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GANGS AND YOUTH PROBLEMS IN EVANSTON:

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND POLICY OPTIONS

RESEARCH AND POLICY REPORTS

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GANGS AND YOUTH PROBLEMS IN EVANSTON:

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND POLICY OPTIONS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Over the past two years, youth gangs have become a concern of many Evanston residents, service providers, and city officials. Resources have been devoted to this problem from many angles, yet there remains considerable uncertainty about what has been accomplished and, more fundamentally, what the city is truly up against. Thus, many questions remain unanswered, including what strategy should be followed in the future to deal most effectively with this problem.

In light of these concerns, the City of Evanston (initiated by the Human Relations Commission) commissioned a study of the gang problem. The research was conducted by the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research at Northwestern University, and funded jointly by the City of Evanston and the University. The research addressed three basic questions:

- (1) What is the nature and extent of the gang problem in Evanston?
- (2) What has been done to control or prevent gang activity?
- (3) What should be done in the future to improve the effectiveness of the current response strategy?

A number of more specific issues are addressed under each of these general questions. However, the report is structured to be responsive to these three fundamental questions.

Chapter II contains a description of the methods and procedures used to collect information and the persons/agencies who were contacted. Chapter III focuses on "the gang problem" and contains our attempt to define it, analyze it, and assess its seriousness. Chapter

IV provides a description and assessment of the various responses to the problem from city agencies, social service agencies, businesses, schools, families, and the community. Finally, in Chapter V, we articulate a series of policy recommendations that emerge from the findings of this study. In addition to agency-specific recommendations, several new strategies are outlined.

II. METHODOLOGY

Overview

Although the length and funding level of this study served as a major constraint on the data collection effort, nonetheless, an effort was made to pursue a city-wide, comprehensive approach. Thus, we interviewed, observed, and analyzed data from as many people and relevant agencies as was physically possible.

Three months is not a very long period of time to assess such a complex crime problem. However, the reader should know that we are drawing on more data and more experience than was collected in the course of this study. The faculty and staff here at the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research have been studying crime, reactions to crime, and the implications for urban policy for many years, both locally and nationally. Between 1976 and 1982, the senior author has been involved in extensive crime-related research in Evanston, including separate studies of: police, businesses, community residents, neighborhood organizations, victims of serious crime, victim services, juvenile delinquency at the middle school level, and residential burglary (see Rosenbaum & Kaminski, 1982). The second author has had extensive experience in field work methods and in the analysis of urban policy issues. Thus, our understanding of crime and its policy ramifications is much deeper than any three-month study would allow.

Sources of Data

In the course of this study, we have collected data from numerous sources, using a variety of different methods. We have relied on neighborhood meetings, conference meetings, personal interviews, confidential surveys and agency records to obtain information from

police, city officials, social service agencies, community organizations, local residents, students, gang members, and others. Below we summarize our sources of data. These agencies or groups are not listed in any particular order.

1. Human Relations Commission (Executive Director, Owen Thomas).
2. Department of Health and Human Services (Director, Gary Cyphers).
3. Evanston Neighbors at Work (Executive Director, Hecky Powell).
4. Youth Commission (Executive Director, Laurie Vree).
5. Project Earn and Learn (Rick Wylan, School District 65).
6. Family Focus (Director, Dolores Holmes).
7. Youth Organizations Umbrella, Inc. (Director, Don Baker).
8. Residential Crime Prevention Committee (Survey of members).

Members were surveyed about gang activity in their neighborhoods and recommendations (see Appendix A).

9. City Manager's Office (City Manager, Joel Asprooth).
10. Evanston Recreation Department (Supervisor of Recreation, Jean-Ann Shulse).
11. Fleetwood-Jourdain Center (Director, Joel Vallery).
12. Fleetwood-Jourdain Advisory Board (two members).
13. Evanston Clergy (special meeting of clergy representing a variety of churches).
14. Evanston Police Department (Administrators, supervisors and officers).

Interviews were conducted with:

- The Chief of Police (Howard Rogers)
- Two Deputy Police Chiefs (William Logan and James Gillespie)
- The Supervisor of the Organized Crime Bureau (Sgt. Brandt)
- Officers working in the Organized Crime Bureau
- Officers working in the Youth Bureau
- The Supervisor of the Victim/Witness-Youth Outreach Program (Debbie Sundblad).

15. Cook County State's Attorney's Office (Deputy Supervisor of the Gangs Prosecution Unit, Jack Smeeton).
16. Evanston Township High School (Administrators, Security personnel, and Students).

Meetings were held with:

- The Superintendent (Nathaniel Ober)
- One Principal (Ray Anderson)
- The Executive Assistant to the Superintendent (Carlton Moody)
- The Director of Security (Richard Goggins)

Extensive data were collected from a carefully selected sample of 507 students who represent the entire student body. On May 26, these students completed a totally anonymous questionnaire -- 18 pages in length, asking more than 130 questions. The survey covered a wide range of areas, including knowledge of gang activity, the impact of gangs on students, personal involvement in crime and gang-related activity, and a host of background, social, family, and school-related variables. (See Appendix B).

17. School District 65 (Administrators).

A meeting was held with:

- The Superintendent (Robert Campbell)
- The Assistant to the Superintendent (Ida Lalor)
- The Principals of the middle schools
- The Principals of the elementary schools

Separate meetings were held with:

- The Assistant to the Superintendent (Ida Lalor)
- The Director of Special Services (Lynn Pearson)
- The Director of Project Earn and Learn (Rich Wylan)

18. The Chamber of Commerce (Executive Director, Ira Golan).
19. Neighborhood Residents (Residents of the west side and Nichols Neighbors).

Special meetings were held for residents of certain neighborhoods to voice their opinions and concerns. A meeting was held for residents living on the West side, north of ETHS and near the Fleetwood-Jourdain Center. Another meeting was held for residents near Nichols School, arranged by the Nichols Neighbors organization. Input from other neighborhoods was obtained through the questionnaire completed by organizations represented on the Residential Crime Prevention Committee, and by numerous calls from individual residents and community leaders.

20. Gang Members.

Private meetings and telephone calls were arranged with members of three Evanston gangs.

We utilized a number of information sources outside the city of Evanston. Some of these sources are listed below:

1. Chicago Police Department (Officer Simandel, Gang Crimes Unit Administration, and formerly Gang Crimes North Unit; Sgt. Bennett, Gang Crimes South Unit).
2. Philadelphia Crisis Intervention Network (Executive Director, Bennie J. Swans, Jr.; Associate Director, Larry Rawles).
3. Los Angeles Gang Services Program (Associate Director, Joe Quinoines).
4. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice (Staff).
5. University Colleagues Conducting Gang Research (e.g., Malcolm Klein, University of Southern California).
6. Illinois Department of Labor (staff).
7. National Criminal Justice Reference Service (Staff).

Based on information obtained from the Reference Service, we have examined more than 100 publications on youth gangs.

III. GANGS: THE PROBLEM

In this section of the report we will address a fundamental question -- What is "the gang problem" in Evanston? We will begin by discussing important issues regarding how Evanston chooses to define the problem. This discussion is followed by an analysis of the history of the problem, the current status of gang activity in Evanston, recent developments, the impact of gangs on the Evanston community, and the causes of gang involvement.

Definitional Problems

There are two basic questions that must be addressed right up front: (1) What is the definition of a "gang"? and (2) How should Evanston define "the gang problem"?

Defining a "Gang". In the course of this study, we have learned that many Evanstonians are grappling with the first question, as indicated in comments or questions such as these:

- ° "What is a gang? You tell me --- Are those kids in gangs who hang out on the corner?"
- ° "Do we have real gangs in Evanston like in the big cities or is it not that bad?"
- ° "I don't think Evanston has a gang problem because I don't see any hard evidence of gangs."
- ° "A lot of people think a group of young black males just walking down the street must be a gang."

Clearly, there are significant (and potentially very dangerous) consequences for how we define "gangs" in Evanston, ranging from not doing anything because "there are no gangs" to doing too much because "gangs are everywhere."

The Evanston Police Department has played a major role in defining "gangs" and telling the city that it has "a gang problem." Although

the police have not prepared an official definition of a "gang," we can summarize the police definition on the basis of public and private meetings with them: A "gang," according to the police, is a group of individuals with some degree of organization and symbolism that is involved in criminal activity. Of course, many questions always remain unanswered -- how organized does it have to be in order to be called a "gang?" Does the group have to commit group crimes to be called a "gang" or will individual crimes suffice? How much crime do these individuals have to commit to be called a "gang?" The dangers in pursuing answers to such questions should be apparent. Forcing definitions on problems is a dangerous business. In contrast, we prefer to avoid additional confusion and rhetoric by describing the problem in behavioral terms whenever possible.

Before turning to a description of the local problem, a few words on how gang experts define "gangs" are in order. Although sociologists have studied gangs for many decades, the term "gang" is used inconsistently and loosely -- hardly any better than the general public or the media. Klein (1971), in his major work Street Gangs and Street Workers, carefully discusses the definitional problems in this field. Although any definition of a gang is problematic, we do need to begin with some common understanding of what we mean when we use the term "gang." Thus, for lack of a better alternative, we offer a modified version of Klein's definition of a gang:

Any denotable group of youngsters who
(a) are generally perceived as a distinct
aggregation by others in their neighborhood,
(b) recognize themselves as a denotable group
(almost invariably with a group name) and
(c) have been involved in a sufficient number
of delinquent incidents to call forth a con-
sistent negative response from neighborhood

residents and/or enforcement agencies.
(1971, p. 13).

Although we have yet to define the nature of the problem in Evanston, we begin with the fact that Evanston has gangs which meet this definition to our satisfaction. There are some members of the community who would prefer that we never use the word "gang" to discuss the problem Evanston is facing. After collecting the necessary data, we now find this position untenable.

Defining "The Gang Problem". After we agree that gangs exist, there is the larger question of how Evanston goes about defining "the gang problem." We call upon Evanston decision makers to be fully aware that how you define the problem will determine how you respond to it. Is this simply a problem of a few criminals who join together to cause problems for the rest of us? If so, then perhaps it should be treated strictly as a police problem, with enforcement of the laws, arrest, and prosecution of these few individuals constituting the exclusive response to the problem. Or should "the problem" be defined in broader terms -- Are gangs just the symptom of urban problems associated with family life, education, social service delivery, the economy, etc.? If so, then the solution to the problem is much different and the problem itself is not just "gangs." Similarly, what about the community's perception of gangs, fear of gangs, and protective reactions to gangs -- is this part of "the problem"? If so, then even more and yet different responses to the problem are required.

Having studied the matter very carefully, we feel that "the problem" must be defined in broader terms if Evanston ever intends to understand the forces at work and eventually prevent this type of

antisocial behavior. Hence, the conceptualization of "the problem" taken in this report not only includes gang activity per se, but also encompasses the facilitating conditions and the consequences of this activity within the entire community. The implication, of course, is that the solutions to the problem are more numerous, more complex, more costly, and more difficult to implement than if we choose to treat the problem simply as a police matter. However, in the long run, the city should benefit more from this approach to the problem.

History of Gangs

We begin our analysis of the problem with an overview of when and how gangs came to be in Evanston. Most of the historical information obtained from community members indicates that the first signs of group delinquency emerged about 1974. Groups of black youths were "hanging out" in Bishop Freeman parking lot, drinking, using and selling narcotics, gambling, firing gun shots, and committing other acts that were in violation of city or state laws. This became known as the "Bishop Freeman Syndrome" and considerable action by community residents and the city was taken to correct this situation (see The Bishop Freeman Ad Hoc Committee Report, 1978).

According to community sources, the first sign of group delinquency among white youths was noted in 1976, when groups of youths were "hanging out" in the 900 block of Noyes and near the corner of Main and Hinman. These groups would refer to themselves by specific names, drink beer, smoke marijuana, and make derogatory remarks to citizens passing by.

Several points are noteworthy about these developments. First, they may not be developments at all, but rather the continuation of

typical delinquent behavior exhibited by all generations. We have spoken to several older residents of Evanston who claim that they, themselves, were members of Evanston street groups 40 and 50 years ago. As youths, they were involved in group crimes and referred to their group by a specific name. We suspect that these youth delinquency problems changed character during the 1970s, thus bringing them to the attention of the public. There is the possibility that the group delinquency problem became more extensive or more serious in the mid-1970s, but this remains undocumented. In any event, the problem at this time still looked more like typical delinquency and youth incivility than organized gang activity.

What we do know is that the problem in 1983 is markedly different from what it was in 1978. The group delinquency has developed into gang activity for many youths. In other words, there has been a transition to more serious and more organized group activity, with considerably larger numbers of youths participating. Anyone with "an ear to the streets" from 1974 to 1980 heard about periodic incidents when shots were fired or some type of group violence occurred, but the term "gang" was never publicly used to describe this activity until 1981.

Prior to this time, the Police Department elected to play down the problem to those who asked, "Do we have gangs in Evanston?" However, after a series of incidents, including a gang-related murder in late 1980, the public was informed about the extent of the gang problem. On March 25, 1981, Captain William Logan of the Evanston Police Department made a lengthy presentation to the Human Relations Commission, providing details about specific gangs and describing what action the police were taking at that time. With this presentation,

"gangs" became a public issue. In 1982 and 1983, the police department continued its efforts to "go public" with gang information.

The question is -- did anything change to warrant the new label of "gang," and how did this label itself change things? After collecting information from gang members, Evanston police personnel, Chicago police personnel, and others, we must conclude that the label "gang" is now justified. There are five main gangs in Evanston, and according to Evanston police information, four of these five have been recently formed, (late 1970's - 1981). Although our discussions with individual gang members indicate that some of these youths have been together for as long as 10 years, prior to the label "gang", they were not organized with the name, logo, organizational leadership and systems of conduct. Furthermore, their friendship network (or membership) was not nearly as large. Thus, the new label "gang" seems appropriate.

The new label, "gang," definitely provided these groups with some prestige they did not have previously and gave many youths something to identify with and belong to. But it also gave the community something tangible to deal with, and forced a response to the problem.

Although gangs did not magically appear in the late 70s and early 80s, there was certainly a swiftness of development that surprisingly coincides with the experience of Chicago and the suburbs. The predominant theory used to explain this rapid transition focuses on the role of ex-convicts. Chicago police gang experts have indicated to us that the Chicago gangs seemed dormant in the 1970s because most of the gang leaders were serving time in prison. In the late 1970s, a number of these leaders were released and began regrouping their forces. Similarly, the Evanston police have traced the history of

certain Evanston gangs to the release of prisoners who reside in Evanston. This theory suggests that gangs become a problem cyclically. While it provides some insight into the Evanston situation, it does not seem to explain adequately the changes that have occurred in recent years.

Current Status of Gangs

What is the Evanston gang problem in 1983? How big or serious is the problem? What are the nature and dynamics of these youth gangs? What can Evanston expect in the future? We will address these issues in a general way, drawing from a variety of sources. We have elected not to identify gangs by name (they have received enough public attention) and not to discuss any information that we feel might jeopardize current police investigations or create additional gang-related problems.

Gang Membership. How big or serious is the problem? In a 1982 internal report, the Police Department identified eight gangs in Evanston. In May, 1983, we asked a representative sample of 507 ETHS students how many gangs there are at the high school. A majority of students (58.3%) agreed on the figure of eight. (See Table 1). The second most common estimate was four gangs, but only 11.6 percent gave this number.

Although eight seems to be the magic number everyone agrees upon, there are only five gangs that are of concern to the police department. A gang is "of concern" to the police if it has considerable membership and is regularly involved in serious criminal activity. Based on our own information, we concur with the Police Department's position that there are five gangs big enough to pose a

Table 1

Student Estimates
of the Number of Gangs
at ETHS

Estimated Number of Gangs	Number of Students with this estimate	Percent of Students with this estimate
0	3	0.7
1	1	0.3
2	9	1.9
3	25	5.6
4	52	11.6
5	46	10.3
6	19	4.3
7	9	2.1
8	261	58.3
9	3	0.7
10	7	1.5
11 or more	11	2.7
TOTAL	448	100

threat to the community, as defined below.

There are two "local" gangs that started in Evanston, and three other gangs that are satellites of major Chicago gangs. We wish to emphasize that the satellite gangs, contrary to what many people believe, are composed largely of Evanston residents, and in a very real sense, are Evanston gangs.

All five of these gangs are composed largely of black males, with a considerable age range. The local gangs are somewhat younger, ranging from 13 to 29, with an average age of 17-18. Members of the Chicago-connected gangs are more likely to be in their 20s.

We have found that females play an important, but as yet unrecognized, role in most of these gangs. They are the main communicators of information; they often carry and hide gang weapons; and they occasionally bring in money through prostitution in Evanston.

Estimating the total number of gang members in Evanston or number of members per gang is very difficult for several reasons. First, individuals will not tell outsiders whether they are gang members. (Our high school survey indicates that very few students are willing to disclose this information, even under conditions of total anonymity.) Secondly, gang leaders and members with whom we have met probably overestimate the size of their membership for self-enhancement reasons. Thirdly, there is the measurement problem of how to define a "member." There are many different levels of membership, from the core members, who constantly hang around together and are very loyal, to those on the periphery who identify with the

gang, but whose level of commitment and involvement is difficult to specify.

In March 1983, the police department estimated that there were approximately 400 gang members in Evanston. (Since then, we have also heard the number 300 from the Police Department.) Leaving aside all the problems of accurate measurement, we have no reason to argue with estimates in the 300 to 400 range. We estimate that there are between 175 and 200 core gang members across all five main gangs, and at least this many peripheral members. The number of core members per gang ranges from a low of 15 in one group to a high of 60 in another. The police department compiled a list of approximately 300 suspected gang members in September 1982, and 55 of these were juveniles (under 17 years of age).

Gang Dynamics and Impact. While such numbers are interesting, they do not tell us very much about the dynamics of the problem and the seriousness of the problem. What changes are occurring and are things getting better or worse? Our interviews and survey data are more informative in this respect. The following information lead us to the conclusion that the problem is serious and getting worse:

- ° 91% of the high school students personally know one or more students who are gang members, and 73% know 8 or more. Almost half (47%) of the students describe the gang problem as "a big problem." Only 6% say it is "almost no problem."
- ° Alliances have recently formed among the five major gangs -- two on one side and three on the other.
- ° Violence between rival gangs has recently increased. Retaliation has become a big issue.
- ° "Turf" has become an issue in 1983, whereas previously, gang members were free to go anywhere in

the city.

- ° The gangs are becoming more sophisticated in their methods of operation. One gang is seeking protection by attempting to define itself as a religious organization. Several groups have been sophisticated in their exploitation of juveniles as "foot soldiers" (discussed below).
- ° Many children at the elementary and middle school levels identify with the gangs and want to be more involved someday, especially those with older brothers and sisters who claim to be gang members.
- ° The impact on the community and other youths has been significant in terms of fear of crime and the restriction of behavior for protection of self and family (see data below).

The involvement of younger individuals deserves further discussion. From meetings and discussions with gang members, we have learned that many juveniles are totally unaware of what they are getting into. All they see is the potential excitement and pride of belonging to one of the gangs. According to older gang members, the reality of gang membership is a sharp contrast for most -- growing fears of attack or violent death, higher chances of serving time in prison, boredom, anger, frustration, unemployment, and not much else. Now, given the new law against recruitment ("compelling gang membership" charges) and given that younger members are getting caught for amateurish crimes, some gangs are splitting into two groups. Some older members are trying to divorce themselves from the younger members. (For example, one gang has split into an older group of about 60 core members, ages 20-26, and a younger group of more than 100 youths, ages 12-18.)

However, for many of the more sophisticated gang members, juveniles still make good "foot soldiers" to do all the dirty work. These youngsters are sent out into the neighborhoods to identify vacant

homes for burglaries and to commit various thefts. The older gang members realize that these kids will only get a "slap on the wrist," and this is a way to let the youngsters prove they are worthy of membership in the gang. A hierarchy usually protects the older members from the police (although a recent set of police arrests proves that it doesn't always work that way).

Gang Crimes. We shall examine the amount and type of known gang-related criminal activity to help define the seriousness of the problem. The Police Department began keeping a log of gang-related incidents on January 1, 1983. In Table 2 we have prepared a summary analysis of gang-related incidents for the first six months of 1983. The reader is cautioned that these are incidents which the police suspect have been committed by gang members, either individually or collectively. As the results show, there have been 187 incidents reported to the police over six months, or approximately one incident per day. By far, the most frequent type of incident is the firing of gun shots (38.5%).

Figure 1 is a map showing the approximate location where these incidents occurred. There is a very clear concentration of gang-related incidents on the West side around the area of Church Street and Dodge. There is a smattering of incidents near Reba Park in South Evanston and a few other areas of the city.

Table 2

Gang-related^{*} Incidents
 Reported to the Police:
 January 1 - June 30, 1983

Type of Incident	Number of Incidents	Percent
Shots Fired	72	38.5
Battery/Fighting	29	15.5
Assault/Threat	19	10.2
Criminal Damage to Property	13	6.9
Possession of Gun	11	5.9
Disturbance/Domestic	10	5.3
Robbery	7	3.7
Theft	6	3.2
Arson	5	2.7
Shooting	5	2.7
Home Invasion	3	1.6
Burglary	2	1.1
Homicide/Attempted	2	1.1
Mob Action	1	0.5
Gambling	1	0.5
Auto Theft	1	0.5
Total	187	99.9

* These criminal incidents are labeled "gang-related" because the police suspect that they were committed by gang members, either individually or collectively.



Figure 1. Plot of gang-related incidents reported to the Evanston Police Department between January 1, 1983 and June 30, 1983.

This map is probably misleading in some ways. First, it is difficult for the police to determine how much of the property crime in Evanston, such as burglary, is gang-related. Thus, the total group of incidents identified as gang-related shown in Figure 1 probably underrepresents (by a large amount) the number of gang-related property crimes and distorts the picture in terms of where gang crime occurs. If these additional incidents were included on the map, we have every reason to believe they would be spread throughout the city and not concentrated in one or two areas (see Rosenbaum & Kudel, 1982 for a detailed study of burglary in Evanston).

Much of the shooting and assaults shown on the map is probably due to Evanston's two local groups. Hence, these present a different type of threat to the Evanston community than the Chicago-connected gangs. The latter prefer to keep a lower profile and make money through narcotics and auto theft, as well as burglary and other crimes. From the viewpoint of the Chicago Police, the Chicago-connected gangs present a greater threat to Evanston in the long run because of the organized, insidious nature of their operation, their desire to control the drug traffic, and their ability to infiltrate political organizations. Thus, we might characterize Evanston gangs as "fighting street gangs" and "money-making gangs." They each pose a different threat to the community. Fighting street gangs, because of the observable violence they produce, are almost totally responsible for increasing fear of crime in the community and forcing current reactions to the problems. On the other hand, money making gangs potentially represent power and influence, and aspire to be more like organized crime. These are also more difficult for the police to

identify because of their careful style of operation. Furthermore, such illegal activity will never disappear so long as there is a major underground market for drugs on the North Shore.

Gang Activity. Not all gang activity involves criminal conduct. How do gang members spend their time together? According to students at the high school, gang members spend most of their time doing things that are not terribly harmful to other people, such as hanging out on the street, getting "high," pursuing females, and "joy riding." Still, at least half of the students felt that gang members spend "a lot" of their time together buying and selling drugs, stealing things, and fighting with rival gangs. A more detailed breakdown is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Student Perceptions of How
Most Gang Members Spend Their Time Together

Type of Activity	Amount of Time			N
	A Lot	Some	Very Little	
Hanging out on the street	76	19	5	390
Getting "high"	75	20	5	365
Pursuing females	60	33	8	341
Joy riding	59	31	10	345
Buy and selling drugs	58	36	6	366
Stealing things	54	34	11	351
Fighting with rival gangs	50	36	14	364
Recruiting new gang members	38	46	16	355
Assaulting or robbing people on the street	37	43	21	334
Going to parties or dances	35	44	21	339
Arranging prostitution	14	28	58	283
Playing sports	10	35	55	337

Our interviews with known gang members and persons who work with gang members indicate that the gang lifestyle is not continuously fun and stimulating, as many youths think. There is a tremendous amount of inactivity due to unemployment and lack of constructive activities. As one gang member told us, "There's nothing to do out here and no jobs." The sense of boredom, frustration, and anger, is apparent to anyone who works with gang members.

Intergang violence seems to emerge from these conditions. Once the identification with a gang occurs, other gangs are defined as "the enemy." A "we-they" perspective develops, and violence can be triggered over the most insignificant incidents. At the time of this report, gang members seemed to be looking for any excuse to battle. For these individuals, this is the only life they know.

Consistent with this analysis, students at the high school listed "boredom" and "power or recognition" as the first and second main reasons (respectively) for gang fighting in Evanston. However, persons who were involved in gang activity, were more likely to list "rivalry" and "turf" as the primary reasons for conflict.

Impact on the Community

There are many residents of Evanston who have said to us -- "What gang problem? I don't see it!" Many neighborhoods that do not experience observable gang violence may still be victimized by gang-related property crimes. Nonetheless, residents in these areas do not feel the direct impact of gang activity. However, there are a number of neighborhoods that have reported a concern about local gang activity. We have surveyed a number of community organizations

through the Residential Crime Prevention Committee. Sixteen persons completed our survey, representing 11 different neighborhoods. Five organizations reported that their neighborhood was experiencing a gang problem in one form or another. Indeed, police statistics indicate that four out of these five areas have had at least a few gang incidents reported to the police in the first six months of 1983.

We have held community meetings in some of these areas to assess the impact of the problem and find out what is happening. Fear of crime seems quite high in these areas and many people feel helpless in terms of being able to do anything about the problem. Complaints about police and other city services were heard frequently (discussed later in this report). A closer look at their fears and concerns revealed that youths "hanging out" was their biggest problem. Large numbers of youths will sometimes congregate to talk, drink, smoke marijuana, litter, etc. "Hanging out" is not a crime, per se, but those of us who study urban problems refer to this as "incivility" or "signs of danger." These events tend to produce fear of crime, especially among females and the elderly.

A particular fear issue that emerged from our community meetings was parental fear for their children. Parents (especially mothers) expressed concern for the safety of their preadolescent and adolescent children who go out bike riding or engage in other activities away from home. Children are taught which areas to avoid, but the fear remains. Another concern among parents of adolescent males is fear of gang recruitment. We will address this concern in other sections of this report.

Impact on Youths

Our best information about the impact of gangs comes from high school students who completed our survey. In this section, we will discuss the survey results regarding victimization experiences, fear of gangs, and restrictions of behavior for self-protection.

Victimization Experience. Students were asked "During the past year (including last summer), have you been harassed, attacked, or robbed by a group of teenagers or gang members?" About 1 in 5 (18.4%) answered yes to this question. However, when asked if they personally knew anyone (other than themselves) who had experienced this treatment, the majority (61.2%) said yes.

The victims of group or gang assault are significantly more likely to be male than female, and more likely to be white than black. Victimization experiences were spread evenly across different ages and grade levels.

Only 8% of the students have been the victims of extortion, i.e., they have been "forced to give money, food, or something else of value to someone to avoid being attacked or harmed." However, 1 in 3 youths reports that, during the past year, some of the family's property has been "stolen, destroyed or damaged by a group of teenagers or gang members." While we do not question these victimization experiences, we doubt whether groups of youths or gangs were responsible for all of these incidents.

Looking at victimization from the offender's viewpoint, 12% of the students reported that, during the past year, their group of friends had "purposefully beaten up, or threatened other students or persons in Evanston."

Whether victim, offenders, or bystanders, a significant number of youths have been exposed to group crimes or potentially gang-related crimes. Some of the impact of this exposure is captured in youths' fear of gangs.

Fear of gangs. Fear of gangs was measured in several ways. First, students were asked about their fear of victimization by gangs in their own neighborhood and at school. The majority of students were "not at all worried" about being harmed or threatened by a "group of teenagers or gang members" while walking in their own neighborhood (64.8%) or while at school (61.3%). However, the remainder (35-39%) were at least "somewhat worried."

How much a student worried about gang victimization in the neighborhood or at school did not vary by grade level or age. However, sex differences were apparent: While males were considerably less worried than females about being victimized by gangs in their own neighborhood (27.2 % males vs. 42.8% females who were at least "somewhat worried") -- a finding consistent with much previous research -- males were just as worried about gang victimization at ETHS (40.1% vs 37.3%). Thus, while females' fear of gangs is relatively constant across settings, males' fear of gangs increases considerably in the school setting where contact with gang members is more likely.

Fear of gangs was also measured in terms of the perceived dangerousness of specific areas. Students were asked to indicate if certain places in Evanston are "dangerous" -- "in other words, places where there is a good chance that you might be beaten up, threatened, or robbed by a group of teenagers or gang members." Table 4 shows how

Table 4
Perceived Dangerousness of
Selected Areas (Percents)

Area	Perceptions	
	Dangerous	Not Dangerous
Streets where gang members live	87.7	12.3
Bus or "EL" stations	72.3	27.7
Parks	46.0	54.0
Streets to and from school	44.7	55.3
Recreation Centers	38.1	61.9
Schoolyards	27.4	72.6
School restrooms	26.8	73.2
Dance halls	23.7	76.3
Streets within a block or two of where you live	16.9	83.1
School hallways	13.3	86.7

students rated various locations. Not too surprisingly, "streets where gang members live" received the most dangerous ratings (87% of the students listed it as dangerous). However, also ranking quite high in perceived dangerousness were bus or "EL" stations, parks, streets to and from school, and recreation centers, in that order. Areas within the school premises were perceived as less dangerous, and "school hallways" received the lowest ranking. Nonetheless, more than 1 in 4 students described the schoolyards and school restrooms as "dangerous" in terms of their own risk of being assaulted by a gang.

To get a better picture of dangerous areas outside of school, students were asked to list the names of specific places they felt were dangerous. Of the 507 survey respondents, 275 listed one or more areas they felt were dangerous with respect to gang activity. Table 5 shows the breakdown by streets, parks, transportation, recreation/social and "other" dangerous areas. By far, the most frequently mentioned street or street area is "Church and Dodge" -- a finding that is consistent with the police incident data plotted earlier in Figure 1. Somewhat surprisingly, the Howard EL station was the most frequently mentioned transportation spot, but this location is in Chicago, not Evanston. Mason Park topped the list of dangerous parks, and the Fleetwood-Jourdain Center ranked first among the list of dangerous recreation or social areas in Evanston.

Restriction of Behavior. Students were asked whether they changed certain behaviors because of gangs or crime. Three-fourths (75%) of the students admitted that they cross the street (at least sometimes) when a group of strangers or gang members approaches.

Two-thirds (67%) admitted that they avoid certain areas of the city
(at least sometimes) because they are considered some gang's "turf."

Table 5
Specific Dangerous Areas as Identified by Students (N=275)

	<u>Number of Times Mentioned</u>	<u>Percent</u>		<u>Number of Times Mentioned</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>Recreation or Social</u>			<u>Transportation</u>		
Fleetwood-Jourdain	66	24.0	Howard "EL"	70	24.0
Robert Crown	26	9.5	All "ELs"	47	17.0
YWCA	8	2.9	South Blvd. "EL"	27	9.9
YMCA	7	2.5	Davis "EL"	21	7.6
1623 Club	3	1.1	Dempster "EL"	20	7.3
Masonic Temple	2	.7	Main St. "EL"	17	6.2
Galaxy	1	.4	CTA Bus at Howard	15	5.5
Club C.O.D.	1	.4	Foster "EL"	4	1.5
TOTAL	114	41.4	Central "EL"	2	.7
			Noyes "EL"	2	.7
			TOTAL	225	81.8
<u>Parks</u>			<u>Streets</u>		
Mason Park	31	11.3	Church & Dodge	25	9.1
All parks	19	6.9	Emerson Street	7	2.5
Reba Park	16	5.8	Reba Street	3	1.1
Nichols Park	4	1.5	Foster & Maple	2	.7
James Park	4	1.5	Simpson & Asbury	1	.4
Emerson Park	3	1.1	Isabella & Butler	1	.4
Brummell Park	1	.4	Lincoln & Asbury	1	.4
Elliot Park	3	1.1	Brown Street	1	.4
"Baseball" Park	2	.7	Grey Street	1	.4
Foster Park	2	.7	Benson Street	1	.4
Ridgeview Park	1	.4	McDaniel & Church	1	.4
Dawes Park	1	.4	Fowler Street	1	.4
Bennett Park	1	.4	Hartrey & Walnut	1	.4
Raymond Park	1	.4	Lincoln & Ashland	1	.4
TOTAL	89	32.4	TOTAL	47	17.1
<u>Other Places</u>					
SE Evanston	9	3.3			
Nichols School	4	1.5			
Parties	4	1.5			
W. Evanston	2	.7			
Dances	2	.7			
Bacon Cafe	1	.4			
Calvary Cemetery	1	.4			
Y.O.U.	1	.4			
Tom Thumb	1	.4			
TOTAL	25	9.1			

Almost half (48%) "usually" or "sometimes" avoid going outside alone at night because of crime, and 44% "usually" or "sometimes" take something with them at night that could be used for protection, such as a dog or a weapon.

Thus, many youths are forced to restrict their mobility and carry some type of weapon to protect themselves against possible victimization. Although some of this restriction of behavior is due to a fear of personal crimes in general, part of it is clearly due to gang activity.

Causes of Gang Involvement

Given the decision to "paint the larger picture" of the problem, an analysis of the causes of gang involvement is central to this study. This section is devoted to an analysis of the conditions which facilitate (or prevent) youths from becoming involved in gang or criminal activity. In the following chapter on "Responses to the Problem," some of these factors will be discussed in more detail as they pertain to local agencies and institutions.

Rather than list conventional theories of gangs and juvenile delinquency, we prefer to let the community of Evanston speak for itself. Thus, we will summarize some of the major factors that Evanstonians feel are responsible for the gang problem, and then examine how well these ideas hold up against the available data.

(Anyone wishing to take a more academic perspective on the theories of causation is referred to the research on gangs, e.g., Klein, 1971; Short & Strodtbeck, 1965; and the major reviews of juvenile delinquency theories and research, e.g., Hawkins et al., 1980; Johnson et al., 1979.)

Local Theories. From meetings, interviews, and surveys, we have accumulated a wide range of local theories and hypotheses about what causes youths to become involved in gangs and take on a delinquent lifestyle. We can summarize these ideas as follows:

- ° City services Inadequate city services in certain areas of the city are frequently identified as contributing to youth crime and delinquency. In particular, inadequate police protection to deter criminal activity, inadequate recreational alternatives for youths, and inadequate jobs programs are frequently mentioned.
- ° The economy Unemployment contributes to boredom, frustration, and a lack of financial resources, thus giving youths both the time and the excuse for crime as well as involvement with gangs.
- ° Schools The schools are one of the most commonly mentioned reasons for gang involvement. The hypotheses are quite diverse, but tend to focus on how the school districts are not adequately meeting the educational needs of minority students. Hence, some students develop academic and behavior problems which make school an unpleasant experience. This situation contributes to the chances of dropping out or ending up without an adequate education.
- ° Family Inadequate parenting and a difficult family life are frequently mentioned as contributors to the problem. Single-parent families and young parents are two factors commonly mentioned. According to this thinking, for single-parent families the pressures of work and family life are often too great for the parent to spend quality time with the children, keep an eye on their behavior and provide an adequate environment for their development. The absence of a father image (role model) is also mentioned as part of this problem for many families. The "young parent" problem is largely the problem of teenage pregnancy, and all that it entails.
- ° Personal and Social Needs Persons who work with Evanston youths on a daily basis have been quick to point out the personal and social needs of all youths that must be met in one way or another -- namely, the need for money, a sense of social belonging, identity, and status. If youths cannot meet these needs through conventional, socially acceptable means, they will do so through socially unacceptable means, such as crime and gang involvement. Of course, the

question remains -- why are gang members unable to get their needs met in conventional ways?

- ° Institutional and Cultural Factors Some argue that the West side residents have been institutionally disenfranchised through the closing of various health, education, and recreation facilities. According to this theory, these events, dictated by a "color blind" philosophy, have deprived the local residents of adequate services, and have reduced the opportunities for cultural identity and personal self-esteem.

These are just some of the more prevalent hypotheses about the factors that contribute to antisocial behavior in the form of youth gangs. Fortunately, we have been able to test some of these ideas using our survey data on high school students. In particular, we have collected a considerable amount of data on factors related to school, family, and personal background.

High School Survey.

Measurement and Analysis Plan. Our first task was to develop some way of measuring involvement in crime and gang activity. Because students were reluctant to admit on the survey that they were gang members, the best we could do was to ask them to report about their own involvement in individual crimes (i.e., crimes they committed) and group crimes (i.e., crimes committed by "your group of friends"). These self-report measures have been very effective in previous research. We also measured attitudes toward gangs, interest in joining gangs, and likelihood of joining a gang in the future. These attitude measures were not very useful, partly because they did not differentiate well among student responses.

Thus, we focused our attention on seeing how well information about the student's background, experiences with parents, and experiences with school would predict a student's level of involvement in

group criminal activity and individual criminal activity. Table 6 shows the questions that were used to produce a "group crime" score and an "individual crime and delinquency" score for each of the 492 students in the final sample. The three group crime items were added together to generate a single measure of student involvement in group crime, and the eight individual crime and delinquency items were combined to produce a single measure of student involvement in individual crime and juvenile delinquency acts.

Statistical analyses were performed on the survey data to determine what background, parenting, and school-related variables are associated with an individual's tendency to become involved in individual and group crimes. We will try as much as possible to avoid any technical discussion of these results so that the reader will not be exposed to unnecessary or confusing information. "Step-wise regression" analyses were conducted, which simply means that variables identified as possible predictors of criminal behavior were tested one by one to see if, indeed, they could "predict" involvement in crimes. If so, these analyses determined which variables are the best predictors of criminal behavior and whether each of these variables makes a significant contribution to the prediction effort above and beyond what is explained or predicted by the other variables being tested. Thus, regression analysis allowed us to examine the independent and joint contribution of selected variables to the prediction of criminal behavior.

Table 6

Questions used to Calculate Composite Measures of
Student Involvement in Group Crime and Individual Crime

<hr/> A. Items Used to Form Index of Group Crime Involvement <hr/>	
1.	During the past year (including last summer) has your group of friends purposefully beaten up, or threatened other students or persons in Evanston? (yes - no)
2.	During the past year, has your group of friends tried to make money by selling marijuana or other drugs?
3.	During the past year, has your group of friends forced anyone to give them money, food, or anything else of value to avoid being attacked or harmed?
<hr/> B. Items Used to Form Index of Involvement in Individual Crime and Delinquency <hr/>	
1.	During the past year (including last summer) have you taken anything from a store or business without paying for it?
2.	During the past year, have you entered a house or building without permission and taken anything that did not belong to you?
3.	During the past year, have you beaten up anyone or used force to take something from someone that did not belong to you (not counting fights with brothers and sisters).
4.	Do you drink beer, wine, or liquor away from home?
5.	Do you smoke marijuana once a week or more?
6.	Do you ever use any other drugs (not counting drugs for medical problems)?
7.	Have you ever run away from home?
8.	Have you ever been picked up by the police?
<hr/>	

First, we analyzed background, parenting and school-related variables separately to identify the best predictors in each set. Then, we combined the best predictors into one overall analysis to determine the best overall predictors of involvement in group crime and individual crime. In the separate analyses, we tested a wide range of variables. The background variables included age, sex, race, number of parents at home, number of parents working, parents' education, parents' income, and other variables. The parenting variables included whether parents monitor their children's activities, type and amount of discipline, approval or disapproval of their children's friends, and other variables. The school-related variables included student attitudes toward school, teachers, and grades, academic achievement, motivation, homework practices, involvement in extracurricular activities, and other variables. The same variables used to predict involvement in group crime were also used to predict involvement in individual crime.

Survey Results. The results of these analyses are summarized in Tables 7, 8, and 9. Only the variables that worked together successfully as a "team" of independent predictors are shown.

Table 7

Separate Regression Results: Background Parent and School
Predictors of Group Crime

A. Best Background Predictors of Involvement in Group Crime		R^2
1.	Student's sex	.04
2.	Student's race	.07
3.	How often student attends religious services	.10
4.	Student's age	.11
B. Best Parent Predictors of Involvement in Group Crime		R^2
1.	Do parents approve of child's friends	.11
2.	Do parents know who child is with when away from home	.14
3.	How restrictive is parental curfew on school nights	.15
C. Best School Predictors of Involvement in Group Crime		R^2
1.	How often student "ditches" school	.07
2.	Whether student likes or dislikes school	.09
3.	Whether student feels school rules are fair	.10

Table 8

Separate Regression Results: Background, Parent, and
School Predictors of Individual Crime

<hr/> A. Best Background Predictor of Involvement in Individual Crime		R^2
1.	Student's sex	.04
2.	How often student attends religious services	.06
<hr/>		
<hr/> B. Best Parent Predictors of Involvement in Individual Crime		R^2
1.	Do parents know where child is when away from home	.07
2.	Do parents approve of child's friends	.11
3.	How often parents and child fight or argue	.13
4.	How restrictive is parent's curfew on school nights	.14
<hr/>		
<hr/> C. Best School Predictors of Involvement in Individual Crime		R^2
1.	How often student "ditches" school	.13
2.	How often student finishes homework	.17
3.	How active friends are in school activities	.19
<hr/>		

Table 9

Combined Regression Results: Background, Parent and
School Predictors of Criminal Activity

A. Best Predictors of Involvement in <u>Group Crime</u> (In Order of Importance)		R^2
1.	How often student "ditches school"	.07
2.	Do parents know who child is with when away from home	.11
3.	Student's sex	.14
4.	Whether student likes or dislikes school	.16
5.	Student's race	.17
6.	How often student attends religious services	.19
B. Best Predictors of Involvement in <u>Individual Crime</u> (In order of Importance)		R^2
1.	How often student "ditches" school	.13
2.	How often student finishes homework	.17
3.	Do parents know where child is when away from home	.20
4.	Victimization experience	.22
5.	Friends active in school activities	.24
6.	Student's sex	.25

Tables 7 and 8 simply show the variables that were selected for inclusion in the final and most important analysis. In this final analysis, shown in Table 9, the best background, parenting, and school-related variables were combined. The results in Table 9, Part A, can be summarized as follows:

Youths (14-18 years old) who are most involved in group criminal activity are (in order of importance):

- ° more likely than others to "ditch" school
- ° more likely to have parents who don't know where they are when they're away from home.
- ° more likely to be male
- ° more likely to report that they dislike school
- ° more likely to be black
- ° less likely to attend religious services on a regular basis

The results in Table 9, Part B, can be summarized as follows:

Youths (14-18 years old) who are most involved in individual criminal activity are (in order of importance):

- ° more likely than others to "ditch" school.
- ° less likely to finish assigned homework.
- ° more likely to have parents who don't know where they are when they're away from home.
- ° more likely to have been a victim of crime in the past year.
- ° less likely to have friends who are active in school activities.
- ° more likely to be male.

These results are pretty self-explanatory. They identify important demographic, parenting, and school-related factors that predict involvement in group crime and individual crime. A few comments are needed. First, race predicted group crime, but not individual crime, indicating that black youths are more involved than

white youths in group criminal activity, but no more or less involved in individual criminal activity. Secondly, there were several variables that did not predict criminal tendencies as well as local theorists expected. The number of parents at home, the number of parents working, socioeconomic status, whether the student had a summer job lined up, and other variables were not good predictors of a youth's involvement in crime. However, we must remember that our sample is limited to students in school, and we are measuring self-admitted involvement in group crime, not involvement in gangs per se. We are missing the dropouts, the older gang members, etc. In fact, we have collected other data through interviews which suggests that known gang members are often not in school, chronically unemployed, from single-parent families. Thus, the survey data should be interpreted with caution. The importance of the survey data is that it identifies a number of variables in the general population of high school-age youth that contribute to delinquency and involvement in group crime. Therefore, it helps us to identify some of the "high risk" youths. Because youths with the most serious problems are not in the sample (e.g., drop outs), the data provide a conservative test of certain ideas and a biased test of others.

Nonetheless, these findings are quite important and are consistent with some of the local theories about factors at home and school that contribute to the problem. We must ask -- why is it that these youths with criminal tendencies don't like school and would prefer to "ditch" school? Why is it that their parents don't know where they are?

For those who ask -- "Do these findings apply to younger kids as well?," the answer seems to be "yes." In 1980-81, a small study of 5th, 6th, and 7th graders in District 65 revealed that students who were most involved in crime (both personal and property crimes) were less attached to their teachers, and placed less value on school achievement. Furthermore, these delinquent students felt that their parents tend to show less interest in, and praise for, the things they do. These delinquency-prone middle school students also felt that their parents were less available to help them with difficult homework. This survey also revealed significant racial differences, with black youths more involved in criminal activity than white youths. (For more information, see Scruggs, Kaminski, and Rosenbaum, 1982).

Conclusion

Our analysis of "the gang problem" clearly suggests that it is a problem confronting all of Evanston, not just the police. There is much more to the gang problem than the daily incidents of gang-related violence on the west side. For many reasons, the number of youths involved in, and attracted to this type of activity, has increased dramatically in recent years. The amount of crime that is caused by gangs, but not attributable to gangs, is believed to be significant and spread throughout the city. The level of sophistication in gang operations has changed. Furthermore, the impact of gang activity on the community appears to be significant, especially in terms of fear of crime among youths, parents, and the elderly.

We also conclude that "the gang problem" is not just a police issue because of the factors that contribute to criminal behavior at a

young age. Our survey data and community interview data clearly indicate that parents, schools, city agencies, businesses, and others have been implicated as contributors to this problem. Hence, we turn to an analysis of how these segments of Evanston have responded to the problem.

IV. RESPONSES TO THE PROBLEM

Introduction

In order to understand how the city of Evanston has responded to the problem of gangs, we have collected in-depth information from a variety of people associated with agencies and organizations throughout the city that have played or could play a role in addressing the problem. Our approach has been comprehensive, spanning key city agencies and institutions, local social service providers, and neighborhood groups and community organizations. Our task was to try to understand the causes of the problem, past and current responses to the problem, and possible courses of future action from many different points of view. As the causes of gang activity are complex and multiple, the responses to the phenomenon have been equally varied in direction and scope. Below is a description of what the responses to gangs have been in Evanston over the past few years with an assessment of the adequacy of those responses. This is followed by a summary and analysis in which our findings are synthesized and the groundwork is laid for future directions in which the city could move.

Description/Assessment of the Responses

The Police Response

Without a doubt, the Evanston Police Department has been defined as the key agency in Evanston's battle against gangs. Public officials, social service providers, business persons, and private citizens alike have viewed the gang problem as a police matter, with high expectations for the police in dealing with gang activity in

Evanston. Because of the importance placed on the police response, we shall take a careful look at police practices in this report.

The Evanston Police Department has been working seriously on the gang problem since 1981. In 1982, with the appointment of a new Chief of Police, an Organized Crime Bureau was established as part of a department-wide reorganization plan. Responding to gang activity was designated one of the primary responsibilities of this Bureau, including intelligence gathering, surveillance and enforcement.

The Department has also prepared a Tactical Plan for responding to the gang problem which essentially outlines the duties and responsibilities of all Bureaus and Divisions within the Department. In most cases, the plan simply restates some of the conventional responsibilities of these units. However, in other cases, new responsibilities are outlined. A three-phase plan has been proposed: (1) intelligence gathering of information on gangs and gang leaders; (2) strict enforcement of all laws violated by gangs, and (3) breaking up of gangs in the community. ("Gang breaking" includes a variety of methods whereby the police seek to incapacitate gang leaders and the most visible gang members). It is our impression that the Department has been relatively successful in each of these areas. The Organized Crime Bureau has collected extensive information on the origins of gangs, gang membership, leadership, involvement in specific crimes, meeting places, etc. Furthermore, key gang members have been arrested and charged on several occasions. However, the overall arrest rate has not been high. During the first 6 months of 1983, only 21 of the first 187 gang-related incidents resulted in arrest (i.e., 11%), and 5 more were cleared in other ways.

Other noteworthy efforts by the Police Department include: (1) expanding the Crime Prevention Bureau and (2) efforts by the Youth Bureau and the Victim/Witness-Youth Outreach Program to contact parents of gang members. Both of these efforts deserve further comment.

Increased staffing for crime prevention activities should benefit the city in the long run. The Crime Prevention Bureau has been successful in helping to start neighborhood block watches in some areas of Evanston, but has experienced very limited success on the west side where most of the gang violence has occurred. Apparently, the attendance at meetings has been very low.

Hecky Powell (Evanston Neighbors at Work) recommended to the city that some attempt be made to contact the parents of gang members. From a list of approximately 300 suspected gang members, the Police Department identified 55 juveniles and attempted to contact their parents. The purpose of the contact was (1) to advise them that their son or daughter was a suspected gang member; (2) to recommend that they bring their child in for counseling, and (3) to recommend that they participate in a parent group. Unfortunately, this program was largely unsuccessful. Only six mothers participated in the parent group which met about eight times in September and October of 1982, and four of these were already actively involved with the Victim/Witness-Youth Outreach Program. Attendance was sometimes as low as one.

There are probably several reasons why this parent group was not more successful, but one of the underlying issues is the involvement of the Police Department. Apparently, many of these parents were somewhat concerned about participating in a police program (see

"Family Response" for more information about the outcome of these contacts with parents).

Two other components of the Police Department are critical to the overall police response -- the Youth Bureau and the Patrol Services Division. Each are discussed below.

The Youth Bureau handles cases where the suspect is under 17 years old. Cases are disposed of by referral to parents ("station adjustment"), the Victim/Witness-Youth Outreach Program, probation officers, the juvenile court, or some outside agency. Our assessment of the Youth Bureau revealed the following:

- ° There are very few youth officers available to work with juvenile gang members. After the reorganization of the Department, new Bureaus were created, thus reducing the number of officers assigned to the Youth Bureau. Five Youth officers are currently available, and apparently, only one works with gang members on a regular basis.
- ° There is some question about the swiftness and appropriateness of case dispositions. For example, some youths have had contact with Youth officers numerous times before they are referred to the Youth Outreach Program for the first time. Is the "station adjustment" being over used?
- ° The Youth Bureau and Organized Crime Bureau seem to operate separate programs when dealing with gang members, placing a great deal of emphasis on whether the youth is currently 16 or 17 years old, rather than working together to solve gang crimes.

Patrol Services Division. The Patrol Services Division includes the uniformed patrol officers who constitute the backbone of the Police Department. These officers patrol the city in marked squad cars and respond each day to more than one hundred calls for service from Evanston residents. Past research has shown that, overall, Evanston residents are pleased with the quality of service they get from the Evanston Police Department (see Rosenbaum, 1977; Tyler,

1980). However, in the course of this study, we have encountered some consistent complaints about police service from west side residents and residents in other areas of the city where hanging out, incivilities, and gang activity have been reported to the police. In particular, the following complaints have been made with surprising regularity:

- ° police response time is much slower in black neighborhoods than in white neighborhoods.
- ° when the police do respond, they often don't do enough about the problem.

The perception of slower response time on the west side is important and must be addressed. An analysis of police response-time data may prove that these perceptions are inaccurate, but in the meantime, residents have their own personal examples of perceived inadequate police response. Complaints about preferential treatment often mention the "quick" response to lakefront calls. Although it may be unusual, we have learned of a recent incident on the lakefront where 14 police cars responded to nearly a dozen calls at 8:05 p.m. simply requesting that the lakefront curfew be enforced.

The complaint about police not taking enough action when they do arrive raises some very difficult issues. First, citizens often forget that it is not a crime to "hang out" or even claim membership in a gang. Such individual rights are carefully protected by the Constitution, which necessarily limits the authority of the police. Granted, the police have a good amount of discretion and have a number of local ordinances to assist them in controlling behavior. But this brings us to our second point -- the police are being asked to strike a delicate balance between "not enough enforcement" and "too much

enforcement." History indicates that complaints of "police brutality" are not far off when police begin to "crack down" on specific problems.

However, none of this analysis of the problems of policing in a free society should take away from the legitimacy of citizen complaints. Questions about the quickness and adequacy of the police response to youth and gang-related incidents must be seriously addressed.

Confirming the perception of concerned citizens are the perceptions of gang members themselves. Several gang members have indicated that the police are "no problem" on the west side of town. There is some perception among gang members that the police are slow to respond. Some people speculate that the police, like other citizens, are afraid of getting caught in the cross fire or becoming the target of gang hostility.

The Response of City Agencies and Commissions

The agencies and commissions of Evanston's government have responded to the gang problem by facilitating community input into defining the nature of and appropriate responses to the problem by coordinating agencies (internally and externally) that affect youths and their families, and by delivering direct services to youths. As elaborated below, each of these modes of responses has also received criticism from some community agencies, organizations and individuals who view the city's responses as either too little or too late.

Facilitating Community Input

The Evanston Human Relations Commission. The Evanston Human Relations Commission has the responsibility to insure that the residents of Evanston are given equal access to and protection by the social, political, economic, religious, and judicial systems in the city. It is made up of nine commissioners appointed by the mayor and has a full-time executive director.

The Human Relations Commission has played a key role in facilitating input into defining the nature of and designing responses to the gang problem in Evanston. As a result of pressure on the City Council from west side residents, the Bishop-Freeman Ad Hoc Committee was formed. It produced a report in 1978 focusing on the "Bishop Freeman syndrome." The report concentrated on the Bishop Freeman parking lot in the 1600 block of Foster Street and the activities, such as selling drugs and gambling, which took place there. The Committee had representation from city government, the Evanston Police Department, the Foster Community Center (now Fleetwood-Jourdain), social service agencies and neighborhood groups and residents. The chair of the Committee was the executive director of the Human Relations Commission. While city officials feel that "almost all of the recommendations of the Committee have been implemented, except for the recommendations for vocational ed and a roller skating rink," many community leaders and residents appear to have a different perception. They feel "almost none of the recommendations were implemented, especially the important ones like vocational ed and the roller skating rink." Some changes were made, such as improved lighting

around the Foster Center, more weightlifting equipment, and more bats and balls.

There is a general impression from most of the people that we interviewed that the gang problem, which was in an embryonic stage in 1978, grew into a more serious problem between 1979 and 1981. Some point to the failure to follow through on the Bishop Freeman recommendations as an explanation. They say the fragile trust that had begun to grow between the Bishop Freeman-Foster Center youth and some outside agencies was broken.

A few months after the shooting death of a rec leader at Fleetwood-Jourdain, the Human Relations Commission held a public meeting on street gang activity at the Robert Crown Community Center on March 25, 1981. Presentations were made by Captain William Logan, Jr. of the Evanston Police Department, Ken Ehrensaft of the Department of Human Services in Chicago and Jim Lewis, director of Alternatives, Inc. Testimony by Captain Logan revealed the extent and nature of gang activity in Evanston.

In June, 1982, the Evanston Youth Commission co-sponsored a conference on youth problems with the Mental Health Association at the Unitarian Church. Several workshops were conducted, and the one on gangs drew a large response. At that workshop, it was decided that a second meeting should be held. At the second meeting, in a church where about 100 people attended, it was decided to have a large public meeting about gangs at Evanston Township High School. That meeting was held in late June. The turnout at this meeting was large. Presentations were made by the Evanston Police Department, community organizations, area residents, and former gang members. Three

subcommittees were formed during the meeting. Although the Youth Commission did convene another meeting with the Chairs of the subcommittees, the general impression is that "nothing came of it."

The Human Relations Commission held a meeting with the members of the Fleetwood-Jourdain Advisory Board on November 22, 1982. This meeting was the result of a gang incident adjacent to the Fleetwood-Jourdain Center on November 11, 1982. At the monthly meeting of the Human Relations Commission in December, 1982, a subcommittee on Gangs was formed. At a January meeting of the subcommittee, it was decided to invite experts on gang activity to the next Commission meeting to hear how they would address the gang problem. That meeting was held on January 26, 1983; representatives from social service agencies also expressed their views. The Subcommittee voted to ask the City Council for \$100,000 to hire an agency coordinator and two professional street experts. That plan was dropped when the City learned its utility tax was declared unconstitutional and its budget would be reduced by \$2.6 million. In February, 1983 the Subcommittee on gangs made a request to the Commission for \$5,400 to do an in-depth study of gangs in Evanston. The Human Relations Committee recommended that Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research should undertake that study on March 23, 1983.

Assessment. The Human Relations Commission has provided a forum for experts and citizens to express their views and to move toward some common understanding of what the problem is and what should be done about it. Yet the Human Relations Commission, and therefore the city, are seen as only "reacting" to community pressures which build up especially after the occurrence of an incident involving gangs.

West side residents and community leaders see the city largely caught up in talk, with few tangible consequences. One social service provider told us that there is a need for genuine dialogue, but "that won't happen at a public hearing." The implication is that a public hearing has largely "symbolic" functions and it is not intended to produce real policy recommendations. Another community resident we interviewed commented that our study could now be put on the shelf along with the Bishop-Freeman report and the Mason Park study. The perception is that the complaints of west side residents have not been taken seriously enough in the past, and that while their grievances are again being given a hearing, not much will come of it. The city is seen as lacking a firm commitment to do anything about the gangs in Evanston.

Coordinating Services

The Department of Health and Human Services. Another role that the city departments and commissions play is to coordinate services to youths and their family. The Department of Health and Human Services does not administer any gang-specific programs at this time. Rather, it sees its role as coordinating the work of other agencies, such as the Youth Commission, Youth Organizations Umbrella (Y.O.U.) and the Mental Health Board which have a more direct impact on young people and their families. The Department of Health and Human Services conceives of its functions as facilitating internal coordination of these agencies and providing coordination with community agencies and groups who are concerned about youth problems.

The Evanston Youth Commission. The Evanston Youth Commission is a youth advocacy agency which coordinates youth services throughout

the city. It has 15 members appointed by the Mayor and a full-time executive director. One of the concerns of the Commission is youth employment. The Commission is presently involved with the Skills Training Task Force. This Task Force was formed a year and a half ago. Conflict emerged over who would run a skills training program, targeted for the high school drop-out between the ages of 17 and 24. The proposal to have Evanston Township High School administer the program was dropped because of strong opposition by several community groups. Presently a nonprofit Board of Directors with 51% business representation and 49% social service representation is in the process of formation. Approximately 4.5 million dollars will be allocated to Northern Cook County under The Jobs Training Partnership Act, and Evanston has the opportunity to obtain a large share of this money.

The Youth Commission is also involved in the Target Jobs Tax Credit Program (TJAX) which will provide an 85% tax credit to employers who hire low income youth ages 16-17 this summer. The goal is to place 200 young people in jobs. So far, 50 youths have been placed. The Youth Commission also works with Youth Organizations Umbrella and the YMCA of Evanston to run the Youth Employment Service which is focused on finding "odd jobs" for young people, ages 12-16.

Assessment. Within Evanston city government, no one agency or department has been responsible for the coordination of policies and programs that bear on gang activity or the monitoring and evaluation of those programs. Responsibility and the accompanying "heat" it engenders has shifted from the Human Relations Commission to the Youth Commission to the Department of Health and Human Services, depending

on a number of internal and external political factors. Each of these agencies has a unique role and an important contribution to make in addressing gang activity in Evanston. The authority and accountability of these agencies, and the other departments and commissions of city governments, has yet to be clearly defined with respect to the problem.

Delivering Services to Youths

The Recreation Department. Though responsible for coordinating a large variety of programs, The Evanston Recreation Department, like the school system, comes into direct contact with youths through its programs. The Recreation Department oversees an array of activities, ranging from arts and crafts through volleyball leagues, at various community centers and schools. The Recreation Department sees its mission as teaching and developing the leisure skills of all of Evanston's residents and giving them a place and an opportunity to utilize those skills. The Recreation Department does not see its role as one of direct intervention with gangs. Instead, it believes it should work along with other agencies and the Police Department in responding to the problems of gangs in Evanston. The director of the department has said that the "teenage and twenty age group is a hard-to-serve population that requires special leadership skills, special facilities, as well as operating policies not always within the purview of the public agency." (Memo to the Director of the Department of Health and Human Services on Activities Dealing with Gangs, May 17, 1983).

The Recreation Department, along with the Youth Commission, Y.O.U., and Nichols Neighbors, will begin a drop-in center at Nichols School this fall. The recreational programs at Nichols School and

Haven Lighted School have recently been closed because of budget cuts. The Recreation Department is also involved with the Youth in Parks Committee which is chaired this summer by the Director of the Youth Commission.

One Recreation Department facility, the Fleetwood-Jourdain Community Center, has been the site of several gang incidents in the past. Following the fracas outside The Center in November, 1982, a new ID policy was instituted, as well as a more structured program of activities. The Center's budget was also increased, although much of the money went for security measures. The director of The Center feels that the ID policy and the presence of police officers on a regular basis has restored The Center to a positive level of operation.

Many of the people we interviewed pointed out that because of the closing of Foster School and the relocation of the Y, the Fleetwood-Jourdain Center has been under a lot of pressure to serve as the community center in the neighborhood. The Center, which is currently cramped for space, is seeking to lease space from Family Focus which plans to rehab the Foster School. At present, the Fleetwood-Jourdain Center houses a multi-purpose room, a gym, a weightlifting room, and a pool room. The facility at present is in need of repairs and new equipment. It lacks the budget to hire the type of professional staff that the director would like to see at the Center.

Assessment. Many Recreation Department programs now have a fee requirement. There is a fee assistance program for low-income families. It is not known what the impact of this program has been on making recreational activities available to all members of Evanston's

population. There is a perception, although again adequate data is not available, that all community centers are not used equally by all race and income groups. Whether it is a case of people preferring to use the community center in their own neighborhood, or whether there are other factors which discourage people from using all the community centers on an equal basis, again it is not clear. Overall, Evanston offers its youth a wide variety of programs and activities of which they can take advantage. Youngsters may need to be encouraged to participate in programs, no matter where in the city they live. Nonetheless, all centers need to maintain a high standard of operation to encourage the best behavior in their patrons. Trained personnel may be required to involve the most high-risk youngsters in their programs.

Earn and Learn. While Earn and Learn is now a joint effort on the parts of District 65 and District 202, we include it under this "Services to Youth" section because it reaches well beyond the academic sphere by providing "high risk" youths with jobs, counseling, attitude development, and community involvement. The Earn and Learn program provides 6th through 8th graders and freshman (in the "transition" program) an opportunity to work, improve their performance at school, and identify with a group. This is done through a program where school goals must be met as a criteria to work. In addition, positive work behaviors and attitudes are developed on the job. Students are held accountable for developing these positive work behaviors and attitudes by setting goals and record keeping.

To our knowledge, Earn and Learn is the only agency where evaluation data have been collected to assess the impact of the program on the target group. The results are quite encouraging, although

limited. According to a 1980-81 evaluation, students in the program showed an increase in positive attitudes toward school, as well as an increase in self-esteem.

Earn and Learn was one of the few agencies we contacted whose Director feels the agency has a definite role in the prevention of gang involvement. As noted earlier, our research indicates that some of the best predictors of involvement in group and individual crime were how often a student "ditches" school, whether a student dislikes school, and how often a student finishes homework. Given this information, Earn and Learn is "keying in" on some of the most central issues in youth delinquency.

Earn and Learn, unlike other agencies we interviewed, does not see a single cause for the gang problem, but rather sees the problem as an interaction among the home environment, the schools and the community. Likewise, they do not feel there is one agency that should solve the problem of gangs, but instead see the need for a joint effort among the actors associated with the multiple roots of the problem.

The Response of Local Service Providers

Evanston is a city with several competent and innovative agencies that deal, at least in part, with youths and their problems. Key among them are Youth Organizations Umbrella, Inc. (Y.O.U.), Evanston Neighbors at Work (ENAW), and Family Focus. Each of these agencies fills a unique need among the young population of Evanston. Each is on the "front lines." They deal with the actual problems of young people as they are manifested each and every day.

Youth Organizations Umbrella, Inc. Youth Organizations Umbrella operates a drop-in center, street worker program, emergency housing program, and Youth Employment Service. The approach of Y.O.U. is to prevent problems before they reach too serious a stage. It deals with "alienated youth" who are not "organized" into any formal groups (gangs). The director of Y.O.U. estimates that a fairly small percentage of the kids who use the drop-in center are affiliated with gangs. The director of The Center sees its major successes with "young kids at-risk."

Evanston Neighbors at Work. Evanston's Neighbors at Work provides a variety of services used by young people and their families. One of its main concerns is youth employment. ENAW is involved with The Summer Youth Employment Program, The T-JAX Program, and The Skills Training Task Force. The director of ENAW estimates that a high percentage of the kids that go through its employment counseling program are affiliated with gangs. He feels that he has the respect of these gang members. There have been no incidents between rival gang members while at work. ENAW also originated the idea of holding a meeting with the parents of gang members and city officials. It sees itself as having the experience on the streets and connections to the community which it serves.

Family Focus. Family Focus is an organization whose purpose is to provide family support programs. Although concerned about families in general, one of its primary foci is teens and teen parents. Family Focus provides counseling to teens, as well as workshops, referrals and child development classes. For pregnant teenagers, its goal is

to "help them have healthy babies, understand the motives for their behavior, and to respect and enjoy other females."

Family Focus is concerned with the individual it is trying to help and not with any possible gang affiliation. It deals with a population that has needs and seeks to support individuals so that they can make conscious choices about their lives. It sees the problem of gangs primarily as a "police problem."

Assessment. Each of these agencies fills an important and different need for the youth of Evanston. If there is a criticism of these efforts, it is that they do not yet go far enough. More cooperation among these agencies and the agencies of the city government would make possible a more comprehensive set of services to young people in general, and in particular to those youth who are most at risk to join gangs. Referrals, sharing of information and resources, and joint program efforts would insure that the youth of Evanston are the main concern of all these entities.

The Response of the Community and Neighborhoods

The Evanston community has responded to the problem of gangs in several different ways. For a large part of the community, there was no perceived problem (see Figure 1), or since the problem probably did not directly affect them, there was no urgent need for a response. For those residents in areas that were the locus of gang activities, feelings of frustration and helplessness grew as their complaints went unheeded. Residents in affected neighborhoods could not believe that there was any doubt in the minds of city officials that there was a gang problem in Evanston. One said, "You can't address a problem,

sitting in the City Council chambers, arguing about whether there is or is not a problem."

The anger of west side residents has erupted at several points over the past few years, producing a response from the city. West side residents are credited with the city's decision to form the Bishop-Freeman Ad Hoc Committee and with the city's decision to order Bishop-Freeman to erect a fence around its parking lot. They are also credited with providing the impetus for the series of public hearings which have taken place over the past two years. The meeting in Evanston Township High School in June, 1982 produced a large turnout. A great deal of anger was vented at the perceived unresponsiveness of certain institutions to the problem. The subcommittees formed during this meeting came to a dead end, however. Many other citizens also continue to sit on task forces and community center boards and regularly attend City Council meetings. Their persistence has helped to keep the problem in the public purview.

Other residents of Evanston have responded to fear of neighborhood crime in general, and in one case (Nichols Neighbors) to the fear of gangs in particular, by forming block clubs with their neighbors and establishing neighborhood watches. The idea behind a block watch is to reassert "community control" over an area which its residents fear they are losing control or have lost control altogether. The Residential Crime Prevention Committee is a coalition of community organizations from various neighborhoods in Evanston who meet monthly to discuss crime issues at a citywide level with the Evanston Police Department. They publish a newsletter called ALERT.

Assessment. The response of Evanston's citizens has ranged from no response at all to community pressure on city officials, participation of individuals on city boards and commissions, and organizing of neighborhood groups to establish crime watches. Participation in neighborhood programs, whether it be a block watch or something else, provides an opportunity for neighbors to meet each other, to discuss their common (or conflicting concerns) and to arrive at agreeable solutions to such problems. Neighborhood-based programs probably could be usefully extended to areas in Evanston where they presently do not exist.

The Response of the Churches

There has been some response to the problem of gangs on the part of the churches in Evanston, although this response has been somewhat low-key. A church leader chaired the workshop on gangs at the Conference co-sponsored by the Evanston Youth Commission and the Mental Health Board in June, 1982. A second church leader was also central to the meeting which followed at Evanston Township High School later that month. Other clergy members participate in the Clergy-Police Liaison Team. Clergy members whom we met with said it is only at these meetings that the clergy of Evanston directly talk about the problem of gangs. Yet these clergy members also criticized the Clergy-Police meetings as serving a public relations function for the Police Department, without seriously involving the clergy in the process. Most of the clergy members we met with, however, felt that the clergy should not play a direct role in gang intervention. Instead, they felt the role of the churches is to provide support for social service agencies and the family. Some clergy members already

provide family counseling to church members. One clergy member told us he meets with the parents of gang members on a regular basis.

The clergy members we interviewed said there would be no simple solution to the problem of gangs in Evanston. They saw the causes of gang behavior tied to family structure, racism, youth unemployment, the "mindset of Evanston" and the "needs" which gang members try to fulfill by joining gangs. They were critical of the Evanston community for denying the problem of gangs and for failing to talk about it in public. One clergy member also criticized the failure of Evanston's Ecumenical Action Council to bring together clergy of different races in Evanston to work cooperatively on social problems such as this.

Assessment. To some extent, there has not been a concerted response on the part of the clergy in Evanston to the problem of gangs. Even if they see their main role as one of providing support for other agencies and the family, this role has not been fully discussed or defined. Many of the people we interviewed, from city officials to community members, saw the role of the church as critical in providing the space and the support to attack some of the root causes of the problem.

The Response of the Family

The importance of the family in preventing and controlling gang-related behavior cannot be overlooked. First, we will discuss some issues related to child rearing practices that may result in "high risk" children. Then we will examine how Evanston parents of suspected gang members have responded to this problem, especially those who have agreed to seek help in dealing with it.

Child Rearing Practices. In terms of facilitating or preventing gang involvement, parents and family members are the first to influence young children. This opportunity for influence occurs long before the child is influenced (either positively or negatively) by school systems, peers, and others. Unknowingly, most parents do a great deal to prevent severe delinquency in their children, while others unknowingly do a great deal to facilitate the development of antisocial behavior patterns.

As noted earlier, the youth survey data suggest that parental behaviors, such as not keeping track of their children's whereabouts, not having a curfew during school nights, not praising their children's successes, and not being available to help with homework, are good predictors of a child's tendency to become involved in criminal behavior. However, what we have learned in Evanston and what we know about child development research suggests that the problem often starts before the child begins school.

The contention that youths involved in gang-related activities come from single-parent families is something we heard over and over from youth service providers, education staff, and police gang experts. What is it about single-parent families that creates a

tendency towards gang involvement? If perhaps it is a lack of supervision, male role models, or quality time for parent-child involvement, then these issues should be further explored.

It has been brought to our attention by several agencies intimately involved with youth and families that the burden of work and present economic conditions interfere with parents' ability to raise children in a manner which they desire. Agencies said many of the children from these families do not have the same experiences that most other children receive. These experiences range anywhere from being read to or going on a special trip to, say, a zoo. Educational research shows that the more experienced knowledge a child comes to school with, the better equipped that child will be to succeed in an educational system. There is little argument as to the importance of these early childhood experiences and a child's success later in life. The question we pose is whether parents in general need more information as to the importance of these early experiences or are the "costs" of having these experiences too prohibitive for certain families? The burden rests upon individual parents and individual agencies to answer these questions in an honest way and then to begin taking steps to give these children as many positive early experiences as possible. Parenting is a very sensitive and personal topic, but all parents stand to gain by being open to substantiated research which points to methods that provide a healthy environment in which children can grow and develop.

Another family-related concern brought to our attention is the rate of teenage pregnancy in Evanston. What happens so often, as we have heard from several sources, is that children are raising

children. In other cases, grandparents, who perhaps don't have the resources or energy to raise a child, are taking on this responsibility when a teenage pregnancy occurs in the family. The largest growing special education class in District 65 is the preprimary class. The Director of Special Services noted that many of these children have parents who are from 18 to 21 years old. In other words, these parents were approximately 13 - 16 years old when their child was born. Many of these children have single parents because no marriage ever occurred. The fact that these children are needing special services at the preprimary level means that they have already been diagnosed as having learning problems prior to their school experience. Again, teenage mothers, regardless of their situations, need to be informed as to what healthy child development entails. How well do we understand the causes of teenage pregnancy in Evanston? Very little is known as to why so many girls who have so few resources are becoming pregnant at such a young age. Evanston has agencies such as Family Focus that do get involved with such issues as prenatal care and counseling. It is not clear to us how much child development and parenting information is passed along and to what extent it is treated as "very important" to the child's future success. The amount of teenage pregnancy we were told is occurring in Evanston would certainly warrant further exploration.

Responses to Problem Children. Turning to older parents of suspected gang members, we have some idea of how these parents cope with this issue and how well they respond to outside assistance. As noted earlier (under "police response"), parents of suspected gang members were notified of their child's involvement and were invited to

a series of counseling and education sessions. The police characterize the 55 contacts with parents of gang members as follows: 40% did not want to get involved because they claimed they would "take care of it" themselves; another 20% did not want to get involved because they reportedly did not believe their child was involved and did not want to be bothered by the police; the remaining 40% were very cooperative and wanted to know what could be done about the problem (however, as discussed earlier, few of these "cooperative" parents actually participated in the group sessions).

Most of the parents claim they did not know their child was involved in a gang. However, because these parents were talking to police personnel, there might be some tendency to plead ignorance. Regardless of whether parents knew in advance about their child's involvement, once they find out some apparently feel that they have no control over their child's behavior. Some of the younger mothers, who are single parents, feel helpless in the situation and are sometimes afraid to confront their child.

Thus, we see some of the limits of the parental response, both in terms of prevention and in terms of dealing with existing gang-related problems. Traditionally, parenting has been viewed as a private matter, and thus, parents are often defensive about recognizing problems or seeking help to alleviate problems that might reflect negatively upon them. Also, many families themselves suffer under the weight of a variety of circumstances, many of which are beyond their own control to change. Yet the fact remains that some of these families are in need of help at many different levels.

The Response of the School Systems

The response of our school systems to this problem can be discussed at several different levels. First, there is the direct response to gang-related incidents that occur at the schools. Secondly, and more importantly, there are a variety of indirect responses that a school system can make which may have some bearing on a youth's eventual decision to become involved in gangs and related antisocial behaviors. In particular, we are referring to the educational process itself as it pertains to marginal students who exhibit academic or behavioral problems in the classroom. How do the schools handle and educate these students whom we have labeled "high risk"? We use the term "high risk" to identify students who have a higher-than-average chance of finding school unrewarding and difficult, of dropping out, of being unemployed someday for lack of adequate skills or motivation, and/or of getting caught up in antisocial, criminal behavior. To what extent have Districts 65 and 202 responded to the needs of these students?

Both school districts play very important and distinct roles with respect to the gang problem. District 202 (ETHS) faces the difficult task of responding "appropriately" to the various manifestations of delinquent behavior, gang activity, and educational problems that have been developing slowly for many years prior to the student's enrollment at ETHS. District 65, on the other hand, faces the even greater challenge of working with younger students who are more impressionable and educable. District 65 is closer to some of the causative factors that must be changed in order to prevent the onset

of these educational and behavioral problems before the student reaches high school, and before it is "too late" to make a difference.

Below we will briefly describe and assess each school district's general approach to these issues. Our conclusions are based on information gathered from the administration, teachers, security personnel, students, parents, and others in the community. Thus, we have made a special effort to elicit and report different points of view.

District 202 Response

ETHS has taken extensive action in recent years to deal directly with the gang problem. Following a discussion of these efforts we will examine the "indirect" educational strategies of ETHS that pertain to the problem.

Direct responses. ETHS has a Security Department staffed with Student Welfare Officers (security officers) and assisted by Student Monitors. The Security Department is responsible for identifying and handling gang-related incidents, among other things. Apparently, there have been very few incidents at the high school during the past year because gang members have agreed among themselves that ETHS will be neutral territory. Nonetheless, the Security Department and the administration have had to deal with gang symbolism, as well as the usual behavior problems associated with certain high school students (e.g. disobedience or disruption in the classroom, threats to other students, drug use, incivilities in the cafeteria, truancy, etc.)

Several of the responses to gangs are noteworthy. First, the Security Department has been fairly effective in its effort to immediately remove any gang symbolism that appears in the form of logos or

graffiti on ETHS property, or symbolism on personal clothes such as headwear. The administration should be applauded for establishing the policies behind these actions which remove opportunities for gang identification. Unfortunately, the gang activity regularly changes to skirt the latest school policy, thus requiring a constant monitoring of the situation by security personnel.

Secondly, the administration has made a concerted effort to deal with behavior problems at school, especially for students who are known gang members. Teachers or security personnel typically report these problems to a Dean or Assistant Principal who takes whatever action is deemed appropriate to the situation. The parents are usually called; counseling, staffing, or social work intervention may be called upon; and in very serious cases, the police will be utilized.

Thirdly, security personnel, social workers, and others on the staff have reportedly "kept one ear to the ground" to identify conflicts or problems that are about to erupt. By keeping on top of what is happening in the "talk of the day," interventions can be planned quickly to prevent conflict or help diffuse the problem.

Fourthly, given that teachers listed "gangs" as one of their top concerns in a survey of staff needs/concerns, the administration recently provided one day of inservice training on this topic. The seminar covered the causes of gang involvement, how to identify gang members, and what to do about it at school.

While these examples illustrate that ETHS has taken many steps to deal directly with the issue of gangs, there is one area of concern that has been mentioned to us on several occasions; namely, the

school's reporting of criminal incidents to the police. There is some concern that incidents are being handled internally that should be officially reported to the police as "crimes," and counted in the official crime statistics of the city. ETHS Security denies this accusation.

We are not convinced that the police are being fully utilized for crime reporting purposes. The police department tells us that very little criminal activity is reported to them from ETHS, but the police cannot verify reporting practices. The School Liaison Officer assigned to the high school is not regularly invited to security briefings, which take place every morning. The value of this police officer, from the school's perspective, is quick response in crisis situations and deterrence.

Indirect Responses. In this section, we offer a glimpse of how District 202 responds to and educates "high-risk" students. Overall, it is our impression that ETHS has developed an extensive system for handling students with academic or behavioral problems. There are approximately 44 special education teachers, and there are at least five different levels of special classes, depending upon the nature and extent of the student's problem(s). For example, a student who first experiences trouble either academically or behaviorally is likely to be given a set of hand-picked teachers and perhaps a referral to a staff social worker. If the student continues to have problems and, for example, is cutting classes, he/she might be transferred to the "triple A" classes, where four teachers working together and sharing information teach five of the student's seven classes. Special education testing is likely at this point. If learning

disabilities (LD) or behavior disorders (BD) are diagnosed, a transfer to special education classes is likely. These students are now isolated in a separate "Alternative School," with an easier curriculum (including a few "pre-vocational" options) and a tutor once a day for LD students. If serious behavior problems persist or new problems emerge, the next step is to transfer the student to the totally self-contained "Extension school," where one teacher handles all of the student's classes at the same location. Finally, if the student has difficulty at this level, "night school" would be recommended, where the student can enroll in one or more evening courses, and have the opportunity to work during the day. If night school does not work out, the final option is to drop out of school entirely.

While all of these special classes seem impressive, some of the fundamental questions remain unanswered -- Is all of this special education necessary in place of mainstream classes? Who gets placed in these alternative educational systems? How adequate are these alternatives for meeting the student's educational needs?

Apparently, a significant number of parents and community leaders feel that the special education placements are designed to progressively isolate "problem" students to the point where they eventually drop out of school altogether. Associated with this belief is the feeling that parents are not sufficiently involved in this placement process, either because of feeling intimidated by professional staff at ETHS or because work commitments keep them from participating.

Other members of the community do not fault the special education process as much as the mainstream curriculum, arguing that the primary

thrust of ETHS is strictly academic preparation for college. From their viewpoint, special education is only a symptom of the real problem, which is that ETHS, because of its college-prep orientation, is not prepared to teach students who have a different set of needs. According to this argument, students who are not prepared for rigorous academic courses or who might be interested in more practical job-related courses have no alternatives available to them, except "special" classes for "problem" students.

While some of these accusations are open to debate, one thing is perfectly clear -- ETHS is a college-prep institution. The District is proud of the fact that 75% of its recent graduates are enrolled in four-year colleges, and another 10% are in two-year colleges. Furthermore, our own survey results indicate that 78% of the current student body intend to graduate from a four-year college, and more than 1 out of every 3 students is planning to attend graduate school or a professional school.

The question is what to do for those students who are having difficulty with high school and the educational approach being taken. Apparently, District 202 is making an effort to expand the vocational course offerings, and the administration is willing to admit that there is some room for improvement in this area. However, we wish to emphasize that the District is caught in a very difficult situation between those who feel that the high school is too academically oriented and those who feel the high school should be more academically oriented. In fairness to the latter viewpoint, we should point out that a segment of the community is concerned that ETHS is losing its longtime reputation as one of the best academic high schools in the

country. Hence, with regard to developing alternative curricula, District 202 is "damned if it does and damned if it doesn't."

Looking at the current system of special education services, the questions of who gets in and how they get in seem worthy of careful examination. Although the District did not release exact figures, it is our impression from various meetings that more than 50% of the students in special education at ETHS are black males. If, indeed, black males are significantly overrepresented in alternative classes, the reasons for this outcome should be further studied.

Alternative educational services are intended to help -- not hinder -- the development of students with special needs. It is not clear to us what the true impact is. Public opinion in the community seems split about whether special services are "good" or "bad" for the students. Some parents want better alternatives for their children, but other parents do not want their child "locked in" to a non-college prep track.

Also, there are the "dropout" questions -- what percentage of the student body drops out of school? Who are these "dropouts"? Why are students dropping out? Is it true that minority students are overrepresented in this group? We don't have good answers to most of these questions because the appropriate statistics were not made available to us. The ETHS administration does calculate dropout statistics, but apparently does not include the night school in these figures. If night school is the final step for "high risk" students, the official statistics would significantly underestimate the dropout rate. Furthermore, one year dropout statistics (as opposed to four-year statistics) underestimates the magnitude of the problem.

Finally, there is the question of homework as it applies to high-risk students -- How much homework is given? Overall, we have been told by the administration that the amount of homework expected from students depends on their placement in the school system -- Advanced Placement students are expected to do as much as three hours per night, while students in special programs often have no homework or very little (most work is completed in class). Apparently, this is a difficult problem for teachers, who claim that lower-level students are not given much homework because experience indicates that they do not do it. At this point, the parents' role in their child's formal education becomes more important than the teachers'.

In conclusion, the issues pertinent to District 202's response to the problem are more complex than simply how ETHS responds to security problems. Some of the more difficult questions must be asked -- questions that address the educational needs of high-risk, delinquency-prone students.

District 65 Response

Our discussion of District 65 will also be divided into direct and indirect responses to the problem. Because these students are younger, the indirect or educational responses to the problem are even more important than they are at the high school level.

Direct Responses. Direct efforts to identify and control gang activity are less systematic and less prevalent in District 65 than in District 202 simply because the problem is smaller at this level and has a different character. The overt "gang problem" at this level is primarily restricted to periodic graffiti, symbolism, student efforts

to identify with gangs and claim involvement in gangs, and occasional threats to other students.

In general, our discussions with principals and other administrators indicate that swift action has been taken to remove any physical signs of gang identification that emerge. In addition, some school officials were very open about how they handle gang-related incidents, ranging from private meetings with students to reassuring calls to concerned parents. However, officials from other schools have taken the position that there is no evidence of any gang-related activity within their schools and no evidence that gangs even exist in Evanston. In these cases, although the word "gang" is avoided and school responses to gang activity are denied, we have learned that corrective actions are being taken nonetheless (e.g., confiscation of weapons, removal of graffiti, etc.).

Indirect Responses. Turning from a discussion of controlling the problem to preventing the problem, once again, we enter a discussion of the educational system as a whole and relevant special programs. Our observations indicate that District 65 offers quite a lot in the way of special programs, services, or curricula that may help to prevent some high-risk students from experiencing extended learning and/or behavioral problems in school and outside of school. These efforts includes the highly respected Project Earn and Learn, the Delinquency Prevention Curriculum (developed in conjunction with the Evanston Police Department), the Preprimary classes, special education classes, various extracurricular activities, and other services. In addition, certain teaching methods seem very conducive to

individualized attention, such as team teaching and individually prescribed instruction.

Yet even with all these approaches, we have found that segments of the Evanston community are not satisfied with the education being offered by District 65, especially as it pertains to "high-risk" students and minority students. Below we attempt to summarize the major concerns that have been voiced by parents and other members of the community. However, we wish to emphasize that these are largely perceptions and beliefs. The main criticisms of District 65 are as follows:

- (1) District 65 is sending students to ETHS who are not academically prepared for high school, and therefore, have little chance of survival in this more rigorous academic environment.

Comment: It is probably true in any school system that some percentage of the graduates are not prepared for high school. However, California Achievement Test results for 1982 show that most eighth grade students at District 65 are significantly above the national average in reading (77th percentile), mathematics (79th percentile), spelling (69th percentile) and English language (79th percentile). Furthermore, eighth grade classes have shown consistent improvement in each of these areas over the past four years. (Student Performance on Standardized Achievement Tests, October, 1982). Yet, there is another side to the story -- 11% of the eighth graders score in the lowest quartile (i.e. lowest 25% in the nation) in reading, mathematics, spelling, and English language. Thus, the question for District 65 (in the context of this report) is the same as the question we raised earlier for District 202 -- How adequately does the school district education deal with this 11 percent that we

have chosen to call the "high-risk" students? Are they prepared for high school?

(2) A second criticism directed at District 65 is that extracurricular activities have been cut back at some of the middle schools, thus removing opportunities for "high-risk" students to experience school-related success, while staying out of trouble.

Comment: The administration has indicated to us that the District continues to offer a variety of extracurricular activities at the middle schools.

(3) Critics claim that District 65 does not have a tutoring program to help "high risk" children who experience trouble very early in school.

Comment: The District offers special education classes for preschoolers with relatively serious learning problems, but there appears to be no tutoring program for mainstream Kindergarteners, first graders, and second graders. Given recent advances in social science knowledge about child development and education, there can be little doubt that children who are not cognitively, perceptually, and emotionally prepared for school will experience difficulty. For example, there are a number of pre-reading skills that must be mastered by the child before reading will be possible or easy.

(4) Children are being placed in special education classes too early or for inappropriate reasons, thus setting the stage for individual problems later on.

Comment: This is one of those areas where school officials are "damned if they do, and damned if they don't." The community demands special attention for students, but oftentimes argues that special education classes are too much or the wrong type of attention too early in the child's life. The educational dilemma here is one of

early diagnosis and treatment vs. labeling and tracking, with the latter outcome possibly creating additional personal and social problems for the student (e.g., rejection by peers as being "different" or "dumb" and lowered self-esteem).

Aside from the question of how soon students should be taken out of the mainstream, there is the question of why they are taken out and who is taken out? District 65 has developed elaborate testing and review procedures that guard against arbitrary decision making in the diagnosis and placement of students. Nonetheless, there is some concern about these procedures in the community, especially among black parents. We have heard from school personnel that black males comprise nearly two-thirds of the special education students, but District 65 will not release these figures.

(5) The final concern is central to many of the concerns that we have heard in the course of this study. The argument is that teachers do not have the same set of academic and behavioral expectations for white and black students.

Comment: This concern is not something new to school officials. From the moment that District 65 was fully desegregated in September, 1967, this issue has rested heavy on the minds of school administrators, forcing them to periodically remind teachers in writing that they should teach all students with a "common set of standards."

The question is whether these reminders have been effective -- whether teachers do have the same expectations and standards for white and black students, both in terms of academic performance and behavior. The complaint is that teachers do not expect as much from black students and black parents. If, indeed, black students are not expected to do their homework as often, not expected to sit down in

their seats as often, etc. there is the real potential for such expectations to encourage such behavior and thus become a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

The related questions are difficult to answer: Are some students being allowed to "slide" through the school system with less accountability? What are teacher attitudes toward white and black students? If the allegations are true, then has the academic performance of older black students been detrimentally affected? Has their self-esteem been detrimentally affected? Every year, District 65 collects extensive data on all students pertinent to many of these questions (e.g., self-esteem, academic performance). However, the District has a general policy of not releasing or discussing any race-related data.

Leaving aside the issue of race for a moment, the concerns about "high-risk" low achievement students falling further behind as they move through District 65 is not supported by the available achievement scores. These data in Table 10 show that the percentage of Evanston students in the lowest quartile (compared to other students in the nation) decreases significantly after the second grade. Taken at face value, this data reflects positively on the District's ability to educate low-achievement students. However, this type of general information should be interpreted with caution.

Table 10
Percentage of Students
in the Lowest Quartiles, California *
Achievement Tests, District 65, 1981-82

Grade	Subject				
	Reading	Mathematics	Spelling	English Language	Reference Skills
2	17	13	21	16	--
3	9	8	9	10	--
5	12	12	11	13	11
6	12	12	16	14	10
8	11	11	11	11	9

* These figures were extracted from Table 2 in Student Performance on Standardized Achievement Tests (District 65, October, 1982).

Finally, we must remember that teachers and school administrators, regardless of how they treat students, are facing some children with very real learning problems at the Kindergarten level. Because of inadequate home environments and restricted access to educational and social services, some students begin school at a major disadvantage. In many cases, learning and behavioral problems are not a perception in someone's mind, but a reality. Thus, we cannot hold any single institution responsible for causing or solving the problems we face in educating our children. Hence, the role of the family and the community is also covered in this report.

The Response of Business

The response of the business community seems to be shaped by their perceptions of how the problem might affect sales and what role business leaders feel they ought to play in helping to combat this problem. In terms of how the problem affects them, it is our impression that businesses are most concerned about the adverse impact of the community's perceptions of the problem. In contrast, concern about the direct effects of gang activity seems to be minimal (most businesses have experienced no problems) and certainly not comparable to their concern about crimes such as shoplifting and employee theft. In a nutshell, the business community at this time does not have compelling personal reasons for responding to the gang problem in any direct manner.

Nonetheless, the key question is -- what has the business community done and what is it willing to do to help resolve this youth problem? Obviously, the answer has to do with providing jobs and reducing unemployment. (The overall unemployment rate in Evanston is

around 7%, but the Black unemployment rate is closer to 25%, according to the Illinois Department of Labor.) The business sector is strongly represented on the city's Task Force. In addition, businesses are currently participating in the city's federally-funded TJAX program.

However, this program has achieved only marginal success to date, having identified only about 25% of the jobs originally projected as the program goal.

We asked why the business community was not responding more favorably to a program that allows businesses to employ youths at a considerable saving. First, we were told that businesses which do not have jobs available cannot afford to create new jobs. Secondly, there is some concern that they would be employing youths who are "high-risk" employees and require extra training and supervision. There is a belief that many of these youths are just looking for some money in their pocket with no interest in the rewards of the job itself. In essence, the business leaders are suggesting that there are hidden costs involved with this TJAX program (e.g., training, supervision, turnover).

Thus, while the business sector clearly senses third party pressure to provide jobs to unemployed youths, there remains a low level of commitment to any jobs program. Businesses question how far their responsibility extends beyond filling open positions. Clearly, there is a great need to build the confidence of the business community, and prove to them that taking risks in this area can pay off.

The Prosecution Response

The Cook County State's Attorneys Office is charged with the responsibility of prosecuting criminal suspects in Cook County. How effectively has the State's Attorneys Office prosecuted gang-related incidents in Evanston? Until very recently a gang-related offense in Evanston was treated as any other criminal offense, and a gang member was prosecuted as any other suspect. Now, gang members are receiving special treatment and special gang-related charges can be placed.

When Richard Daley took office as State's Attorney, he created the Gangs Prosecution Unit. This specialized unit is comprised of seven experienced attorneys, a team of eight investigators (four Cook County Sheriffs, two Department of Law Enforcement Officers, two Chicago Police Officers from the Gangs Unit), two secretaries, and a Victim/Witness assistant. The services of this unit which distinguish it from a conventional prosecution unit are: (1) vertical prosecution, whereby one prosecutor handles the case from the moment it starts until final disposition, (2) witness protection, and (3) intelligence gathering.

In the Spring of 1983, the State's Attorney decided to increase the Unit's involvement in the suburbs, given recent concern about the growth of gangs outside of Chicago. One Assistant State's Attorney was assigned as the contact person for Evanston, Wilmette, Skokie and Lincolnwood. Evanston police officers in the Organized Crime Bureau have worked very closely with this individual since June 1983. At present, Evanston has four gang cases pending. These are the first cases in Evanston to be prosecuted as gang-related. The new charge of "Compelling Gang Membership" has been used in some cases, essentially

accusing the suspect of forcing an individual to join a gang by threatening harm or actually harming the victim.

The State's Attorneys Office is very pleased with the level of cooperation shown by the Evanston Police Department and impressed with the amount of intelligence gathering that has already taken place. Similarly, Evanston Police Department representatives are very satisfied with this new relationship.

In our opinion, this prosecution unit seems comparable to model programs in other cities (e.g., Hardcore Gang Division, Los Angeles District Attorney's Office. However, this Unit handles only cases of gang violence (e.g., murder, attempted murder, aggravated assault) and cases where the individual suspect is a key gang figure. Gang-related crimes such as burglary or robbery will not be given special attention under most circumstances.

Summary and Analysis

We have shown that there has been a varied response to the problem of gangs in Evanston from city agencies and departments, local service providers, the school systems, and the community and neighborhoods. While sincere efforts have been undertaken in each of these several quarters, two factors above all characterize Evanston's response to the gang problem. First, there was a strong denial for quite a long time that a problem even existed at all. Second, once the problem was recognized, responsibility for dealing with the problem shifted regularly, so that there has been no concerted, consistent or comprehensive response to the presence of gangs.

For many city officials and residents, there was no perceived gang problem. For others, the problem did not seem a very serious one. Two factors appear to underlie this "denial" of the problem. For one, Evanston has not fully recognized the fact that both demographically, socially and economically, it is an urban center. One community leader expressed this idea when he said, "Evanston still thinks of itself as a sleepy suburb. It has failed to recognize the real urban problems it faces." This myth provided a way for both city officials and citizens to deny that such a problem was growing in its midst and that the problem has deep sociological and criminological roots.

Another factor underlying this denial is the state of race relations in Evanston in the 1980s. Evanston has a history of progressive measures on race relations, including the total desegregation of its school system in the 1960s. However, the stance of "color blindness" which emerged out of the political and social struggles of the 1960s, seems to have produced untoward consequences in the 1980s. Police now fear charges of harassment in the Black community, while residents in predominantly Black neighborhoods complain about a lack of adequate police protection and poor police response times. Children are "officially" treated without regard to race in the schools, but apparently this has translated often into not taking seriously enough the disadvantages that poor and minority children bring into the classroom from day one, and not knowing how to deal adequately with their problems in school.

A subtle tension exists between the races in Evanston. A dialogue was opened in the 1960s to deal with the pressing problems which were

manifest then. A new dialogue needs to be opened in the 1980s to assess the current state of affairs and to choose new goals for the future.

Once the problem of gangs in Evanston was recognized, the next response was to feel that it was someone else's responsibility to do something about it. A consistent response we heard across diverse agencies and individuals was, "Gangs are not a (school/leisure time/business) problem....They are a (police or social problem). We are in the business of (educating kids, running programs, making money)." Everyone sees the problem as someone else's. Another aspect of this phenomenon is the belief that one agency in the city could solve the problem. The most often cited entity in this regard is the Police Department. But to focus on the police as the solution to the gang problem ignores both the complex and multiple causes which produce gang behavior, as well as the need for a comprehensive and multifaceted approach to solving it. Dealing with the problem of gangs will require both short-term (control-oriented) measures, as well as long-term (prevention-oriented) measures. It will require the joint efforts of city agencies and departments, the school systems, the police force, local service providers, and community and neighborhood groups. The gang problem is an Evanston problem. It is not a problem of race, but a problem of the relationships among the diverse people who make up this city. It is not a police problem, but a problem of all the citizens of Evanston. Each agency, organization, and individual in this city has a contribution to make toward the resolution of that problem.

V. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The basic facts about gang activity in Evanston are hard to dispute. There is no denying that Evanston has a number of youth gangs heavily involved in criminal activity. Furthermore, there is little evidence to suggest that the problem of gang activity is under control or will not get progressively worse over the next few years.

Given the seriousness of this problem, let us set the stage for some policy recommendations. As stated earlier, how Evanston defines the problem will strongly influence how Evanston responds to the problem. Defining the problem as "a few bad kids that the police should lock up" totally ignores the central findings of this study. While some residents want to believe that the problem can be easily defined and solved, the fact remains that "the gang problem" refuses to be easily packaged or denied. In fact, the closer one looks at the gang problem, the more apparent it becomes how complex and deeply rooted some of the issues are. If we had chosen to ignore the question of why Evanston has gangs, everything would be much simpler. But we could not ignore this question given the demand for a better understanding of the problem and a genuine interest in long-term solutions.

The gang problem is a city-wide problem. It is a family problem, a school problem, a business problem, a police problem, a service delivery problem, and a neighborhood problem. In this policy section, we call on each of these segments of Evanston to recognize and accept their respective roles and responsibilities in helping to ameliorate the conditions which contribute to crime and delinquency in Evanston.

While there are no "quick and easy" solutions to the problem, we are optimistic that Evanston can make significant headway in controlling gang activity and preventing future gang involvement by Evanston youths. Evanston has the resources to pursue a long term, city-wide prevention strategy that will inoculate future youths against this type of anti-social behavior. But, the time to begin is now, with every agency and institution taking a critical look in the mirror.

This report clearly raises more questions than it answers -- an outcome that we feel does not require an apology. We call upon everyone discussed in this report to seriously address the issues and concerns expressed by Evanston residents. Only with a comprehensive approach to the problem will Evanston notice any impact on the quality of life. Because the problem is multi-faceted, we are proposing that the problem be attacked on all fronts, at all levels.

Agency-specific Recommendations

The Police

Overall, the police have successfully executed a multi-phase plan for responding to gangs, including some arrests of key gang members. While the Organized Crime Bureau has been effective with intelligence gathering and law enforcement with respect to key gang members, there is some question about the Department's efforts in the way of patrolling problem areas, responding to gang-related calls, handling juvenile gang members via the Youth Bureau, and record keeping on gangs. We offer the following recommendations:

1. The Police Department should address the citizen complaints about differential response time in different neighborhoods by conducting a valid response time study. (The new automated system should make this task manageable.) Although differential response time is not justifiable, the Police Department should also continue to educate all Evanston residents about the relative importance of citizen response time in comparison to police response time, since too much importance is frequently placed on the latter.

2. The Police Department, with the guidance of the City Council and Evanston residents, must address the difficult issue of whether more aggressive policing is desirable in areas experiencing a disproportionate number of gang-related incidents. At community meetings, residents from these neighborhoods have called for more police action. Needless to say, this is a very sensitive issue. We recommend that police and city officials meet with leaders of the Black community to discuss these issues directly and seek to arrive at some consensus. The legal restrictions on police behavior should be clearly articulated. Alternative methods of increasing police visibility in these areas should be explored, including foot patrol. Fundamental questions about the state of police-community relations should be addressed.

3. The plans and current staffing level of the Youth Bureau should be examined to insure that the Department is providing a thorough investigative response to juvenile incidents associated with gangs, and making the most appropriate and timely dispositions possible. Are there enough Youth Officers assigned to work with juvenile gang members? Are they properly trained in gang

intelligence? Are they obtaining the information necessary to file charges of "compelling gang membership" against older gang members? What types of referrals are being made, using what criteria? What are the alternatives to making numerous "station adjustments" for the same kids? In the long run, how these younger gang members are treated may be more important for alleviating the gang problem than how the police handle older gang members.

4. The new automated record keeping system should be used to keep information on gang membership and criminal activity, even though such information is not required by the state for crime reporting purposes. Computerized analysis of gang-related information would be useful for clarifying patterns of gang activity, preparing cases for prosecution, and measuring police performance.

The School Systems

In this report, we have been forced to go beyond questions about school security to the larger issues of education. This expanded scope has been necessitated by the community's call for this level of inquiry and by the empirically established connections between delinquency and a student's lack of involvement in school at many different levels.

District 202. An analysis of the direct responses to signs of gang activity indicates that ETHS security and administrators have made a significant effort to control gang activity. The only security issue is whether the full extent of the problem is being officially recorded.

An analysis of District 202's indirect, educational response to the problem indicates that the issues are more complex and deserve more careful study. Essentially, segments of the community are concerned with how ETHS goes about educating "high-risk" students who experience academic and behavioral problems. The recommendations are as follows:

1. District 202 should make a special effort to hear, evaluate, and respond to the complaints of parents and community leaders about the handling of students who experience difficulty in school. If these community perceptions are inaccurate, they should be corrected with the facts.

2. Although some parents complain about the School District, the larger issue is that parents of children who need the most help often do not have the resources or strength to confront the professionals at ETHS. Thus, we encourage the administration to explore new approaches to motivating these parents, reducing any feelings of intimidation by professional staff, and increasing parental involvement in the decision making process.

3. We call upon District 202, like other institutions and agencies in Evanston, to continually evaluate itself in light of the changing needs and concerns of those it serves. Are the educational philosophies and current practices of ETHS the most appropriate for Evanston in 1983? If so, they should be defended. If not, they should be modified.

Undoubtedly, District 202 evaluates itself on a regular basis. But we are suggesting that certain questions be addressed: Should ETHS offer more to non-college bound students or are the current

course offerings adequate? Are there creative alternatives to a strict academic program that might maintain the interest of "high-risk" students? Do all students have opportunities for success in one form or another? Questions about "dropouts" and placements in special classes should be squarely addressed -- Who are they? Why did they end up there, etc. Questions about teacher expectations deserve further discussion -- Do teachers expect enough of low achievers?

4. District 202 should make every attempt to work closely with city agencies and social service agencies to make appropriate referrals for students in need of assistance or legal intervention. Any immediate concerns about negative publicity must be weighed against the long-term risks to the health and safety of the entire Evanston community.

District 65. Some of the same issues raised in the community about District 202 also apply to District 65. While District 65 is generally respected by the Evanston community, nonetheless, a number of issues did emerge. In general, there is concern about how well District 65 handles students who experience academic and/or behavioral problems. Furthermore, there is concern about a lack of common teacher expectations for black and white students.

We offer the following recommendations:

1. District 65 should study the complaints registered by the community and respond to these concerns. If concern about these issues is widespread, then a more in-depth analysis of the problem is warranted.

2. District 65 has a policy of not releasing any information that contains a breakdown by race. Although this "color-blind" policy was probably implemented for good reasons, it limits the public's ability to monitor the amount of educational progress that has been made since desegregation in 1967, or the ability to hold the school district accountable for current practices. We feel this policy should be reconsidered, or at a minimum, that special studies be conducted as needed to address the race-related concerns of the community.

3. District 65 should explore the critical question of whether sufficient educational services are being provided to assist disadvantaged children in the first few years of school. The preprimary and special education classes are laudable, but what about the education of mainstream, "high-risk" students? For example, is there sufficient individualized instruction in reading and math? Should a comprehensive school tutoring program be established? Should curriculum changes be made to better meet the needs of children who are not performing at acceptable standards?

4. For older students, District 65 should ask itself whether enough is being expected of all students and all parents. Are enough independent homework assignments being given and does anyone see to it that such assignments are completed? The general question is whether anyone is holding students accountable for their behavior. Perhaps, supervised before-and-after-school study halls should be considered for kids who do not have a proper study environment at home.

5. There is the educational dilemma of special education which all school districts must face -- tracking vs. mainstreaming. For some students, special treatment is essential; for others, it may be detrimental. These early decisions may be critical to the child's future educational achievement and self-esteem. We recommend that District 65 do everything possible to insure that referrals to LD and BD classes are appropriate and involve the parents of these children. We do not know that everything possible is not already being done. We are simply emphasizing the importance of this decision, and the related special education issues, such as whether the child is being educated in the "least restrictive" environment as required by federal law 94-142.

6. Extracurricular activities are very important avenues for "high-risk" students to feel a sense of accomplishment that they do not experience in the classroom, to fill time that might otherwise be filled with delinquent conduct, and to interact with peers who can model the conventional values and norms of society. We call upon District 65 to do everything possible to offer a comprehensive set of extracurricular activities at every middle school. We encourage the District to work very closely with city agencies, including the Recreation Department and the Youth Commission, to plan attractive recreation programs for youth. Perhaps the city could organize volunteers to help run these programs. Free, after school programs for students should be studied. The idea of a comprehensive intramural, interscholastic athletic program should be explored.

7. Project Earn and Learn is a model program of what can be done to help "high-risk" students at a young age. However, working with 40-50 kids is not enough! We recommend that the school district and city officials consider ways of expanding this exemplary project to meet the needs of a larger portion of the population at risk.

City Agencies and Commissions

For some time now there has been a lack of clarity within the city government about how to respond to the problem of gangs in Evanston. There has been no clear authority to coordinate programs and policies related to gangs, no basis for monitoring those programs, no clear roles for managing specific aspects of the problem. This lack of clarity has become a problem in itself. That is, not only is there a gang problem, but there is a problem in the city's ability to respond to it. We see the need for the City Manager, committee heads, commission directors, and department executives to come to terms with this. We have the following recommendations to make:

1. That the Department of Health and Human Services be given overall responsibility for coordinating programs and policies related to gangs in particular, and to youth problems more generally, as outlined in this report. This would include coordinating the work of city departments and commissions with the work of the schools, local service providers, neighborhood community groups and the churches. A comprehensive approach to the gang problem will only result if the city can coordinate its efforts with those agencies, institutions and groups in the community who deal with gang members and those most at risk to join gangs. It will require mutual cooperation and respect

among these various entities and avoidance of past patterns of self-promotion and self-protection.

2. That the Human Relations Commission be given the authority to monitor and to evaluate the policies and programs directed at gang and youth problems. The Commission should serve a "watch dog" function with respect to any and all recommendations from the current report that are accepted by the City Council. The Human Relations Commission should see that programs are reaching their intended target populations and it should evaluate the effectiveness of these programs in reaching their goals. The Commission should meet regularly with neighborhood groups, local service providers, the police, school officials, the clergy, and city department heads. The Commission should assess current efforts and make recommendations for program and policy changes to the City Council. The Commission may require additional financial resources to fulfill its monitoring and evaluation function in a professional and systematic manner.

3. That the Evanston Youth Commission continue to play a key role in coordinating programs city wide which bear on youth employment. The Commission is already involved in several of these efforts, and it has shown the ability to work competently with the different sectors of the population who will be needed if a comprehensive youth employment program is undertaken in Evanston. A more detailed account of the components required for this program follows in the section on "Program Descriptions" below. The Commission should also continue its role in helping to coordinate the recreational activities of young people. Its recommendations to the Recreation Department (5/4/83) to expand school-based programs,

especially for junior high school students, and to expand organized league play for 17-24 year olds, should be seriously considered by the Recreation Department and the City Council.

4. The 50-year history of research on preventing juvenile delinquency has repeatedly underscored the importance of recreation as a deterrent. The City Council needs to decide how high a priority it is willing to place on expanding recreational opportunities for all city youth. There are several things the city could do to improve its present recreation program. First, an assessment could be undertaken to determine the extent to which recreational facilities are being used by all of Evanston's young people. Barriers to equal use, such as fee requirements and other inhibitors, should be carefully examined. Policies should be considered which minimize present barriers to equal use. Second, needed improvements to community centers, especially Fleetwood-Jourdain, should be undertaken with resoluteness and alacrity. The presence of quality equipment and refurbished facilities is likely to have a positive effect on the young people who use the center. Third, the city should consider creating new recreational programs, particularly those recommended by the Youth Commission for school-based activities in the middle schools and league play for post-high school youth. These programs will require cooperation between the city, the Recreation Department and the school systems. Finally, professional staff is needed at community centers who will be sensitive to the problems of youth and have the necessary skills to respond to them.

5. The Recreation Department and the Police Department need to establish closer ties to improve security at recreational facilities.

There is a need for both regular patrols and voluntary patrols at various centers. There is a need for police to establish a "presence" as well as take an active interest in the youths who use these centers.

Local Service Providers

As discussed earlier, local service providers play a critical role in reaching young people with problems in Evanston. The existing agencies, however, do not yet go far enough in meeting the range of needs that exist, nor are their efforts coordinated so as to get the fullest benefit out of present resources. We have a number of suggestions for new or expanded programs. We are not, however, making any recommendations about where new services should be located. Instead, we think it is incumbent on city officials to sit down with local service providers and decide where these programs belong, what resources are available to implement them, and how overall efforts can be coordinated to produce more effective results. The programs we suggest are:

1. A Street Worker Program.

This program would provide trained, but "streetwise" outreach workers to create communication channels with gang members on their "own turf." A more detailed discussion of possible street worker programs can be found in the section below entitled "Description of Programs."

2. Parent Support Groups.

Self-help groups have proven efficacious across a variety of settings in helping people confront and respond to problems which they share in common. Under the guidance of a trained group leader, parents who are having difficulties coping with the demands of raising children and supporting a household may learn how to cope better with these competing pressures in a supportive and self-enhancing environment. A national Self-Help Center is located in Evanston.

3. Parent Advocates

Many parents are unable to exercise their rights as parents vis-a-vis institutions, such as the schools, because they are intimidated by college-educated administrators or because they cannot visit their child's school during the day because they work. These parents need access to some agency in the community which can advise them of their rights as parents and can make access to these institutions easier. In order for this agency to serve as an advocate for parents, it should be an independent, community-based one.

4. Prevention of/Education about Teen Pregnancies

Further research should be undertaken to understand the causes of an apparent rise in teen pregnancy in Evanston in recent years. Current programs need to be expanded to give greater emphasis to preventing pregnancy and to educating teens about the serious physical risks which such pregnancies entail.

Neighborhoods

Residents are the key to controlling the level of incivilities (i.e., graffiti, broken windows, loitering) and more serious criminal

activities in their neighborhoods. To create avenues for "community control" over neighborhoods, we have two recommendations. The first, establishing "neighborhood justice centers" is discussed in more detail below under "Description of Programs." The second is the establishment of neighborhood block watches where they do not yet exist in the city.

Block watches are an activity that can be carried out by a multi-purpose community organization or by a block club. In either case, the idea is for residents on the same block, or several adjacent blocks, to get together, to meet each other, to discuss common concerns, and perhaps to establish "phone trees." Residents are asked to become more aware of suspicious or disturbing events in their neighborhoods and to alert the police and their neighbors. Studies have shown the effectiveness of block watches in reducing the level of fear in a neighborhood, a key to maintaining a viable social world at the neighborhood level. Block watches can be established independently by neighborhood groups, or they may seek the help of the police department, as many groups have already done in Evanston. The Residential Crime Prevention Committee, a coalition of neighborhood and community organizations, meets regularly to discuss citywide issues of crime with the Evanston Police Department. This Committee is a fine example of what is possible when residents take an interest in community crime prevention.

Churches

Many of the people we interviewed, from city officials to community residents, said they thought the churches in Evanston could play an important role in reducing the problem of gang activity in

Evanston. The clergy members we met with, however, saw their role as a more secondary one, providing support for local agencies and families who are more directly on the "front lines." We suggest that the clergy in Evanston offer to meet with city officials and community members in an attempt to better define a role for themselves.

Businesses

Employment opportunities are determined by the business community, as well as other factors such as the economy. It is our impression that Evanston businesses are somewhat skeptical about any type of employment programs because of the perceived hidden costs involved.

City officials and others concerned about jobs for youths are looking to the business community to make future employment programs a success. Many people believe that the failures of past jobs programs can be avoided by having the private sector play a more important role in the program. Although we can understand the cautious attitude of some businesses, we call upon the business community to help develop these programs and to be willing to take a few risks down the road by participating in these programs. (See "Description of Programs" for more discussion of youth employment programs).

Description of Programs

Street Worker Program

We have concluded from our analysis of the gang problem that some type of streetworker program is needed to intervene and prevent incidents of gang violence, as well as attempt to alter some of the

immediate conditions which foster violence. We make this recommendation very cautiously, knowing full well that the City of Evanston already supports a wide array of social services, crisis intervention services, and police services. Our recommendation is based on the assumption that none of the existing agencies is currently equipped to provide the necessary services. By the very nature of their role, the police are not in a position to gain the trust of youths. At the present time, other agencies are not staffed to function in this capacity.

What is a streetworker and what type of street worker program does Evanston need? In major cities, the streetworker has been one of the key elements of gang intervention programs for decades. The first "detached workers" were part of the legendary Chicago Area Projects in the 1930s and 1940s. Although there have been many forms of detached street workers over the years, Malcolm (1971) pinpoints the central proposition on which they all rest:

Because gang members do not ordinarily respond well to standard agency programs inside the agency walls, it is necessary to take the programs to the gangs. Around this simple base of a worker reaching out to his client, other programmatic thrusts then take form -- club meetings, sports activities, tutoring and remedial reading projects, leadership training, family counseling, casework, employment training, job finding, and so on (p. 46).

Detached worker programs have as many as five primary goals (Spergel, 1966): (1) control (principally of gang fighting); (2) treatment of individual problems; (3) providing access to opportunities; (4) value change; and (5) prevention of delinquency.

Although research indicates that detached worker projects have been successful at getting gang members involved in alternative

activities, unfortunately the major evaluations show that such programs have been unable to reduce delinquent behavior (see Klein, 1971).

Street worker programs have changed significantly in the last decade. As the level of gang violence has increased in major cities, along with an increase in the use of firearms (Miller, 1982), we have witnessed what Maxson and Klein (in press) refer to as "a major reorientation in gang programming from the transformation model to the deterrence model (p. 3)." In essence, street workers are now spending less time seeking to transform gang structure and value systems to meet the norms of society, and more time seeking to deter outbreaks of gang violence. The most popular of these programs having a deterrence orientation is the Crisis Intervention Network in Philadelphia (see program description in Appendix C).

While the deterrence of gang violence should be a priority of any Evanston street worker program, more can be expected. How much farther the program should go must be discussed in the context of what services Evanston already offers. Certainly, the value transformation model should not be completely discarded, especially in Evanston. Although Evanston gangs have become more solidified recently, many of these youths are incorrigible, career criminals. By and large, Evanston youths are still not in "the big league" with Chicago gangs, and thus, more can be expected of a street worker than simply controlling outbreaks of violence.

Planning the Program. We recommend that city officials meet with the directors of agencies that might be appropriate to house such a program (e.g., Human Relations Commission, Evanston Neighbors at Work,

Y.O.U.) to discuss what a gang street worker program might look like and how it would interface with existing services.

If a commitment exists to fund some type of street worker program, the scope of the program should be clearly defined, with goals, objectives, and performance measures. In terms of staffing, we wish to emphasize that a street worker program is only as good as the street workers themselves. What type of street worker(s) should be hired? To some extent, this depends on how much the goals of the program reflect the need for a "curbstone counselor," such as the old Chicago Area Projects, or the need for a crisis intervention expert to deter gang violence. In either case, experience indicates that the street worker must be someone with whom gang members can identify. Typically, this would be someone who was raised in the same area or under similar conditions, but never became involved in gang activity, or a former criminal or gang member who has since become a law-abiding citizen. Being "street wise" and "tough" must be balanced with an adequate education, good planning skills, and good listening skills, etc.

The best way to develop a street worker program is to draw on the experience of other cities. Most of the major urban areas have some type of street worker program. In addition to Philadelphia's program, Chicago's B.U.I.L.D., Inc. should be studied for ideas (see description in Appendix D).

Neighborhood Justice Centers

Community-based mediation centers, used to resolve neighborhood problems and disputes before they require intervention by the criminal justice system, have been growing in popularity in the United States over the last 10 years. Examples include the Miami Citizen Dispute Settlement Program, The New York Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution Dispute Center, and The San Francisco Community Board Program. The latter, now established in 19 San Francisco neighborhoods, is seen as a model program whose capacity has grown steadily since its inception in 1976.

Behind the neighborhood justice center is the idea that neighborhood residents can establish an "alternative" system of justice outside the adversary criminal justice system. Of the traditional criminal justice system, Raymond Shonholtz, the Executive Director of the Community Board Program in San Francisco, has said,

Within such a judicial system, everyone is made the loser: the victim receives no restitution or satisfaction; the community or school, which is a real party victim, is not improved or made whole; and the offender, who from a psychological, social or economic perspective may be a victim as well, is given no constructive help in resolving the conflicts that generated the incident in the first place. Moreover, by negatively perceiving the value of conflict and by ignoring the effect of the legal process on the family, the dysfunctional system results in counter-productive public policies. (Shonholtz, n.d., p. 7)

In a community-based justice system, trained board members resolve neighborhood problems ranging from loud music late at night to petty thefts at local food stores. In Philadelphia, a program has been established just to mediate disputes between members of rival gangs. We recommend, however, a broader-based program, such as the

one in San Francisco, where a range of grievances, such as disputes between neighbors, landlords and tenants, family members, as well as complaints against gang members, could be handled. In San Francisco, the Community Boards are privately-funded volunteer organizations. Justice Centers could also be sponsored by the Police, the Courts or the Prosecutor's office.

The role of the community in responding to criminal activities in general, and gang activities in particular, is critical. The community both asserts its right to establish justice within its own neighborhood, and gives a fuller hearing to the needs of the disputants than the traditional adversary system of justice allows. Neighborhood-based justice systems are premised on the idea that "the peaceful expressions of conflict within the community is a positive value." (Shonholtz, 1981, p.4) They are a way for community members to reclaim the authority to shape the quality of their own lives within their own neighborhoods.

We recommend that leaders in the community and concerned citizens in various Evanston neighborhoods meet to discuss the possibility of one or more neighborhood mediation centers. Readings on model justice centers are available for those interested (see McGillis and Mullen, 1977).

Youth Employment

Planning for a meaningful and satisfying job is a critical question facing young people, perhaps more so today than before because of a changing and constricted job market. Even the 88.8% of our high school sample who plan to attend "at least some college" will by no means solve this problem by enrolling in an institution of

higher learning. The central issue appears to be matching individuals' interests and skills to available employment opportunities. Programs to help young people with employment in Evanston are presently fragmented and very far from comprehensive. There exists job placement programs, such as the T-Jax Program, which at this time has placed only 50 low income 16-17 year olds in jobs (out of a hoped for 200) and which will end in August, and the Youth Employment Service, which finds odd jobs for 12-16 year olds. There is a small vocational training program at Evanston Township High School and the excellent Earn and Learn Program operated by District 65, which also operates on a very small scale. Given that the Skills Training Task Force, under the aegis of The Youth Commission, is presently in the process of assessing the job needs of the youth of Evanston, we are taking this opportunity to present what we see as the critical needs which are presently not being met.

Most job training efforts in Evanston appear to focus on teaching young people how to fill out resumes and how to handle an interview. Ideally, what is needed is a much more substantive approach to employment which would involve intensive one-on-one counseling, assessment of skills and interests through measurement tests, opportunities to train for jobs, and the ability to find or "develop" these jobs.

We are of course talking about a range of skills and interests. The Skills Training Task Force presently sees 17-24 year old high school dropouts without many skills as the population most in need. But there are young people with all types of skills who can't find jobs, who don't like what they're doing, who don't know yet what they want to do, or who don't know how to get there from here.

The first thing we recommend is a youth employment clearinghouse which would help young people assess what their skills and interests are, and help them to locate the appropriate training program or job placement program or employer to meet their needs.

Second, attention needs to be paid to training opportunities for young people, hopefully, a central concern of the Skills Training Task Force. We have heard much talk about the need for additional vocational training programs in Evanston. One caveat, however, is the necessity to assess what opportunities exist for vocational employment in the Evanston area before such programs are initiated. One agency director in the city talked about training for "life skills," that is, teaching young people how to use their resources to find the type of employment they want. That type of training could be met by the clearinghouse suggested above.

Other types of training programs should be developed in relationship to a public-private sector effort to create jobs or find existing job opportunities for young people, again another concern of the Skills Training Task Force. Approximately 4.5 million dollars will be available to Northern Cook County under the new Federal Jobs Training Partner Act. Testimony from business leaders, jobs counselors, city and school officials, local service providers and community residents, including young people, should be sought to determine the wisest allocation of those funds.

In summary, a more comprehensive approach to job counseling, assessment, training and placement is needed for youth in Evanston. A clearinghouse is needed to help young people assess their options and opportunities. Career development must be linked to the

public-private effort to find new jobs and develop new employment possibilities for these young people.

Concluding Comments

The residents of Evanston expect to see the gang problem resolved. The long term realistic goal should be the reduction of both violent and nonviolent crime, not the elimination of group delinquency. History indicates that "hanging out" together and getting in trouble with friends is a fundamental part of human social development and identity formation, as most of us can personally testify. To reduce criminal behavior permanently, Evanston must address the underlying causes of this behavior.

It is our sincere hope that the institutions and agencies discussed in this report will respond to the issues raised by the community in a positive, constructive manner, rather than in a defensive way. We hope the issues will be confronted openly and honestly, with a genuine respect for all those who share a common concern for the education, health, and welfare of Evanston's youth.

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Appendix A

Letter and Questionnaire for Residential Crime
Prevention Committee Members



Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research

2040 Sheridan Road Evanston, IL 60201 312-492-3395

May 3, 1983

Dear Members of the Residential Crime Prevention Committee,

As you probably know, the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research has agreed to study the gang problem in Evanston and make policy recommendations to the City government. Because the Residential Crime Prevention Committee has played (and will continue to play) a critical role in defining Evanston's response to various crime issues, I am seeking input from each member of the committee on the gang issue.

I am asking each of you to take a few minutes and answer the four questions on the attached page. Please take this questionnaire very seriously, because this is an important issue and we need feedback from different neighborhoods. Thus, we hope to receive a response from every member of the committee.

After you complete the questionnaire, you can either send it to me at the above address or bring it to the next meeting on June 7th (however, we must receive it no later than June 7th!)

Thank you for helping Evanston to define and respond to this problem. Your efforts will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dennis P. Rosenbaum, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR
RESIDENTIAL CRIME PREVENTION
COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1. What community organization or neighborhood area do you represent?
2. (a) Are there any signs of a "gang or youth problem" in your neighborhood? If yes; (b) What is the nature of the problem? and (c) What is the basis for your conclusion? (e.g. personal observations, feelings, police statistics, newspaper reports).
3. (a) In your neighborhood, are residents, groups, or agencies doing anything to deal with the gang issue? (b) If so, what are they doing or what have they done?

(SEE REVERSE SIDE)

4. What action or actions would you recommend to deal with the gang problem? (Please think about this question carefully. Do not hesitate to offer unconventional or untested ideas, so long as you are making a serious proposal. New ideas are needed!!)

Appendix B

ETHS Youth Activity Questionnaire

YOUTH ACTIVITY QUESTIONNAIRE

May, 1983

CD 1

1-3

1. How old are you? _____ years old

5-6

2. Where did you go to middle school (8th grade)?

Chute 1
Haven 2
King Lab 3
Nichols 4
Somewhere else 5

8

3. What is your sex?

Female 1
Male 2

9

4. What is your racial-ethnic background?

Black 1
Hispanic 2
Asian 3
White 4
American Indian 5
Other 6
I don't know 7

10

5. Up until you were five, were you living with both parents?

Both 4
Mother only 3
Father only 2
Neither 1
I don't know 8

11

6. Who do you live with now?

My mother and father 1
My mother and step/foster father 2
My mother alone 3
My father alone 4
My father and step/foster mother 5
A grandmother 6
Other relative 7
Other adult 8
No one 9

12

7. How many children under 18 years old are living in your home
(include yourself if you are under 18)?

_____ children

13-14

8. How many people altogether usually live in your home (including
yourself, children, parents, relatives, and borders)?

_____ persons total

15-16

9. On the average, how often do you attend religious services?

Once a week or more 6
Two or three times a month 5
Once a month 4
Only for important holidays 3
Hardly ever 2
Never 1

17

10. How much education does your mother have?

Some high school or less 1
Graduated from high school 2
Trade or business school 3
Some college or junior college 4
Graduated from a 4-year college 5
Graduate or professional school 6
I don't know 8

18

11. How much education does your father have?

Some high school or less 1
Graduated from high school 2
Trade or business school 3
Some college or junior college 4
Graduated from a 4-year college 5
Graduate or professional school 6
I don't know 8

19

12. How old is your mother?

Under 26 1
Age 26 to 30 2
Age 31 to 35 3
Age 36 to 45 4
Age 46 to 55 5
Over age 55 6
Mother is not living 7
I don't know 8

20

13. How old is your father?

Under 26 1
Age 26 to 30 2
Age 31 to 35 3
Age 36 to 45 4
Age 46 to 55 5
Over age 55 6
Father is not living 7
I don't know 8

21

14. Do your parents now own their home, or do they rent?

They own it 2
They rent 1
I don't know 8

22

15. Is your mother working?

Working full-time 1
Working part-time 2
Looking for work 3
Keeping house 4
Not working because of illness or disability ... 5
Retired 6
Not working for other reasons 7
Mother is not living 8

23

16. Is your father working?

Working full-time 1
Working part-time 2
Looking for work 3
Keeping house 4
Not working because of illness or disability ... 5
Retired 6
Not working for other reasons 7
Father is not living 8

24

17. During the past two years, have either of your parents been out of work because they could not find a job?

No 1
 Yes - my mother 2
 Yes - my father 3
 Yes - both parents 4

25

18. How does your family's income (or money) compare with other families in Evanston? Would you say your family is...

Far above average 5
 Above average 4
 Average 3
 Below average 2
 Far below average 1

26

19. In general, do you like or dislike school?

Like it a lot 5
 Like it somewhat 4
 Like it and dislike it about equally.. 3
 Dislike it somewhat 2
 Dislike it a lot 1

27

20. In general, do you feel your teachers really care about how well you are doing in class?

Yes, most do 3
 Some do and some don't 2
 No, most don't 1

28

21. How important do you think grades are for getting the kind of job you want when you finish school?

Very important..... 3
 Somewhat important 2
 Not very important 1

29

22. During the last year, did you ever "ditch" school?

Often 4
A few times 3
Once or twice 2
Never 1

30

23. Do you feel that most school rules and regulations are fair to the students?

Yes 1
No 2

31

24. How often do you finish your homework?

Always 4
Usually 3
Sometimes 2
Never 1
I am not given any homework 8

32

25. Do your parents check to see if you have done your homework?

Always 4
Usually 3
Sometimes 2
Never 1
I am not given any homework 8

33

26. What kind of grades do you usually get at ETHS?

Mostly A's 9
Mostly A's and B's 8
Mostly B's 7
Mostly B's and C's 6
Mostly C's 5
Mostly C's and D's 4
Mostly D's 3
Mostly D's and F's 2
Mostly F's 1

34

Are you active in any of these school-connected activities?
(Answer each one).

27. Athletic teams?	Yes....2	No....1	35
28. Musical groups?	Yes....2	No....1	36
29. Cheer leaders?	Yes....2	No....1	37
30. Student government?	Yes....2	No....1	38
31. Hobby clubs?	Yes....2	No....1	39
32. Art and dance clubs?	Yes....2	No....1	40
33. Service clubs?	Yes....2	No....1	41
34. Other activities?	Yes....2	No....1	42

35. Are your close friends at ETHS active in school activities?

Very active	4	43
Somewhat active	3	
Not at all active	2	
I have no friends at this school	1	

36. How many of your friends go to ETHS?

All of them	5	44
Most of them	4	
Some of them	3	
Few of them	2	
None of them	1	

37. Would you like to be the kind of person your close friends are?

In most ways	4	45
In some ways	3	
In a few ways	2	
Not at all	1	
I have no close friends	8	

38. Do you have a group of friends that you hang around with after school, at night, or on the weekends?

Yes 1

46

No 2

39. On the average, how many hours a week do you work for pay now, while you are attending school? (If none, mark 0)

_____ hours per week

47-48

40. How difficult will it be for you to find a job this summer?

I already have a summer job 7

49

I don't intend to get a job 8

Very difficult 4

Somewhat difficult 3

Not very difficult 2

Not at all difficult 1

41. Do you know what type of job you want eventually when you stop going to school?

Yes, I know for sure 4

50

No, but I have a few ideas 3

No, I never think about it 2

I don't intend to get a job 1

42. How much schooling would you like to get eventually?

Some high school 1

51

High school graduation 2

On the job apprenticeship 3

Trade or business school 4

Some college or junior college 5

College graduation (four years) 6

Graduate or professional school 7

On the typical weekend, how many hours do you spend doing these things? (approximately).

43. Watching television?	_____ hours	52-53
44. Playing video games?	_____ hours	54-55
45. Sitting around talking with parents?	_____ hours	56-57
46. Working around the house for your parents?	_____ hours	58-59
47. Spending time with a boyfriend or girlfriend?	_____ hours	60-61
48. Spending time with a group of friends?	_____ hours	62-63
49. Doing homework?	_____ hours	64-65
50. Playing sports	_____ hours	66-67

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ASK YOU ABOUT THINGS THAT MIGHT CONCERN YOU IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, AT SCHOOL, OR OTHER PLACES.

51. When you are walking alone in your neighborhood, how worried are you that a group of teenagers or gang members will harm you, threaten you, or take something from you?

Very worried	4	68
Quite worried	3	
Somewhat worried	2	
Not at all worried	1	

52. When you are at school, how worried are you that a group of teenagers or gang members will harm you, threaten you, or take something from you?

Very worried	4	69
Quite worried	3	
Somewhat worried	2	
Not at all worried	1	

Please indicate which of the following places in Evanston are dangerous -- in other words, places where there is a good chance that you might be beaten up, threatened, or robbed by a group of teenagers or gang members.

53. Streets within a block or two of where you live	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	70
54. Streets where gang members live	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	71
55. Streets to and from school	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	72
56. School yards	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	73
57. School hallways	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	74
58. School restrooms	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	75
59. Parks	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	76
60. Recreation centers	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	77
61. Dance halls	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	78
62. Bus or "L" stations	Dangerous....1	Not Dangerous....2	DK..3	79

1-80

If you marked "dangerous" for parks, recreation centers, dance halls, or bus/"L" stations, please write the names of the specific places here, if possible.

Do you do any of the following things to protect yourself?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|---|
| 63. | Do you cross the street when a group of strangers or gang members approaches? | Usually..1
Does Not Apply | Sometimes..2
8 | Never..1 | 5 |
| 64. | Do you avoid certain areas of the city because they are considered some gang's "turf"? | Usually..1
Does Not Apply | Sometimes..2
8 | Never..1 | 6 |
| 65. | Do you avoid going outside alone at night because of crime? | Usually..1 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 7 |
| 66. | Do you take something with you at night that could be used for protection such as a dog or a weapon? | Usually..1 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 8 |

THE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOU AND YOUR PARENTS.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|----------|----|
| 67. | Do your parents know where you are when you are away from home? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 9 |
| 68. | Do your parents know who you are with when you are away from home? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 10 |
| 69. | Do your parents ever ask about what you are doing in school? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 11 |
| 70. | Do you fight or argue with your parents? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 12 |
| 71. | Do you share your thoughts and feelings with your parents? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 13 |
| 72. | Do your parents ever punish you by not letting you do things that you want to do? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 14 |
| 73. | Do your parents ever punish you by slapping or hitting you? | Usually..3 | Sometimes..2 | Never..1 | 15 |

74. How are most decisions made between you and your parents?

They tell me what to do	6
We talk about it, but they decide	5
I decide, but I have to get their permission	4
We talk about it until we agree	3
I do what I want, but they want me to consider their opinion	2
I do what I want	1

16

75. When you go out in the evening on school nights, about what time do your parents want you to get home?

Before 9 o'clock	6
Before 10 o'clock	5
Before 11 o'clock	4
Before 12 o'clock	3
Midnight or later	2
No set time	1
I never go out	8

17

76. In general, what do your parents think of your friends?

Strongly approve	4
Somewhat approve	3
Somewhat disapprove	2
Strongly disapprove	1
They do not know my friends	7
I have no friends	8

18

FOR EACH STATEMENT BELOW, INDICATE WHETHER IT IS "MOSTLY TRUE" OR "MOSTLY FALSE" FROM YOUR VIEWPOINT.

77. To get ahead, you sometimes have to do things that might get you in trouble with the police.	Mostly True...1	Mostly False...2
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------

19

78. Oftentimes I am bored because there is nothing to do.	Mostly True...1	Mostly False...2
-----------------------------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------

20

79. Oftentimes I feel that I would like to be someone else.	Mostly True...1	Mostly False...2
-------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------

21

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----|
| 80.. | Being a member of a gang could be a lot of fun. | Mostly True...1 | Mostly False...2 | 22 |
| 81. | What is going to happen to me will happen, no matter what I do. | Mostly True...1 | Mostly False...2 | 23 |
| 82. | People could get along with each other just fine without any rules or laws. | Mostly True...1 | Mostly False...2 | 24 |
| 83. | I may seem happy to people, but inside I often feel unhappy. | Mostly True...1 | Mostly False...2 | 25 |

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS ARE IMPORTANT TO YOU?

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----|
| 84. | Having lots of cash in my pocket when I go out. | Important....1 | Not Important....2 | 26 |
| 85. | Getting good grades. | Important....1 | Not Important....2 | 27 |
| 86. | Being a good fighter. | Important....1 | Not Important....2 | 28 |
| 87. | Riding in a nice car. | Important....1 | Not Important....2 | 29 |
| 88. | Having friends who are loyal. | Important....1 | Not Important....2 | 30 |

89. During the past year (including last summer), have you been harassed, attacked, or robbed by a group of teenagers or gang members?

Yes	1	31
No	2	

90. Do you personally know anyone (other than yourself) who has been harassed, attacked or robbed by a group of teenagers or gang members during the past year?

Yes	1	32
No	2	

91. During the past year, have you been forced to give money, food, or something else of value to someone to avoid being attacked or harmed?

Yes 1

33

No 2

92. During the past year, has any of your family's property been stolen, destroyed, or damaged by a group of teenagers or gang members (e.g., breaking into your home, slashing tires on the car, or stealing a bicycle)?

Yes 1

34

No 2

93. How many ETHS students do you know who are members of gangs?
(Approximately)

_____ students

35-37

I don't know 8

94. How many gangs are there at ETHS (approximately)?

_____ gangs.

38-39

I don't know 8

95. Are most of the gang members ETHS students or outsiders?

ETHS students 1

40

Outsiders 2

I don't know 8

96. On the average, how many members are there in each gang?

_____ members per gang.

41-43

I don't know 8

97. Do you think that gangs in Evanston are a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem?

Big problem 3

44

Some problem 2

Almost no problem 1

98. Do you think that gangs at ETHS are a big problem, some problem, or almost no problem?

Big problem 3

45

Some problem 2

Almost no problem 1

From what you know or have heard, how do most gang members in Evanston spend their time when they get together? How much time is spent...

99. Going to parties or dances?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

46

100. Buying and selling drugs?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

47

101. Fighting with rival gangs?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

48

102. Hanging out on the street?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

49

103. Recruiting new gang members?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

50

104. Assaulting or robbing people on the street?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

51

105. Stealing things?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

52

106. Arranging prostitution?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

53

107. Playing sports?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

54

108. Getting "high"?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

55

109. Joy riding?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

56

110. Pursuing females?

A lot...3 Some...2 Very Little..1 DK..8

57

STOP -- DO NOT CONTINUE!!!

111. During the past year (including last summer) have you taken anything from a store or business without paying for it?

Yes 1

58

No 2

112. During the past year, have you entered a house or building without permission and taken anything that did not belong to you?

Yes 1

59

No 2

113. During the past year, have you beaten up anyone or used force to take something from someone that did not belong to you (not counting fights with brothers or sisters).

Yes 1

60

No 2

114. Do you drink beer, wine, or liquor away from home?

Yes 1

61

No 2

115. Do you smoke marijuana once a week or more?

Yes 1

62

No 2

116. Do you ever use any other drugs? (not counting drugs for medical problems)?

Yes 1

63

No 2

117. Have you ever run away from home?

Yes 1 For how long? _____ days.

64

No 2

65-67

118. Do you ever carry a gun for protection?

Yes 1
No 2

68

119. Do you ever carry any other type of weapon for protection
(such as a knife or mace)?

Yes 1
No 2

69

120. Have you ever been picked up by the police?

Yes 1 How many times? _____ times
No 2

70

71-72

121. Have any of your close friends ever been picked up by the police?

Yes 1
No 2

73

122. During the past year (including last summer) has your group of
friends purposefully beaten up, or threatened other students or
persons in Evanston?

Yes 1
No 2
I don't have a group of friends..... 8

74

123. During the past year, has your group of friends tried to make
money by selling marijuana or other drugs?

Yes 1
No 2
I don't have a group of friends 8

75

CD
2/3

124. During the past year, has your group of friends forced anyone to give them money, food, or anything else of value to avoid being attacked or harmed?

Yes 1
No 2
I don't have a group of friends 8

76

125. Have you ever thought about joining a gang?

Yes 1
No 2

77

126. How likely are you to join a gang in the next year?

Very likely 4
Somewhat likely 3
Not very likely 2
Not at all likely 1
I am already a member 8

78

2-80

127. Have you ever been invited to join one of the gangs or felt any pressure to join?

CD 3

Yes 1
No 2

5

128. Are you a member of a gang now?

Yes 1
No 2

6

129. What do you feel is the main reason for the gang fighting in Evanston?

Appendix C

Introduction to Crisis Intervention Network, Inc. (CIN)

I. INTRODUCTION TO CRISIS INTERVENTION NETWORK, INC. (CIN)

A. HISTORY (A Short Summary)

Crisis Intervention Network, Inc. was established in 1975 as a joint effort among several city agencies to reduce gang violence and gang related homicides. Prior to this, the city had employed both Law Enforcement and Social Service approaches, which had little or no impact on the problem.

Crisis Intervention Network was originally established as a special unit of the Managing Director's Office of the City of Philadelphia and later it operated as an element of the City's Department of Public Welfare. In 1979, CIN became a Private Non-Profit Corporation and currently provides services to the City of Philadelphia through a contract with the Department of Welfare.

B. CIN GOALS

GOAL I: Intervene and prevent incidents of youth and gang violence, interracial disputes, and neighborhood disputes.

GOAL II: Insure that young people who are affected directly or indirectly by youth violence in their neighborhoods and/or who are in need of social services, receive these services.

GOAL III: To strengthen existing community structures so as to prevent the development of environmental conditions which foster violent youth disturbances and crime.

All CIN departments work to fulfill the above goals, through their specified department activities.

PROGRAM MISSION AND STRATEGY

The Mission of CIN is to reduce gang related violence and homicides.. The Mission is guided by a multi-level strategy that coordinates three major initiatives:

1. Mobile Teams of indigeneous street workers, trained to intervene in gang conflicts, potentially violent situations and gang related crisis and disputes in the communities they serve.
2. A Massive Community organizing effort, which mobilizes parents, community organizations and agencies and their resources in an active role to combat gang violence.
3. A Coordinated approach to developing policies and programs with the major public service institutions and Law Enforcement agencies in order to ensure a comprehensive flow of services to the target population affected by gang violence.

IMPACT

In the late 60's our early 70's Philadelphia experienced a surge of gang violence averaging forty (40) gang related homicides a year.. Since its inception, CIN has played a pivotal role in the reduction of gang violence.

OF GANG RELATED HOMICIDES

<u>YEAR</u>	<u># OF HOMICIDES</u>
1969	45
1970	35
1971	43
1972	38
1973	41
1974**	32
1975	14
1976	6
1977	1
1978	1
1979	2

<u>YEAR</u>	<u># OF HOMICIDES</u>
1980	2
1981	3
1982	4

** CIN Pilot in operation for nine (9) months

An impact evaluation performed by the independent evaluation firm, Associate Consultants, indicated that there was a causal relationship between CIN intervention and the reduction of youth gang deaths in the city.

CIN was nominated by the National League of Cities Conference of Mayors, to the National Institute of SEAA for Exemplary Status. CIN has provided technical assistance and consultation services to cities such as Los Angeles (CA), Miami (FL), Flint (MI), Phoenix (AZ), and Albuquerque (NM). These services and/or assistance consisted of both minor and major projects ranging from such activities as developing policy statements, concept papers, and manuals to developing fully operating programs.

CIN was also included in a publication by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, entitled "Programs for the Serious/Violent Offender."

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The Board of Directors is constituted of representative from the juvenile/youth service system and from the community served. The Board of Directors elects its own officers and new members at its annual conference every October, and those members voted in are charged with conducting the ongoing business and policy making functions of the organization.

Overall administration of the CIN Program is the responsibility of the Executive Director, who is assisted in this task by the Associate Director of Field Operations and the Associate Director of Development. The Executive and his two Associates comprise a management team which carries out youth violence prevention programs designed by CIN and adopted by the CIN Board of

of Directors. Working directly under the Executive Director and the two Associate Directors is CIN Middle Management staff who carry out program planning, and Unit/Department supervision.

Two Field Operations Coordinators oversee the activities of all crisis team operations insuring that activities are coordinated and teams are properly assigned to sector patrols, respond appropriately to incidents, and adhere to standard operational procedures. They must also maintain working liaisons with other front line control agencies, coordinate preventive violence mechanisms, i.e., Operations Management Teams (OMT), and community persons organized to reduce youth violence in their neighborhoods.

The Field Coordinators report to the Associate Director of Field Operations who represents the Management Team in decisions pertaining to Field Operations and the deployment of outreach personnel. In serious emergencies and/or major gang/youth crisis, it is expected that Directors will confer on strategy, with the decision of the Executive being final. Where any two of the Program Managers are not available to handle or advise, responsibility for intervention strategy utilized belongs to the Manager who is first informed and acts on the situation.

The Executive Director directly manages the activities of the Executive Assistant of Community Programs and the Executive Assistant of Administrative Services. The Executive Director also retains overall agency budgetary and cash flow control, through his supervision of a bookkeeper, and contract with an accredited auditor. The Personnel Department also works directly under the Executive Director and personnel policies, procedures and files are maintained according to fair and non-discriminatory practices cited in the contract.

The monitoring and supervision of the CIN Management Services and Public Information Department is assigned to the Executive Assistant of Administration. In this role, the Executive Assistant is charged with coordinating management

support and public information functions of the agency, including the maintenance of CIN/Board of Directors communications. Management Services includes secretarial, bookkeeping, record retention/retrieval, and communications center dispatcher roles coordinated and supervised by a Management Services Coordinator.

The Executive Assistant of Administration also oversees the activities of the Public Information Unit, assuring that all projects are carried out to the requirements of quality, content and punctuality. In carrying out this supervisory responsibility, this Executive Assistant assures that all agency public relations, printed materials, and media promotions are properly accomplished, in a timely fashion.

Supervision of the Community Programs Department is performed by the Executive Assistant of Community Programs, who confers with the Executive Director and Development Director in determining the direction, thrust and operational methods of the varied program initiatives operated under the Crime Prevention, Parents Council Community Coordinating and Preventive Education Units. This Manager is also responsible for all dimensions of the Community Safety Strategy carried out by staff of these Units.

The Associate Director of Development manages the activities of a Program Planner, a Program Analyst, and two (2) Technical Assistant Specialists, comprising a CIN Program Development Unit. The Development Unit and Management Team work together to conceptualize and operationalize new CIN Program Initiatives, which are established to meet emerging problems and needs in Philadelphia neighborhoods.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS

CIN is divided into four (4) departments:

1. Field Operations (Headed by Larry Rawles)
2. Administrative Services (Headed by Valena Dixon)
3. Community Programs (Headed by Gwendolyn Bailey)
4. Development Unit (Headed by Randall Sims)

members touch base with both internal and external institutional service agencies, parents, and youth groups, keeping them abreast of any minor problems, allowing for immediate intervention/counseling.

DUAL PROBATION PROJECT

The Field Operations Department Probation Unit maintains case handling of adult and juvenile gang members, using relationships and legal sanction to influence violent youth and adult behavior.

The Crisis Intervention Probation Unit of the Philadelphia Adult Probation Department, Court of Common Pleas, was designed to provide intensive supervision of those persons who are on probation, are between the ages of 18-25, and, who have been identified as having direct or indirect affiliation with gangs in the City of Philadelphia. The Crisis Intervention Probation Unit was established to respond to gang violence, but is a representative of the court system and its authority.

The Crisis Intervention Probation Unit consists of a Director, and five (5) Probation Officers. The Crisis Intervention Probation Officers are community workers who work with both the gang members and community residents, in an effort to establish a positive atmosphere that operates continuously to deter possible gang violence. In addition, the Crisis Intervention Probation Officers maintain a caseload of no more than fifty (50) persons, which enables them to provide the intensive supervision that these clients need.

As Probation Officers, each person is required to fulfill the responsibilities and functions of a Probation Officer as defined by the Court of Common Pleas, Adult Probation Department. In addition to performing these duties as a Crisis Intervention Team, they also have the responsibility to provide on-the-street supervision to establish a street intelligence network that will respect them as court officials. The Crisis Intervention Probation Officer is on call 24 hours a day and beepers are made available to each officer.

Since most gang activity occurs during the evening hours, the officer is often called to respond to situations that appear to have the potential to erupt into crisis situations. This is done through the commitment of the officers, because no compensation nor overtime is paid for these additional hours of work.

The Crisis Intervention Unit is a court approved Unit which was specifically designed to address the needs of the adolescent adult (18-25 years old) in the same manner in which other social woes mandated that specialized services be designed to address those needs, i.e., drug, alcohol, and sex offenses. The Crisis Intervention Unit utilizes the services of other units in the Probation Department such as Volunteer Services, and Employment Services. Community resources, such as CIC, and the Urban Coalition are also used when appropriate.

The same total of the activities performed by the Crisis Intervention Officers, appears to have contributed to a significant decrease in youth violence as evidenced by the data presented earlier in this report.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

The CIN Administrative Services Department consists of the CIN Crisis Communications Center, Public Information Unit, Bookkeeping Unit and the Personnel Unit. All typing, filing communications and clerical functions are performed by CIN's Administrative Services Department. CIN's bookkeeper is in charge of CIN's payroll, financial and accounting records.

The Public Information Coordinator is in charge of public relations, including information dissemination, promotional activities and community information.

The nerve center of the program is the Communications Center. The Crisis Communication Center is charged with data collection, evaluation, and distribution, which enables emergency call/response in the handling of reported incidents. The CIN Communication Center serves as the central incident intake center for all reports of incidents made by city residents or city agencies.

Staff record all calls to CIN about neighborhood incidents or CIN program services. The Communications Center provides the phone resource referrals as requested. The Communications Center operates twenty-four (24) hours a day, seven (7) days a week.

A Call Response System is in effect. Designated personnel from participating external and internal institutions, public schools, recreational centers, community groups, funded agencies, youth and parents, will notify the Center by phone, of any situation which has the potential for juvenile violence.

When notified of a potentially volatile situation, the Communications Center will immediately notify the area Crisis Team supervisor "on duty" for response. In most cases, Crisis Intervention Teams can respond within 10 to 18 minutes. The Crisis Intervention Network Team will seek to prevent the situation from deteriorating into open hostilities by interviewing and counselling the individual gang members involved, and mediate any problems which may potentially develop into group violence or criminal justice involvement.

3. COMMUNITY PROGRAMS DEPARTMENT

The purpose of the Community Programs Department is to prevent youth violence, through the application of a variety of educational approaches. The Community Programs Department is responsible for implementing crime prevention programs and strategies in the communities. The department consists of the (a) CIN Parents Council, (b) Preventive Education Unit, (c) Crime Prevention Unit and (d) Community Coordinating Unit.

(a) The Crime Prevention Unit organizes community crime prevention Task Forces with the goal of mobilizing ongoing crime prevention efforts at the neighborhood level. The unit holds Community Forums to mobilize residents and educate them about the justice system and law enforcement agencies. Community Forums are organized to bring justice system officials into the community to talk with community residents. The unit also holds Crime Prevention Forums to

inform residents about how to prevent crime in their own neighborhood.

(b) The Preventive Education Unit provides group oriented counselling, designed to prevent youth violence and drug abuse. Presentations are given in schools and the community. The preventive Education Unit utilizes visual and written materials as well as drama to educate youth about the problems of violence, drug abuse and to suggest alternative youth behaviors.

(c) The Community Coordinating Unit is responsible for organizing community groups into clusters. The purpose of organizing these groups into clusters is to facilitate communications, resource sharing, and to focus these groups on reducing crime in their particular neighborhoods.

(d) The CEN Parents Council Unit is designed to organize and mobilize parents. The Parents Council advocates and provides constructive activities for neighborhood youth. It also serves as a support group for parents.

Since its inception Parents have played a key role in success of the agency, the CEN Parent Council has been a conduit for providing resources and services. The Council has advocated for improved recreation services, and gotten local businesses to provide over one hundred (100) jobs to youth. The purpose of the Council has been to re-establish family bonds, and encourage the use of the extended family, in teaching and disciplining children.

4. DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

The Development Department is responsible for program development, proposal writing, fund raising, program evaluation, and gives technical assistance to CEN departments and outside agencies.

Department staff carry on on-going knowledge development and needs assessment studies pertaining to defining and treating the problems of gang violence, general youth disturbances, and interracial tensions. The knowledge gathered is disseminated internally and externally to further the end of curbing youth violence and more general manifestations of urban crime in Philadelphia and other cities.

The department provides selected program development and proposal making consultations to community organizations/agencies who request assistance in launching strategies for helping those involved and/or affected by youth violence.

The Development Department is responsible for evaluating CIN programs and services. In addition, the department plays a key role in formulating new program initiatives. The department has provided the program design, grant writing and/or management assistance needed to plan and implement the Community Safety Strategy and various special projects for the agency.

Appendix D

B.U.I.L.D., Inc.

B.U.I.L.D., INC.
(BROADER URBAN INVOLVEMENT AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT)

1223 North Milwaukee Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60622
227-2880

March, 1983

Harriet O'Donnell
President,
Board of Directors

Henry M. Bach
Executive Director

INTRODUCTION

B.U.I.L.D., Incorporated, (Broader Urban Involvement and Leadership Development) was founded, as a not-for-profit social service agency, in Chicago, on March 7, 1969. Our service emphasis is on the remediation and/or prevention of youth groups which provide their membership with peer recognition and status for anti-social behavior.

B.U.I.L.D.'s organizational goals consist of the following: 1) Minimize group and/or individual negative involvement through redirecting time and energies into socially acceptable alternatives. 2) Promote meaningful involvement among the various ethnic and racial groups within a community. 3) Reinvolvement youth with the legitimate systems and facilities of the community. 4) Expose youth to new positive educational experiences. 5) Develop functional service roles for youth. 6) Enlist and support cooperative agency efforts in order to strengthen service to youth. 7) Effect an ongoing evaluation of program for the purpose of improving service capabilities. Accordingly, the various general areas for positive interpersonal interaction, social, athletic, educational, and/or employment, are designed so that they incorporate the agency's organizational goals and imprint those goals directly on the youth gang subculture.

B.U.I.L.D.'s primary client population is youth gang identified, and selectively represents the chronological hierarchy of the groups when applicable. The youth gangs, currently serviced by B.U.I.L.D., represent a membership of approximately 2,400 youth and together comprise an estimate of 65% Spanish, 25% Black and 10% Caucasian. Of these numbers, our male-female client ratio, by the end of a given program year, will approximate 70% male and 30% female. The reason for utilizing the ethnic/racial, chronological, and sex composition of our clientele is to effect the maximum positive impact on the social/educational dynamics of the street.

Effective street corner remediation rests on the abilities of B.U.I.L.D.'s professional staff to motivate, with control and reinforcement, each individual and/or group into positive alternative learning experiences. Furthermore, this remediative process, in order to produce optimum benefit, must be accomplished in concert with the young person's physical and psychological environment. The overriding concern of the professional B.U.I.L.D. worker is to minimize the negative and maximize the positive peer pressure brought to bear on the individual member of each youth gang identified for program involvement.

PROBLEM

Young people regardless of age, ethnicity/race, neighborhood, or sex actively seek out their individual identity through peer groupings. This complex socialization process allows each youth the opportunity to experience a sense of personal security and control in relation to his/her physical environment.

When youth peer groupings are identified primarily through acceptable behavior, the community-at-large perceives, and rightly so, a healthy and advantageous social educational process taking place. But in many of Chicago's communities, as in other urban centers, these peer groupings often take the form of initiation and reinforcing attitudes and associated behaviors which are not compatible to the larger society, and often destructive to the individual's self development.

When specific youth groups become overtly identified with behaviors in conflict with the norms and mores of the larger society, we have the beginning of the youth gang. The individual member's social/psychological needs together with the dynamics for learning, remain the same for either group. Each individual member's perceived security, identity, status, and recognition are constantly reinforced by time spent with the group which in turn leads to increasing the member's vested interest and commitment to that specific life style.

Chicago has, according to police statistics, 205 such negative youth gangs which are located in various communities throughout the city. B.U.I.L.D., through your financial participation, is currently involved with 29 youth gangs.

- Attitudinal and behavioral change is difficult but not unthinkable. Emphasis is placed on the individual youth's personal development, away from gang involvement in the general areas of education, employment and use of free time. The movement, control and reinforcement of positive change is orchestrated by the professional through the manipulative utilization of existing street leadership.

Positive change for young people is "Why" B.U.I.L.D. is on the streets of Chicago providing daily services to young people who have turned off to positive relationships.

METHODS

All program activities, i.e., athletic leagues, picnics, counseling, etc., are ranked according to implementation difficulty and client benefits. Furthermore, they are presented within a flexible delivery framework adaptable to the ever changing social/psychological needs of our clientele. Finally, by directly incorporating our agency's objectives as measurable results within the initial design of each specific program activity, B.U.I.L.D. presents a centralized direction and control to the movement of youth gang groups.

Programmatically our service structure is divided into two interrelated systems, initiating and supportive, in order to increase the number of opportunities provided for indigenous leadership, participation and interaction. The initiating service system correlates with beginning and maintaining a strategic involvement of agency clientele as part-time staff. Heavy emphasis is placed on establishing positive interpersonal relationships, leadership selection, on-the-job training, and social/recreational movement. This system is implemented at the elementary school (pee wee level of youth gang membership), at the high school (junior level of youth gang membership - when still in school), and directly on the street (correlates with all three age levels of youth gang participation: pee wee, junior and senior elements).

Through street visibility, coupled with this provision of controlled program activities, the professional worker establishes credibility which allows him to effectively integrate group leadership into agency part-time roles. These part-time roles then become the key catalyst for future movement of other specific individuals and/or the group into our supportive service system.

The support system represents the other and more difficult major service arm of our program and provides more in-depth educational and employment type activities. Such activities are more difficult to implement initially but developmentally are more important for the long range growth of the individual.

The key to all our programming efforts is the involvement, training and commitment of a cadre of "street accepted" youth leadership. As previously mentioned, this leadership is integrated within B.U.I.L.D.'s movement as part-time "paraprofessional staff." Ideally B.U.I.L.D. strives to develop key youth as community service providers. They thus become part of the "B.U.I.L.D. Solution" rather than mere service recipients, identified as part of the problem.

The "How" of B.U.I.L.D. reflects a dynamically developing educational process which is adaptable and challenging to the negative learning taking place on Chicago's streets.

EVALUATION

In B.U.I.L.D.'s formal evaluation process a written monthly report is prepared and presented by each Component Director at specified times. Monthlies are written in narrative form per component objective and are supported by various report forms used to document accomplishments. Each component objective is related to one of several of the agency's overall objectives.

Quarterlies are reviewed by program staff during their presentations at the program staff meeting and individually at the supervisory meeting between Component Director and Agency Program Director. Board review takes place through the vehicle of the Program Committee.

The Evaluation Research Director facilitates this process and is available to assist staff in the development of both the final report and report forms used for documentation. At the Board level, the Evaluation Research Director may be involved in interpreting reports.

Informally, and often in informal locations (gym, street corner), staff takes advantage of opportunities to discuss "how things are going." This feedback is incorporated into weekly program and management staff meetings where successes, failures and problems are further discussed.

These systems lend themselves to periodic review of projected versus actual accomplishments and provide a vehicle for modification to be incorporated as the need arises.

November 19, 1982

Remediation Problem

The youth gang is a highly visible negative subculture within the youth population which provides peer reinforcement to act out the hostilities and aggressions which satisfy its members who have learned to identify with the gang. This often results in frequent self defeating behavior associated with drugs, conflict, extortion and coercive recruitment.

Remediation Definition

B.U.I.L.D.'s remediation initiative is aimed at working with pre-identified youth gangs in a concerted effort in order to disrupt their natural flow of development and thereby simultaneously minimizing the negative peer and community pressure exerted on each individual member. The primary goal is to initiate individuals and/or the group, depending on circumstances, into constructive learning situations in order to re-establish an atmosphere of positive personal growth and peer socialization.

Prevention Problem

Communities are faced with similar youth problems, in particular, a high incidence of gang visibility. Therefore, all youth residing in these communities are faced with the potential of gang involvement.

Prevention Definition

B.U.I.L.D.'s prevention program is aimed at working with those individuals who have not yet formally identified with the youth gang population. The focus of the program is to reinforce the youths' participation with legitimate systems. This will be accomplished by providing youth with in-school and after-school activities, giving youth training and practice in decision making, coping with stress, peer pressure, and gang recruitment.

