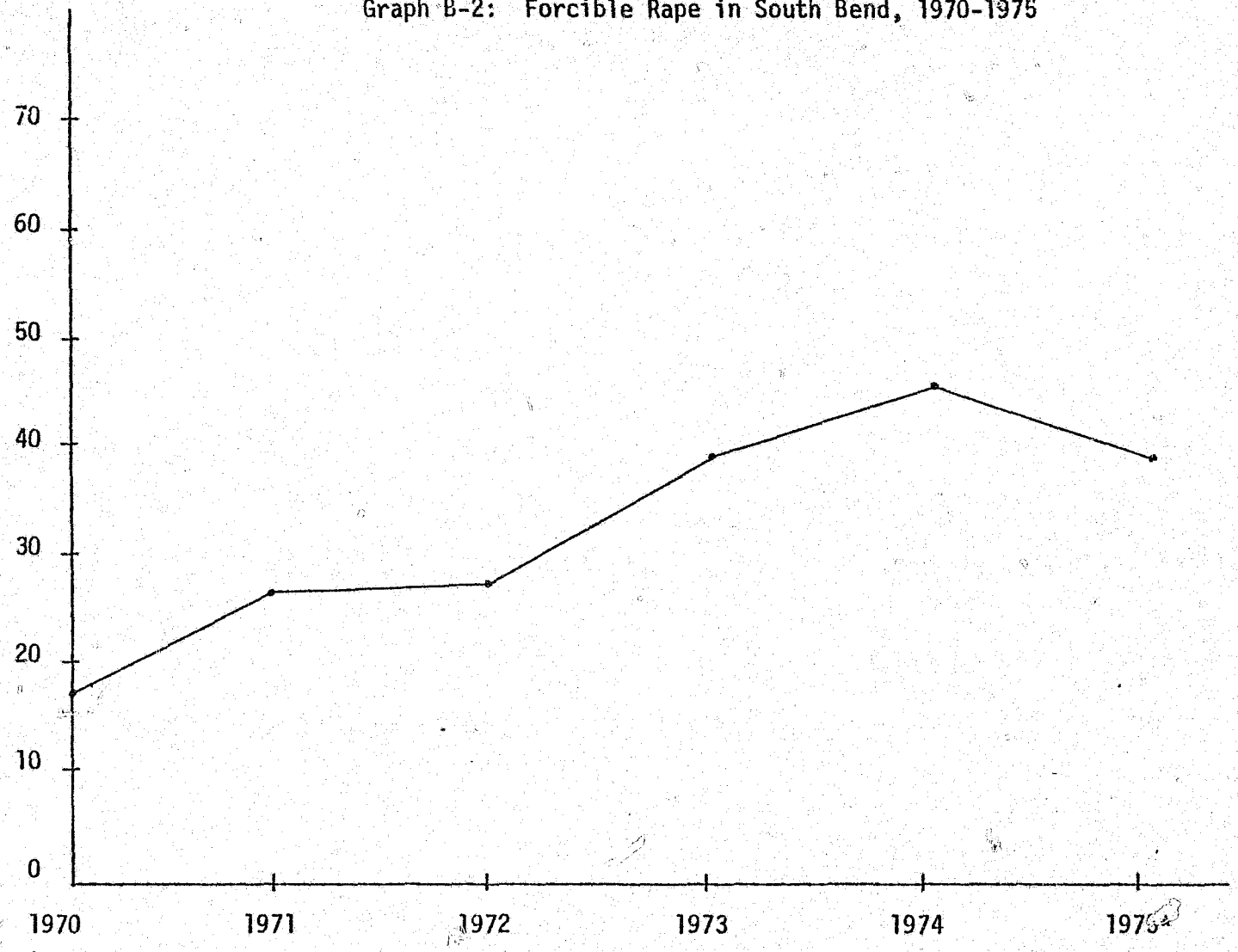
Graphs of Each Category of the Total Crime Index for South Bend, 1970-1975

Graph B-1: Homicide in South Bend, 1970-1975



* totals for the first six months were doubled

Graph B-2: Forcible Rape in South Bend, 1970-1975



* totals for the first six months were doubled

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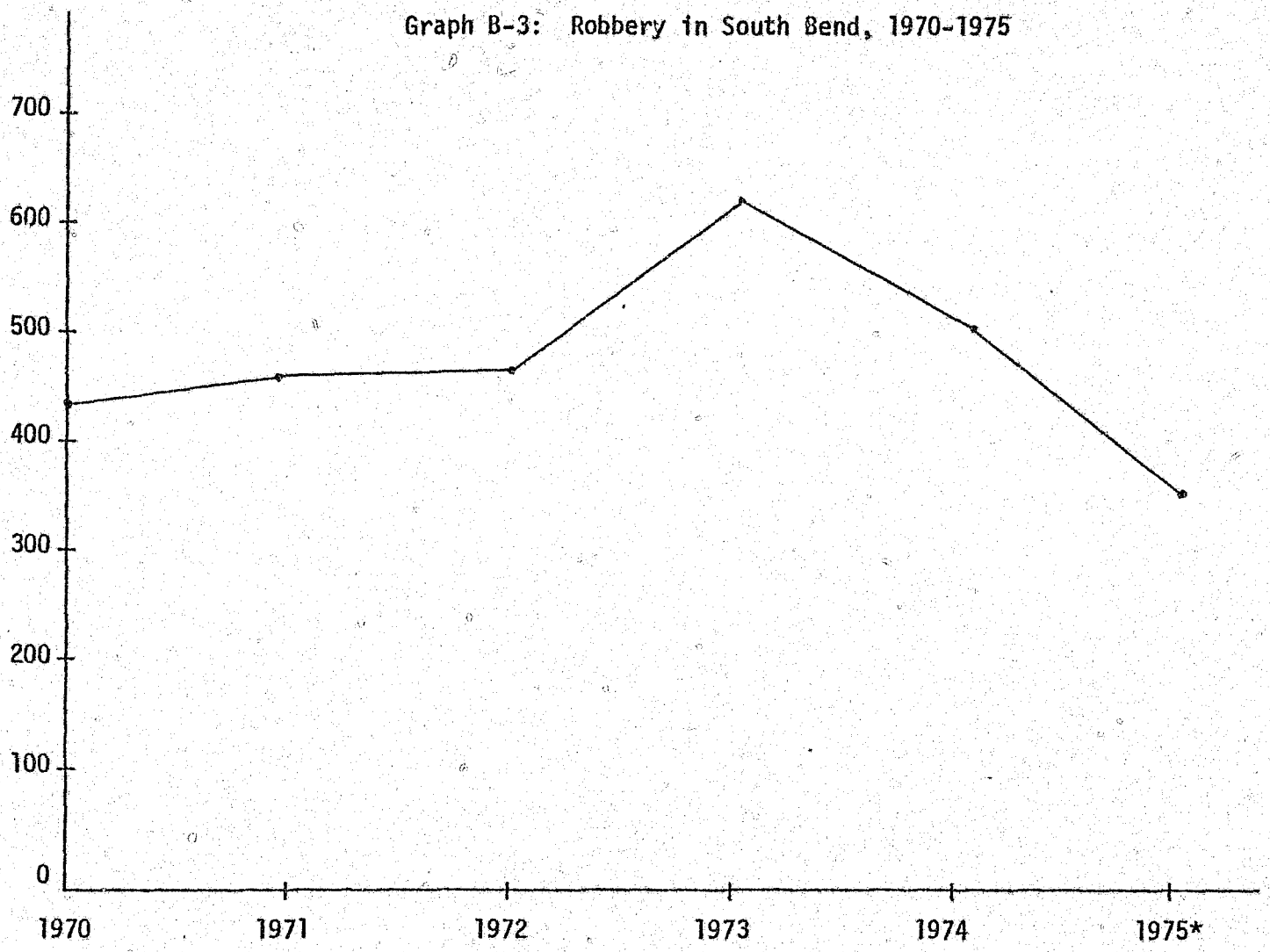
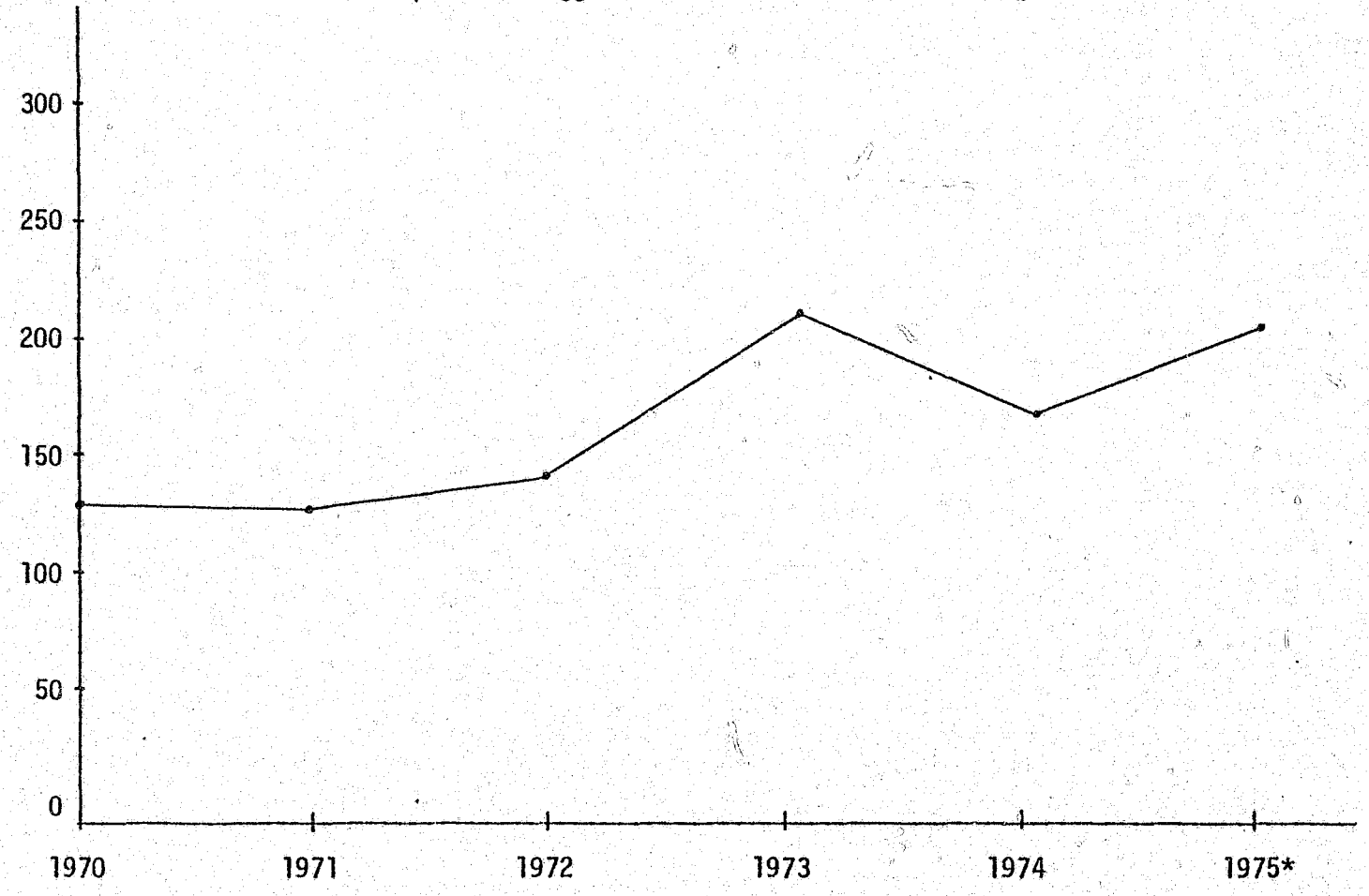
Graph B-3: Robbery in South Bend, 1970-1975



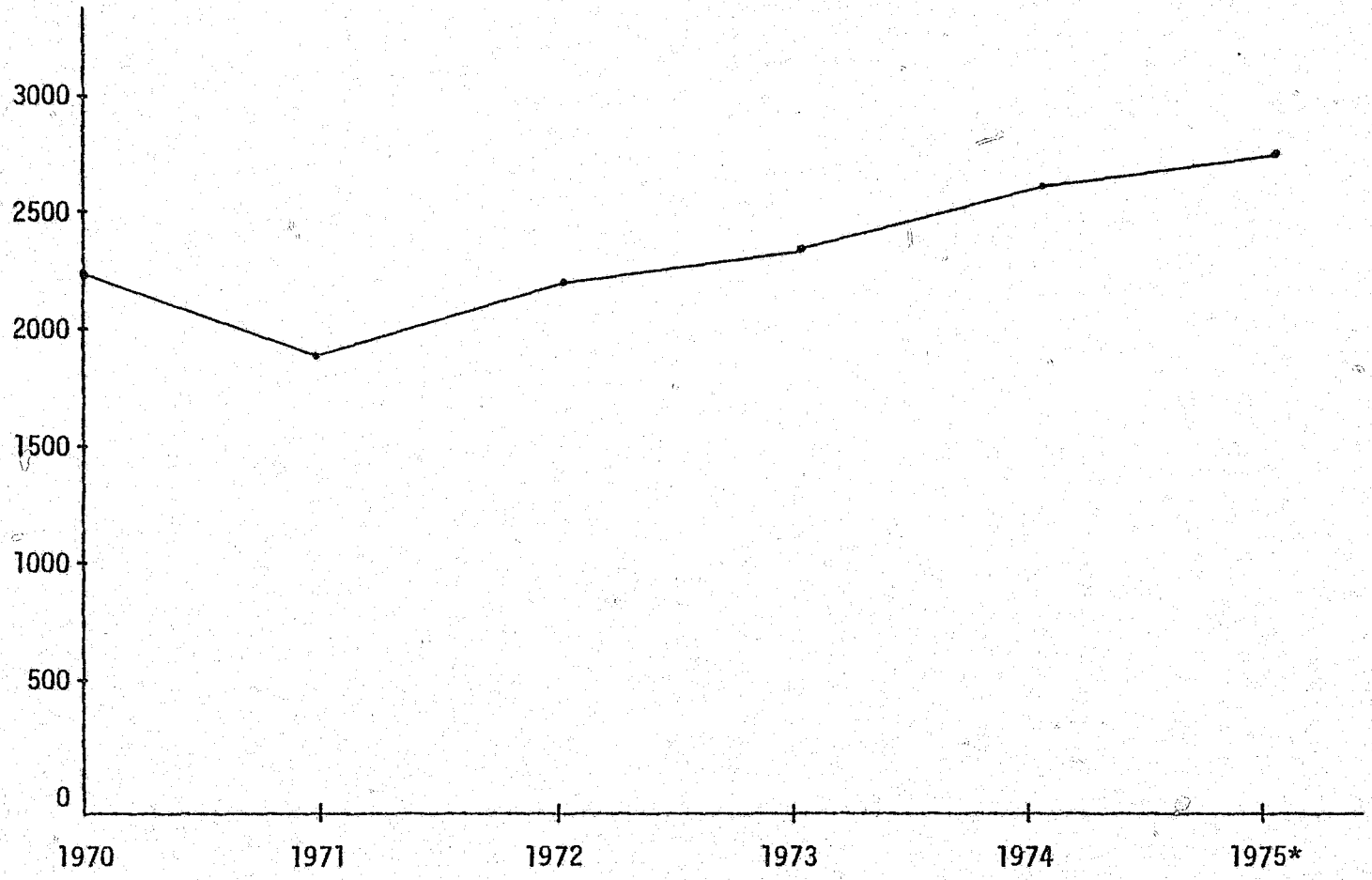
* totals for the first six months were doubled

Graph B-4: Aggravated Assault in South Bend, 1970-1975



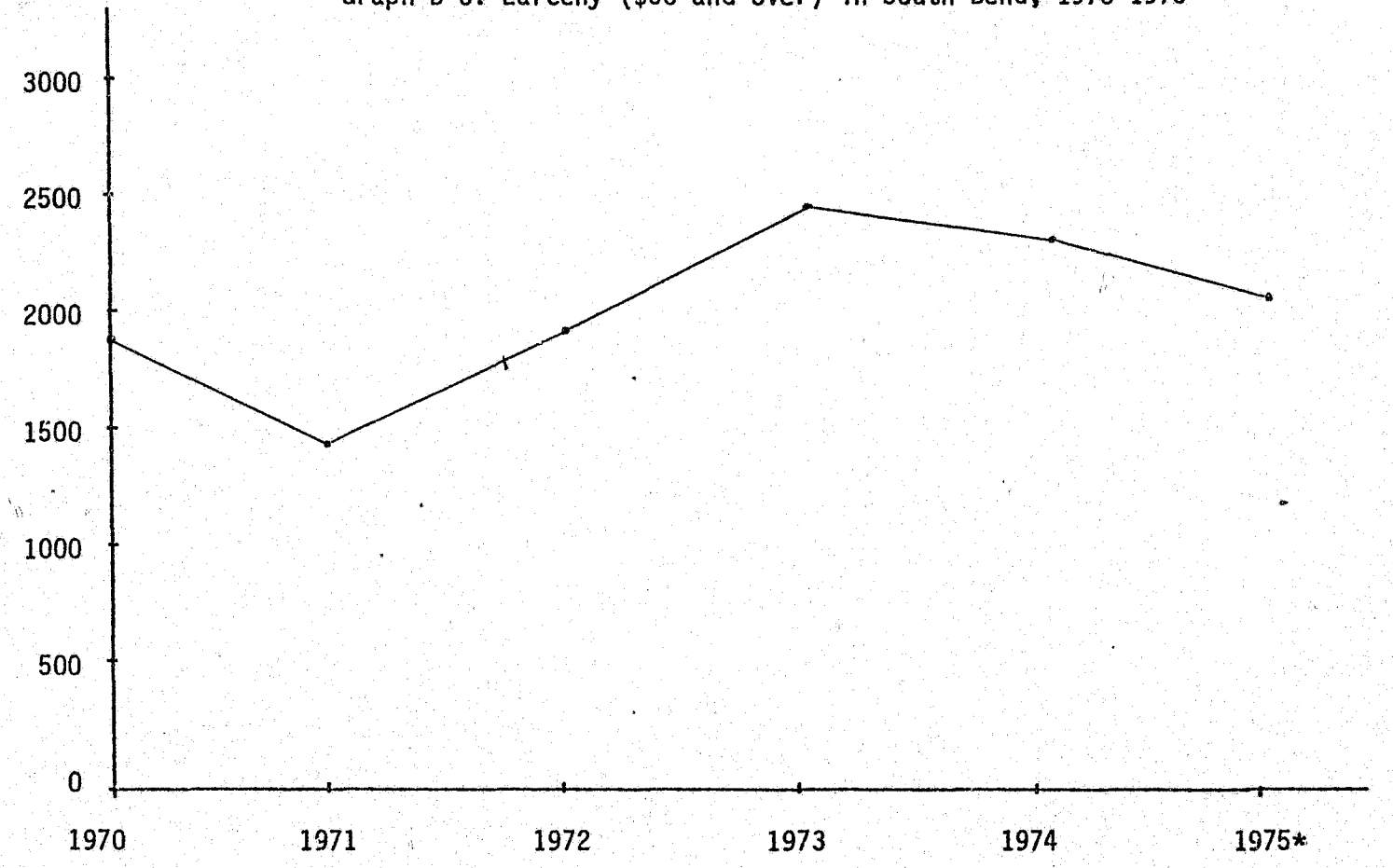
* totals for the first six months were doubled

Graph B-5: Burglary in South Bend, 1970-1975



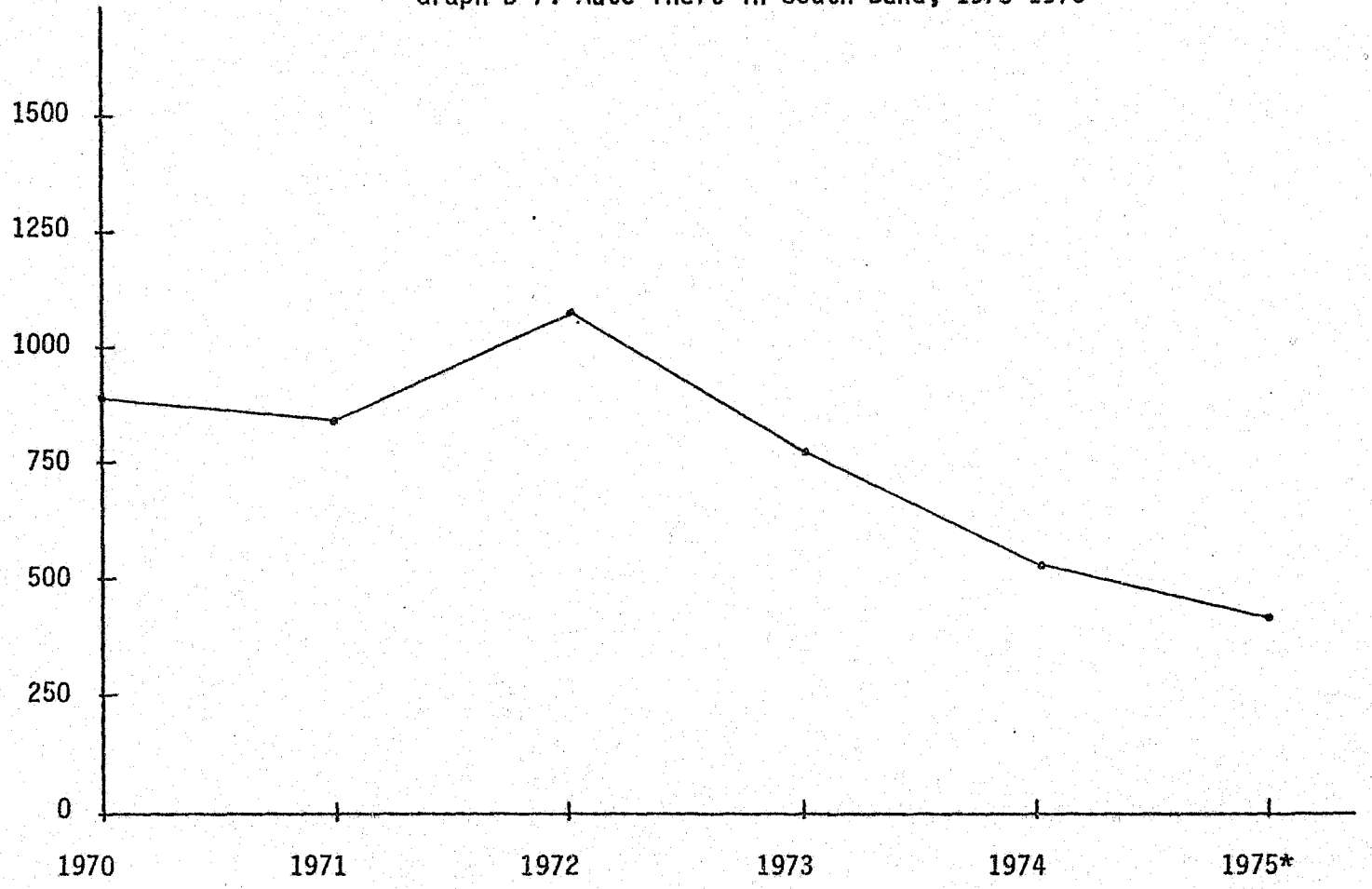
* totals for the first six months were doubled

Graph B-6: Larceny ($50 and over) in South Bend, 1970-1975



* totals for the first six months were doubled

Graph B-7: Auto Theft in South Bend, 1970-1975



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APPENDIX C

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Law Enforcement and Community Participation Programs: A Bibliography

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APPENDIX E

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Afro-Americans of South Bend
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Italian Americans of South Bend
Mexican Americans of South Bend
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Activity Cards: Lower Elementary Level and Upper Elementary Level

Topics: Uniqueness of Child, Feelings and Families; Respect; Capabilities and Limitations; Biological and Nonbiological Needs; Career Development; Contributions of other Countries; Ancestors; Ethnic Heritage; Pluralism; Personal Attitudes and Experiences; Contributions of Ethnic Groups; Prejudice; Feelings; Ethnic Games and Crafts; Ethnic Foods

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NEIGHBORHOOD DETERIORATION AND JUVENILE CRIME
Project Advisory Committee

One important difference between this project's advisory committee and those of the other three 1975 projects is that this committee had formed prior to the beginning of the study, albeit for purposes coordinate with the study. The initial group was called together by Dick Hendricks and Lois Clark in July, 1975 to review, generally, the existing programs for the delivery of social services in the South Bend area and to consider specifically one program currently operating in Indianapolis - Tech 300.

In retrospect, it seems more appropriate to view the study as providing the committee with information relevant to the incidence and fear of juvenile crime in the South Bend area and with a neighborhood focus for the delivery of needed services.

The author and program director appreciate the vital support of all who are a part of the Youth Support Clearinghouse, which served as the project's advisory committee. The core of the clearinghouse includes:

Archie Bradford
Human Resources
South Bend Community School Corp.

Tom Broden
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Bill Gilkey/Bill Hojnacki
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Assistant Superintendent for Instruction
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Juvenile Probation
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Among the individuals and organizations represented in the clearinghouse are Hal Brueseke, St. Joseph County Juvenile Department; Dick Kiekbusch, Regional Juvenile Corrections Project; Cappy Gagnon, Youth Services Bureau; Lois Clark and John Reese, Head Start; Susan Naus and Charles Watkins, United Way; Kathy Ponko, Family and Children's Center; Arlene Quigley, United Religious Community; Helen Arnold, Street Academy; and Jim Early, Gorden Nelson, Clemens Zebrowski, Emery Keszei, Dick Hendricks, Bev Donati and Nancy Neher, School Corporation.

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