

Evaluation of Gang Interventions: Final Report

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Preface

COSMOS Corporation conducted a comprehensive process and impact evaluation of six gang prevention and intervention strategies. The evaluation was sponsored by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice, as part of NIJ's 1992 Research and Evaluation Plan to determine effective strategies for intervening in and preventing criminal behavior associated with gangs.

The evaluation was conducted in two phases. Phase I (October 1, 1992 through March 31, 1993) focused on refining the evaluation design, identifying sites for evaluation, and conducting preliminary site visits. Phase II (April 1993 through March 1995) focused on the implementation of site-specific evaluation plans, data collection, and data analysis. Earlier reports from the evaluation included an evaluation design document (concluding Phase I) and a baseline report (early part of Phase II).

The primary Phase II team consisted of Robert K. Yin, Ph.D. and June S. Sivilli, co-project directors; M. Elaine Nugent; R. James Schmidt; and Darci Terrell. Other staff assisting in earlier portions of the study were: Normandy Brangan, Charles Brooks, Peter Bateman, Rob T. Yin, Louis Biondi, and Dana Edwards. Ann Reese and Joe Randolph assisted in the production of this report. The NIJ Gangs Working Group served as an advisory panel to the study, providing additional expertise to the study in the field of gangs and evaluation. The members of the advisory panel included: Marilyn Flynn, Meda Chesney Lind, Richard Block, Barry Nidorf, Lorne Kramer, and Michael Schrunk. Joan McCord and Barry Nidorf, participated in the initial advisory meeting. Winifred Reed was an extremely supportive NIJ federal project officer for the grant. Notwithstanding all the good guidance and feedback from these expert hands, the authors alone are responsible for the final product.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present evaluation focused on six existing gang interventions—efforts aimed at preventing gang membership or the involvement of gangs in illegal, criminal, or drug-abusing behavior. Many such interventions have been operating during the past several years, and the evaluation identified six that had early evidence of outcomes after an exhaustive, nationwide search.

The evaluation strategy was methodologically driven using a theoretical set of gang interventions, as well as drawing on theory to guide the selection of the type of interventions selected for participation, and the parameters of the sponsoring agency whose priority was to focus on “the role of social service agencies, schools, families, peers, and community groups in the lives of those high risk youth who become involved in gangs and those who do not” (NIJ PROGRAM PLAN Grant announcement supporting this evaluation, 1992).

These six interventions then became the subject of totally new data collection during a new cycle of their activities. Most of the activities occurred during 1993-1994, and the evaluation required that the interventions collect baseline data for youths newly enrolled in their activities as well as post-test data six months later. Exhibit 1 summarizes the six interventions.

Overall, the results of the evaluation at these six interventions were minor. Of the six activities, only four were able to provide sufficient data for analysis. All of the activities had encountered difficulties in maintaining their funding and therefore their services during the desired period of data collection, and in two cases this led to the unavailability of appropriate data for analysis. Of the four that provided sufficient data, the essential findings may be summarized as follows.

First, in San Francisco’s Gang Prevention Curriculum, the pre-post differences on a variety of self-administered scales were extremely minor and in many cases in a direction away from a (normal) comparison group.

Second, in San Francisco’s Youth Development Workers Program, two cohorts of pre-post data were available. The pre-post differences for both cohorts were generally in a desired direction, but, with rare exception, only a minor (and not statistically significant) degree. No direct comparison group was available, but one speculative possibility is that these minor changes were nevertheless a positive sign, given the strong negative records of law violations of other youths reported by the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department.

Exhibit 1

SUMMARY OF SIX INTERVENTIONS

| Program Name City, State | Component | Early Prevention or Intervention | Year Implemented | Number of Youth Served | Claimed Outcomes |
|---|---|--|---------------------|---|--|
| San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Program San Francisco, CA | Gang Prevention Curriculum | Prevention | 1988 | 26-30 youth per class in eight schools per 14 week session | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued requests from different schools to administer curriculum Continued positive feedback from youth |
| San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Program San Francisco, CA | Youth Development Workers | Early Intervention | 1989 | 50 youth to 2 workers per site (7 sites/14 workers) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved grades Decreased "hanging out" by youth Decreased cross-neighborhood shootings |
| Boston Community Centers Boston, MA | Winner's Circle | Prevention | 1990 | 100 per school year | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved grades Continued participation voluntarily by youth |
| Boston Community Centers Boston, MA | Streetworker Initiative | Early Intervention | 1989 | 40 clients per streetworker per 6 months (80 streetworkers) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decreased homicides 7 mediated gang truces Decreased retaliations |
| Los Angeles County Probation Department Long Beach, CA | Voluntary Prevention Component | Prevention | 1988 | 198 youths currently in the prevention and interventions programs combined | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased GPA Decreased truancy Decreased drug and alcohol abuse |
| Los Angeles County Probation, Department Long Beach, CA | Diverslon and Court-ordered Probation Department | Early Intervention | 1988 | 198 youths currently in the prevention and interventions programs combined | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decreased gang activity Decreased arrests |

Third, in Los Angeles's Diversion and Court-Ordered Probation Component, desirable traits at the pre-test were associated with positive probation recommendations after the intervention.

Fourth, in Boston's Streetworker Program, pre-post ratings of at-risk behavior moved in a (statistically nonsignificant but nevertheless) negative direction, although ratings of other items were slightly positive (but statistically nonsignificant in most cases). Further, court records showed no marked decline in subsequent criminal offenses.

The most general conclusion is that the findings from these various interventions did not produce evidence of any effects (positive or negative) from the interventions. Statistically significant differences were infrequent, and the quality of the evidence was not strong. One may speculate about this overall conclusion and the lessons that might be learned. These include issues of: 1) intervention design and implementation, as well as 2) evaluation design and implementation.

One possible lesson is that the design of these interventions still basically reflects the "values transformation" and "control" theories whose interventions have historically been found ineffective (Lundman, 1993). Essentially, the theory calls for predelinquent interventions based on individual treatment (a counselor working with a youth), of which the historically strongest and most robust research has been the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. This possibility is raised because the community involvement, comprehensive service, and collaboration with law enforcement features of the six interventions in the present evaluation did not appear strong, although such features were present. Without such features, the four interventions for which data were analyzed all resemble closely the individual treatment model.

Another possible lesson is that the implementation of these interventions did not assure a sufficiently high dosage (including consistency of services, sufficient intensity and duration both at the level of each service provided, i.e., one hour vs. 15 minutes, and biweekly, weekly, or monthly over a specified time period) to attain clear results. The difficulties of maintaining funding and levels of effort and commitment appeared to affect all six interventions, with two of them leading to the absence of the adequate evaluation data. A side note is that, in the current policy environment, posturing towards suppression and away from prevention intervention, funding support for these types of interventions—whether emanating from federal, state, or local sources—is highly uncertain. Carrying out interventions, much less evaluations, under these circumstances may be beyond reasonable expectations.

A third possible lesson is that the evaluation design and implementation were insufficiently directed or strong to produce discernible effects. The evaluation team struggled hard to get the intervention sites to collect data with appropriate instruments, and to collect data from comparison groups. The team itself collected a large amount of data from other archival sources, both schools and criminal justice agencies. Despite these efforts, the final datasets were disappointing. Such experiences may call into question the entire strategy of evaluating existing rather than new interventions. Presumably, a new intervention would have associated with it the appropriate evaluation design and data collection activities, but as noted in Section I, the dilemma is that the new intervention might itself not be implemented well enough to be evaluated or might be implemented differently than originally planned (thereby jeopardizing the original evaluation design and data collection plans).

All of these lessons may have merit. A possible future direction is to marshal the resources needed for a robust intervention, based on the best available theories, and to develop evaluation technologies that can be put into place once an intervention has demonstrated sufficiently strong implementation processes and dosages. Unfortunately, the most promising current theories, calling for sustained community intervention and comprehensive services, also are likely to be the most costly and most difficult to implement—and are the most difficult to evaluate. Ongoing efforts to evaluate community partnerships, in delinquency or related fields such as substance abuse prevention, therefore may deserve greater attention at this time.

“One final possible future strategy would be to engage in a two-staged process. Promising (but already existing) interventions would be monitored for consistent outcomes, as in a management information system rather than an evaluation (Stage 1). For example, information more robust but similar to the fulfillment of requirements of federal grantees who are required to submit program data quarterly, in a standardized report. If such an MIS report were a standardized internal requirement of intervention programs, the identification and evaluability of promising programs would be more fruitful. Those that showed repeated results over a period of time—and whose funding was secure for a new cycle of activities—would then be asked to cooperate in a complete evaluation, with an appropriate evaluation design (stage 2). In this scheme, sponsoring agencies would monitor a large number of stage one sites and derive useful administrative data at a minimum from all of these sites. The more costly and burdensome evaluation investments and designs could then be applied to only a few selected situations.”

Additionally, cost is an important issue that must be considered when concerning the scope of what is possible in any evaluation. NIJ made

available \$ 250,000 to conduct this evaluation of six interventions. In contrast, the Little Village Project—an evaluation of efforts to work with Latino gangs in Chicago, is costing approximately \$1 Million dollars (as described by project director Irving Spergel), at the National Gang Suppression & Training Conference in Denver, August, 1995, (which is being touted as a very comprehensive and perhaps model evaluation strategy although little literature is yet available for researchers to learn about it) and is supported from a variety of sources.

The issues identified in the conduct of this evaluation address important issues concerning both program evaluation and data collection issues. Of critical importance is determining the measurement of each specific level of service delivered to each participant, including:

- Number of times the participant participated in the service;
- Frequency of the service provided to each participant (biweekly, weekly, monthly);
- Mode of delivery (individual vs. group service) the time period of the service (1 hour, 15 minutes); and
- Duration of the service provided (one time, a school semester, four weeks, eight weeks, or one year).

Additionally to ensure the regular submission of data collected, and to address quality control issues, program evaluators need to aggressively monitor the submission of data by program staff, which may require funding one person at the program site to be responsible to the evaluation team for the submission of data.

The importance for program administrators of collecting program data is multidimensional:

- It informs administrators of accurate participation rates, the real numbers of people participating in each event and activity;
- It informs administrators of the cost effectiveness of efforts. A target population

of 100 youths is easy to measure by counting participants. If 20 youth are attending program events the program is clearly falling short of its goals;

- Simple administration of attitudinal pre-post tests assist an administrator in understanding if the interventions implemented are having even a slight impact on participants; and
- Knowledge is power, and power is influence. Program administrators can use data collected about its program participants as evidence that populations are being reached. This can be useful particularly when developing proposals for additional funding.

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I. OVERALL EVALUATION STRATEGY

An Evaluation-Oriented Typology of Gang Interventions

"Gang interventions" can consist of a wide array of activities. Each activity can be carried out singly or in combination with others. From a systems standpoint, a six-fold typology represents the full theoretical set of gang interventions. These six types of interventions are listed in Exhibit 1-1; the primary objective of each is shown, and some illustrative activities are provided.

The most important feature of this typology is its focus on different objectives. These objectives then become the alternative outcomes for any evaluation effort. A second feature of the six-fold typology is its compatibility with existing research on gang and delinquency-related interventions. For instance, Spergel and Curry (1990) surveyed existing gang interventions and identified five program strategies: community-organizing, social interventions (activities by social service agencies), provision of opportunities, suppression, and organizational development and change. Their interventions might be considered some of the specific activities falling within one of the six gang interventions. Similarly, the six interventions also incorporate the longstanding difference in intervention strategies reflected by the contrasting positions of Walter Miller and Irving Spergel on the one hand, and of Joan Moore, James Short, David Huizinga, and David Hawkins on the other (Conly, 1991). The first position is that successful gang interventions can be created short of changing life in disadvantaged communities or of raising these communities to a more middle-class status. Resources can therefore be focused narrowly on gang members and those at risk¹ for membership (this would cover interventions 3, 4, 5, and 6 in the six-fold typology). The second position is that successful gang interventions can only result from massive changes in the structure of disadvantaged communities—e.g., how schools operate in them, their internal labor market, and the relationship between law enforcement officers and the community (this would cover interventions 1 and 2 in the six-fold typology).

¹ At-risk is used broadly in this report to describe youth "at-risk of gang involvement" (living and attending school in gang-infested areas) as well as "at-risk" youth in terms of being at-risk of not having a healthy developmental life due to daily environmental factors such as: living in single parent households, and/or poverty, suffering from malnutrition, illness, and lack of medical care.

Source: *Profiles of Local Gang Prevention and Control Efforts*, COSMOS, 1992

Exhibit 1-1

EVALUATION-ORIENTED TYPOLOGY OF GANG INTERVENTIONS

| Type of Intervention | Objective of Intervention | Illustrative Activities |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Community Development | Improve neighborhood economic and social conditions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ housing programs; ■ local economic development programs; and ■ school reform. |
| 2. Primary Prevention | Reduce at-risk conditions for specific target populations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ self-esteem enhancement; ■ counseling; ■ teaching of coping behaviors; ■ employment and training programs; ■ educational programs; and ■ public health programs. |
| 3. Gang Membership Prevention | Prevent gang membership | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ alternative activities for youths at risk of joining gangs; ■ prevention of recruitment and outreach by gangs to new recruits; and ■ citizen and parent involvement in addressing gang problems. |
| 4. Early Intervention | Prevent and reduce undesirable gang activities such as criminal behavior or substance abuse | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ diversionary activities for "wannabes" and peripheral gang members; ■ campaigns to reduce gang violence; ■ employment and training opportunities for gang members; ■ mobile street intervention units to prevent violent confrontations; and ■ crisis intervention networks. |
| 5. Gang Suppression | Apprehend and prosecute gang members who have committed crimes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ intensive police patrols in the community; ■ police gang intervention units; ■ community-police collaboration; and ■ special prosecutorial activities, such as "vertical" prosecution, to increase conviction and incarceration rates. |
| 6. Special Supervision | Counsel and supervise youths in the corrections system to prevent later gang behavior | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ special probation supervision; and ■ positive youth development opportunities for institutionalized delinquents. |

At the same time, all six interventions can co-exist as part of the same, comprehensive gang intervention effort. Exhibit 1-2 is included to show how the six cover different portions of a hypothetical system, ranging from community development to corrections. However, few communities have undertaken such comprehensive efforts. Further, any evaluation of such an effort would require significant resources, because each type of intervention within the overall effort would first have to be evaluated separately; the comprehensive, cross-intervention pattern would then have to be amassed.

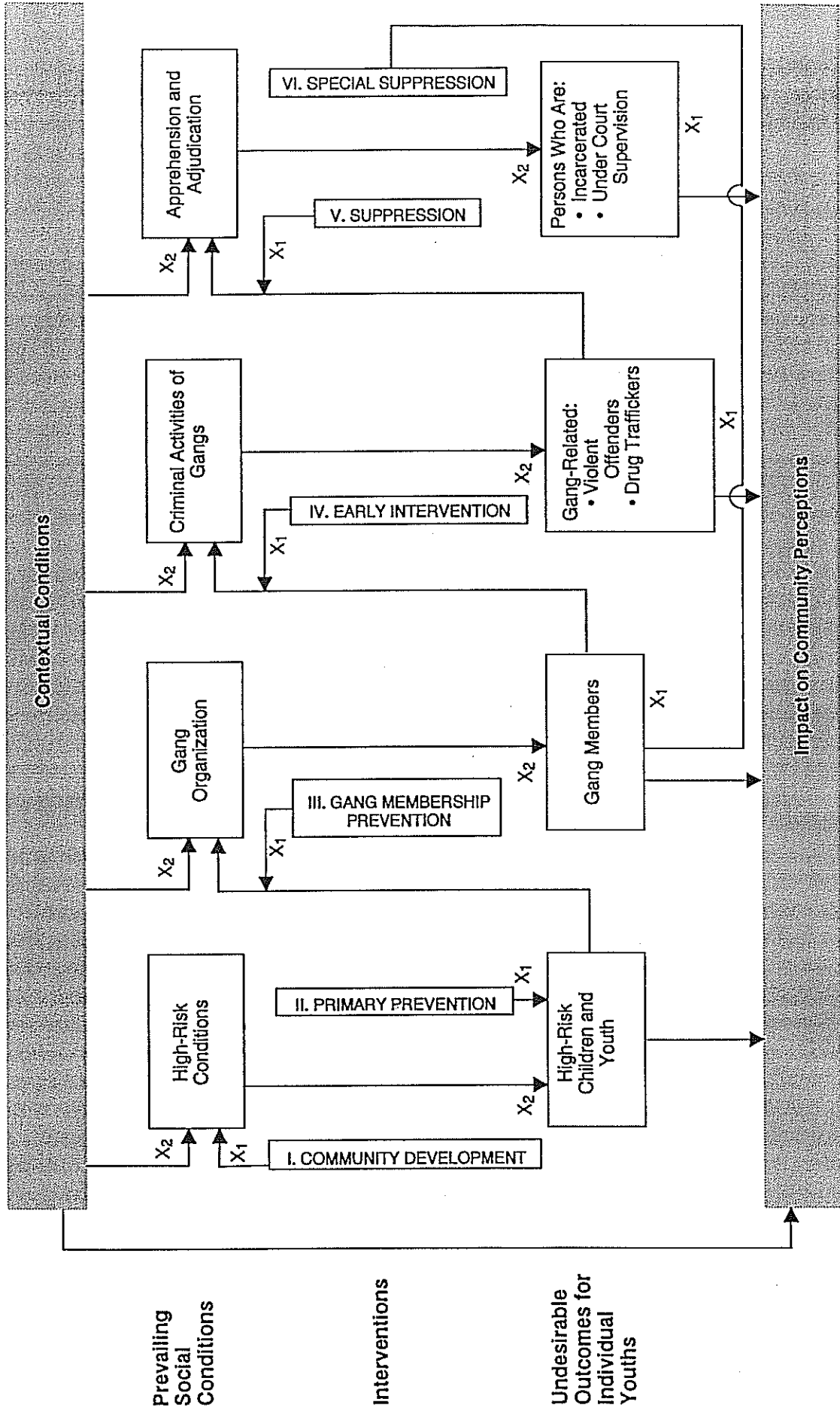
The present evaluation covered two of the six possible types of interventions: Gang Membership Prevention and Early Intervention. These two types have the greatest policy relevance for the evaluation's sponsor, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ). The rationale is as follows.

The first two interventions, Community Development and Primary Prevention, fall well outside the justice system and have received increasing attention by programs operated by the U.S. Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, and Education. In addition, despite claims to the contrary (Clark, 1991), evaluations of these interventions also have been increasing.

In contrast, the last two interventions, Suppression and Special Supervision, are both well within the justice system but tend to come late in the process, after undesirable or dangerous activities already have occurred. Although some of these programs—such as Los Angeles's Operation Hardcore—have received positive evaluations in the past (e.g., Dahmann, 1983), newer demonstrations sponsored by the Bureau of Justice Assistance are still underway (see Program Announcement from *Federal Register*, November 9, 1992). Further, far greater societal savings would be achieved if these undesirable activities could be avoided in the first place. For this reason, within the justice system, gang membership prevention and early intervention programs may be the most critical type of interventions.

This priority also directly reflects NIJ's announcement for the grant program supporting this evaluation. The announcement stated that the evaluation was attempting to identify effective strategies for youth in the prevention and intervention of gang involvement to focus on “. . . the role of social service agencies, schools, family, peers, and community groups in the lives of those high-risk youth *who become involved in gangs* and those *who do not*” [emphasis added]. As a result, the evaluation focused on gang membership prevention aimed at youths who had not yet become gang members, and on early intervention aimed at undesirable gang activities.

YOUTH GANG INTERVENTIONS: AN EVALUATION-ORIENTED FRAMEWORK



In selecting these two target interventions, one important consideration was ensuring that the focus was on preventing gang membership and intervening in gang activities where:

- Gangs are involved in illegal, criminal, or drug-abusing behavior, and not merely organized as a gang.

This definition follows the work of Klein (1971) and Spergel (1990b) but differs from that of Miller (1985). The narrower focus avoids the excessive labeling of all gang activities as societally undesirable (Spergel, 1990b) and recognizes that the criminal involvement of certain gangs is “. . . the very factor that makes them qualitatively different from other groups of young people” (Klein and Maxson, 1989, p. 204).

Lessons from Previous Evaluations

Appendix A contains a brief review of recent research on gangs. Earlier evaluations have documented a long trail of negative findings from delinquency and gang prevention efforts (e.g., Lundman et al., 1976; Miller, 1985; and McCord, 1987). For instance, follow-up analyses of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study—one of the most rigorous evaluations in its random assignment of non-self-selected participants—have actually demonstrated harmful and not merely neutral effects from the intervention (McCord, 1982 and 1992).

These negative findings appear to emanate from interventions based on similar social theories. As noted by Klein and Maxson (1989, p. 226), the popular interventions of the 1950s and 1960s stressed “values transformation”—attempting to divert at-risk youth from delinquent activities to prosocial endeavors from a rehabilitation perspective. McCord (1992) describes it as a “control theory,” aimed at creating greater attachment to the desired social structure—to compensate for the absence of norms in the youths’ original social structure. The interventions were based largely on counseling and close supervision activities that frequently produced greater antagonism to the desired social structure and greater cohesion among the existing gangs.

This evaluation tried to avoid selecting interventions that would merely repeat re-examining the same theories. Fortunately, many contemporary interventions have implicitly pursued different features. Further, these features mimic those found to be promising in a related area such as substance abuse prevention (e.g., U.S. Department of Education, 1990; U.S. General

Accounting Office, 1992; Falco, 1992; and National Crime Prevention Council, 1992), as well as in community crime prevention more generally (Yin, 1986). The interventions in the present evaluation were initially selected to reflect as many of the following attributes as was possible.

First, the contrasting theories call for active *community involvement*. Such involvement, aimed at empowering rather than disenfranchising the original social structure, is considered an important potential attribute of successful interventions (Klein and Maxson, 1989; and Cellini, 1990).

Reflecting this community involvement, Spergel and Curry's (1990) survey has shown that the nature of community involvement may differ depending upon whether it has emerging or chronic gang problems. In communities with emerging gang problems, community organizing—e.g., the development of support networks among neighbors, neighborhood cleanups, graffiti cleanups, and the development of parent-school networks—may be especially significant. In contrast, in communities with chronic gang problems, the provision of concrete opportunities for jobs, education, participation in local politics, and the infusion of economic resources into the community may be necessary for success. (Interventions found not to be associated with such perceived effectiveness under either condition were traditional service activities by single agencies, such as social and counseling interventions; suppression efforts alone; and organizational development and change, such as case management and the passage of new legislation.)

Related to community involvement is cultural sensitivity, or multiculturalism, in the design and operation of the intervention (Conly, 1991). This feature is important because of the great diversity in youth populations across the country. Unlike the gang problems of the early 20th century that largely involved lower-class white populations, today's gang problems are frequently related to ethnic and racial minorities, especially those of recent immigrant status.

Second, the contemporary interventions more frequently call for *comprehensive efforts* with multiple initiatives. Such multiple initiatives permit the needed adaptations to local community conditions, responding to specific problems at a given time period. Moreover, if the multiple initiatives also cover a broad age spectrum of children and youths, and the same individual participates in more than one initiative, a more prolonged positive outcome might be expected. Signs of comprehensive efforts include multi-sector efforts (National Crime Prevention Council, 1992); multi-agency or multi-institution partnerships; curricula covering grades K-12 (U.S. Department of Education, 1990); or the coordination of community resources (Conly, 1991).

Interorganizational coordination and collaboration also must occur in a manner that avoids the creation of community conflicts (Spiegel, 1973).

Third, as part of a comprehensive effort, contemporary interventions frequently involve *collaboration with the local law enforcement agency*. Such agencies do not necessarily have to be the lead agency (Conly, 1991; and National Crime Prevention Council, 1992). However, the participation of the law enforcement agency ensures that local public safety and criminal justice resources will be used in support of the intervention. Further, the participation may be construed as an essential part of a genuine "community-wide" response (Bryant, 1989).

Evaluation Existing Versus New Interventions

The evaluation covered interventions in which early signs of positive outcomes already had emerged. This design meant that the selected interventions had all been operating for some time. This design was followed to avoid the risk of wasting resources on an evaluation of a new intervention—that might ultimately fail to get off the ground (e.g., Maxson and Klein, 1983).

In cases where evaluations have been designed to coincide with the initiation of a new intervention, the evaluation has had to follow an uncertain path and the final results have taken many years to produce. Pate's (1984) evaluation of the Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program provides an especially salient example of these problems. The baseline survey still occurred after interventions began; the post-intervention survey was drastically reduced in scope because the sites did not all implement treatments worth evaluating; and the final study was published six years after the program began.

The choice of evaluating existing interventions imposes its own limitations, however. First, candidate sites must be sought and then carefully screened. In the present evaluation, this process was extensive, involving contacts with the candidate sites and their submission of available outcome data before final selection was made. The screening criteria included:

- The implementation of gang membership prevention and early intervention components within a comprehensive program;
- Early evidence of positive, proximal outcomes from these two components, using multiple measures;

- Willingness to collaborate in collecting a whole set of new pre-post outcome data; and
- Willingness to participate in the evaluation.

Second, the sites either had to have a viable evaluation design already in place, or be willing to collect new outcome data from a comparison group. With some interventions, enrollment or participation occurred on a “rolling” basis, not a grouped basis, so that the definition of the target and comparison “groups” was not always easy. Third, the evaluation team had no official relationship with these existing interventions, so that continued cooperation had to be based on collegial and not administrative norms (e.g., the interventions had not been “required” to participate in an evaluation as part of their own operation).

How the evaluation fared under these conditions, as well as the methods and findings, are covered in the remaining sections of this report.

II. EVALUATION IMPLEMENTATION

The main steps in implementing the evaluation were: site nomination, site screening, development of data collection instruments, and conducting site visits and collecting data.

A. Site Nomination

A universe of gang programs was identified after contacting agencies that appeared to be involved already in gang intervention activities. These agencies were asked to nominate prevention and intervention activities in their location and to provide documentation for those activities. The list of agencies contacted was developed from an earlier COSMOS project on "comprehensive gang initiatives," in which the team had assembled a list of 561 organizations and agencies nationwide, including:

- Agencies on the mailing list of the Police Executive Research Forum (N=152);
- Agencies on the mailing list of the National Crime Prevention Council (N=24);
- FY1989 grantees of the Family and Youth Services Bureau (FYSB) Youth Gang Drug Prevention Program, Department of Health and Human Services (N=52);
- FY1990 grantees of the FYSB Youth Gang Drug Prevention Program, Department of Health and Human Services (N=32);
- FY1992 grantees of the FYSB Youth Gang Drug Prevention Program, Department of Health and Human Services (N=26);
- Other agencies applying for but not receiving FY1992 grants from FYSB (N=265); and

- Respondents to first dissemination of information on the Comprehensive Gang Initiative Project (N=10).

The list of 561 programs was edited to remove duplicate agency names, so that each agency was listed only once. This editing reduced the number of agencies to be contacted to 515.

Detailed information was available to the evaluation team on the gang intervention programs in 237 of the 515 agencies. This information was collected through a survey conducted by the comprehensive gang initiative project in early 1992.

The survey identified for the evaluation team the agencies that report outcome data from their interventions. Agencies claiming the following youth outcomes were considered to be the most ideal for nominating programs for the evaluation:

- Decreased delinquent behavior;
- Decreased gang membership;
- Increased school attendance;
- Increased:
 - self-esteem;
 - attitudes toward others and the future;
 - sense of responsibility;
 - knowledge of the consequences of drugs; and
- Improved decision-making skills.

Of the 237 agencies responding to the survey, 16 reported having data for all five outcomes and are listed in Exhibit 2-1. Because these sites appeared to have data available for most of the outcome measures, they were being used as one cohort of the agencies from which nominations were sought. An additional 14 sites comprising the second cohort of agencies included 11 FY1992 FYSB grantees (as recommended by the advisory group at the first meeting) one FYSB FY1989 grantee, and two sites identified by the evaluation team in the literature and through other project work. The 14 additional sites are also listed in Exhibit 2-1. These three sources therefore provided a total of 30 candidate sites for the telephone site screening.

Exhibit 2-1

SITES SELECTED FOR TELEPHONE SCREENING

| Agencies Reporting Availability of All Five Types of Data | |
|---|--|
| State/City | Agency |
| California | |
| Elmonte | Probation Department of Los Angeles County |
| Lomita | Community Reclamation Project, Inc. |
| Los Angeles | Community Youth Gang Services Project, Inc. |
| San Bernardino | San Bernardino Sheriff's Department |
| San Francisco | Mayor's Gang Prevention Project |
| Colorado | |
| Denver | Street Smart |
| District of Columbia | |
| Washington | Metropolitan Police Boys and Girls Club |
| Florida | |
| Tamarac | Broward Sheriff's Office Gang Unit |
| Hawaii | |
| Honolulu | Adult Friends for Youth |
| Illinois | |
| Chicago | Bryn Mawr Elementary School Chicago Commons Association |
| Iowa | |
| Des Moines | Project Empowerment-YESS |
| Massachusetts | |
| Boston | Boston Community Centers |
| Michigan | |
| Flint | Coalition for Positive Youth |
| Missouri | |
| St. Louis | Grace Hill Neighborhood Services |
| New Jersey | |
| Newark | Newark Police Department |

(Continued)

Exhibit 2-1 (Continued)

| Department of Health and Human Services, Family and Youth Services Bureau (FYSB) Youth Gang Drug Prevention Program FY1992 Grantees | |
|--|---|
| Arizona | |
| Phoenix | City of Phoenix |
| California | |
| Downey | Los Angeles County Office of Education |
| Fresno | Fresno County Economic Opportunity Commission |
| San Francisco | Mayor's Gang Prevention Project |
| Illinois | |
| Chicago | Chicago Commons Association |
| Minnesota | |
| St. Paul | Minnesota Department of Human Services |
| Pennsylvania | |
| Philadelphia | Mayor's Office of Youth Planning and Program Operations |
| Puerto Rico | |
| San Juan | Governor's Office of Dedicated Interwoven Resources |
| Rhode Island | |
| Providence | Mayor's Council on Drug and Alcohol Abuse |
| Washington | |
| Seattle | Department of Housing and Human Services Seattle Team for Youth |
| Wisconsin | |
| Milwaukee | Social Development Commission |

| FYSB FY1989 Grantee | |
|---------------------|--|
| State/City | Agency |
| Colorado | |
| Denver | Governor's Job Training Office, Denver-Aurora Youth Initiative |

| Other Candidates | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| California | |
| Paramount | City of Paramount |
| Stockton | Stockton Unified School District |

B. Site Screening

The survey data on program outcomes were insufficient for final decisionmaking on site selection. Such decisions require detailed information on the kind of intervention(s) and the availability of proximal outcome measures. Extensive efforts were made to interview the 30 agencies listed in Exhibit 2-1, and 25 were screened by telephone to collect information on the nature of their gang interventions, their internal and third-party evaluation designs (if any), the specific outcome data being collected, and the timeframe for implementation. The agencies also were screened for the data sources used to assess their outcomes. During the telephone screening, each agency was asked for copies of all current evaluation and data collection instruments.

The 25 agencies were screened by telephone using the instrument presented in Appendix B. Unlike a traditional telephone survey in which respondents are asked predetermined questions, the screening instrument contained a series of questions answered by the screener after lengthy conversation and probing with the respondent at the agency.

Each screening took approximately one hour to collect the following information:

- Current gang prevention activities;
- Current gang intervention activities;
- The type of outcome data collected and analyzed for each activity;
- The results of pre-post, cross-section, time series, and other comparisons made by the respondent;
- A compelling explanation by the respondent for each of the causal links;
- A compelling explanation rejecting rival explanations for the causal linkage; and
- Procedures for gaining the agency's cooperation if chosen as an evaluation site.

Thus, the site-screening process was a major data collection effort that enabled the evaluation team to collect up front the critical outcome measures and

causal explanations. As an incentive to participate in the screening phase, each agency was promised and sent summary information about other sites contacted during the screening process.

On the basis of the telephone screening and review of any additional documentation obtained from the site, the evaluation team selected eight of the agencies as candidate sites for the evaluation. A list of those eight sites is presented in Exhibit 2-2. Each candidate site was visited by the evaluation team to confirm that the information provided in the telephone screening regarding the actual interventions, available data, data collection procedures, and willingness to cooperate was correct. The site visits were conducted during February and March 1993. Each site was visited for one day by two members of the evaluation team.

Site Selection. Upon completion of the data confirmation site visits, the evaluation team selected six components at three comprehensive sites: San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Project, Boston Community Centers, and Los Angeles County Probation Department. An additional four intervention components were identified to serve as alternates, although their selection would have deviated from the original plan to have two components at a given site. The remaining six components were not considered promising for a successful evaluation. Exhibit 2-3 itemizes all the components and their final status. Exhibit 2-4 gives a profile of each of the ten recommended and alternate components. The selected sites all expressed an interest in participating in the Phase II study, and all sites submitted written agreements to participate in the study.

C. Developing Data Collection Instruments

The assessment of gang interventions observed during the pilot site visits showed that defining and implementing a feasible technical design would be challenging. The important steps are as follows:

1. Define the Program's Intended Accomplishments

The evaluation began by specifying the program's intended accomplishments. These intended accomplishments reflected the conditions so that the project director could judge the gang intervention's success fairly. The program directors assisted in defining these intended accomplishments as part of the planning for the gang intervention activities. The accomplishments included the following examples:

Exhibit 2-2

EIGHT AGENCIES SELECTED FOR ON-SITE SCREENING

| State/City | Agency |
|----------------------|---|
| California | |
| Los Angeles | Community Youth Gang Services Project, Inc. |
| Long Beach | Probation Department of Los Angeles County |
| San Francisco | Mayor's Gang Prevention Project |
| Colorado | |
| Denver | Denver-Aurora Youth Initiative |
| Illinois | |
| Chicago | Chicago Commons Association |
| Massachusetts | |
| Boston | Boston Community Centers |
| Missouri | |
| St. Louis | Grace Hill Neighborhood Services |
| Washington | |
| Seattle | Seattle Team For Youth |

**FINAL STATUS OF EIGHT SITES
(SIXTEEN COMPONENTS)**

| Program Name and Component | Problems Encountered | Final Status |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| California Community Youth Gang Services Project, Inc., Los Angeles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Career Paths Curriculum (Prevention) ■ Crisis Intervention Worker (CIW) Street Team (Early Intervention) | CIW no law enforcement collaboration | Alternate Alternate |
| Probation Department of Los Angeles County, Long Beach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Gang Alternative Prevention Program (Prevention) ■ Gang Alternative Prevention Program (Early Intervention) | None | Study Site Study Site |
| Mayor's Gang Prevention Project, San Francisco <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ San Francisco Gang Prevention Project Education Curriculum (Prevention) ■ Youth Development Workers (Early Intervention) | None | Study Site Study Site |
| Colorado Denver-Aurora Youth Initiative, Denver <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Colorado Community Youth Activity Program (CCYAP), North East (N.E.) (Prevention) ■ Gang Rescue and Support Project (GRASP) (Early Intervention) | Weak law enforcement collaboration; GRASP is a loosely established program | Alternate Alternate |
| Illinois Chicago Commons Association, Chicago <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Better Days for Youth (Prevention) ■ Better Days for Youth (Early Intervention) | No distinctive differentiation between prevention and intervention activities | No further consideration |
| Massachusetts Boston Community Centers, Boston <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Winner's Circle Program Model (Prevention) ■ Streetworker Initiative (Early Intervention) | None | Study Site Study Site |
| Missouri Grace Hill Neighborhood Services Community Youth Initiative Program, St. Louis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Boys and Girls Afterschool Club (Prevention) ■ Boys and Girls Afterschool Club (Early Intervention) | No intervention activities identified on site | No further consideration |
| Washington Seattle Team For Youth, Seattle <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Rites of Passage Experience (Prevention) ■ New Directions (Early Intervention) | New directions intervention sample small (n=4) | Alternate Alternate |

CHARACTERISTICS OF RECOMMENDED AND ALTERNATE COMPONENTS

| Program Name City, State | Component | Prevention or Early Intervention | Year Imple- mented | Number of Youth Served | Claimed Outcomes | Conduct of Formal Evaluation | Accessible Law Enforcement Records |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|--|---|--|
| San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Program San Francisco, CA | Gang Prevention Curriculum | Prevention | 1988 | 26-30 youth per class in eight schools per 14 week session | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Continued requests from different schools to administer curriculum - Continued positive feedback from youth | No | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - juvenile probation data could be tracked confidentially for each youth under case management |
| San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Program San Francisco, CA | Youth Development Workers | Early Intervention | 1989 | 50 youth to 2 workers per site (7 sites/14 workers) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved grades - Decreased "hanging out" by youth - Decreased cross-neighborhood shootings | Conducted yearly by the Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - juvenile probation data could be tracked confidentially for each youth under case management |
| Boston Community Centers Boston, MA | Winner's Circle | Prevention | 1990 | 100 per school year | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improved Grades - Continued participation voluntarily by youth | Completed in March 1993 by a third party evaluator | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - probation violations - prior arrest records - police contacts |
| Boston Community Centers Boston, MA | Streetworker Initiative | Early Intervention | 1989 | 40 clients per streetworker per 6 months (80 streetworkers) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decreased homicides - 7 mediated gang truces - Decreased retaliations | Conducted in 1991 by an third party evaluator | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - probation violations - prior arrest records - police contacts |
| Los Angeles County Probation Department Long Beach, CA | Voluntary Prevention Component | Prevention | 1988 | 198 youths currently in the prevention and interventions programs combined | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased GPA - Decreased truancy - Decreased drug and alcohol abuse | Conducted in 1989 by an independent contractor | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - all criminal records |

(Continued on next page)

Exhibit 2-4, (Continued)

| Program Name City, State | Component | Prevention or Early Intervention | Year Imple- mented | Number of Youth Served | Claimed Outcomes | Conduct of Formal Evaluation | Accessible Law Enforcement Records |
|--|---|--|-----------------------|---|---|--|--|
| Los Angeles County Probation Department Long Beach, CA | Diversion and Court-Ordered Probation Department | Early Intervention | 1988 | 198 youths currently in the prevention and interventions programs combined | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decreased gang activity - Decreased arrests | Conducted in 1989 by an independent contractor | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - all criminal records |
| Denver-Aurora Youth Initiative Denver, CO | Partners in Prevention Colorado Community Youth Act Programs | Prevention | 1990 | 25 African American males and females ages 10-14 per year over programs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased parental involvement - Increased school attendance and academic performance | University of Colorado, Colorado Springs reported positive outcomes from pre/post data on all four programs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - weak collabor- ation with law enforcement |
| Denver-Aurora Youth Initiative Denver, CO | GRASP | Intervention | 1991 | Over 55 youth | - Increased number of participants from 2 to 50 in a year | No | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - weak collabor- ation with law enforcement |
| Community Youth Gang Services Los Angeles, CA | Career Paths Curriculum | Prevention | 1985 | 600-700 youth in 4-7th grades | - Increased involvement in gang activity | No | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - access undetermined |
| Seattle Team for Youth Seattle, WA | Rites of Passage Experience Program | Prevention | 1990 | 236 to date (57 in 1990, 118 in 1991, and 71 in 1992) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eighty percent complete the first wave - 53 employers have been contacted for providing work experience to youth - to date, 165 youth have received work experience | The Seattle planning department conducted an evaluation in 1991, but a session had not been completed at that time to evaluate | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - any crimes com- mitted by youth - their nature - the number of times a youth's name has generated a report - demographic information - the number of arrests |

- Accomplishments Related to a Target Area:
 - To reduce or eliminate gang-related violence or drug abuse in a school or neighborhood;
 - To change residents' and students' attitudes or knowledge of gangs or gang behavior; and
 - To reduce graffiti.

- Accomplishments Related to Targeted Individuals:
 - To reduce gang membership;
 - To reduce or prevent undesirable behaviors among an at-risk population of children and youths;
 - To change attitudes among an at-risk target population; and
 - To reduce the number of violent incidents among the at-risk target population.

- Accomplishments Related to a Service System:
 - To reduce the number of school dropouts;
 - To increase the number of arrests for gang-related crimes;
 - To improve school attendance; and
 - To change attitudes or knowledge of gangs among teachers, law enforcement officers, and other service providers.

2. Define the Specific Target of the Evaluation and the Time Period within Which Accomplishments Are to Occur

Depending upon the intended accomplishments, the evaluation team and the program director defined specifically the target area, target population, or service system that was the focus of the program. Similarly, the evaluation team and the program director agreed on the time period within which the intended accomplishments were to occur. The definition of both of these conditions was essential to measuring the actual accomplishments accurately.

3. Define the Program's Activities (Gang Intervention Activities)

Each intended accomplishment was then linked conceptually with a specific gang intervention activity. These activities constituted the local program being evaluated. The program director and staff also assisted in defining these activities as part of their program planning. Activities were described in terms of their level of effort, duration, organizational setting, target population, and operational routine. For instance, Exhibit 2-5 applies the five categories to a hypothetical activity.

At this point in the design, any intended accomplishments that were not linked with a specific activity were reexamined. If the accomplishment was not connected to a planned activity, how would it occur?

4. Make a Program Logic Model

Even when the activities and intended accomplishments have been well-specified, some evaluation designs benefit from diagramming these relationships graphically. The diagram calls direct attention to the "cause-effect" relationship between activities and accomplishments.

However, the diagram also facilitates and allows an evaluation that depicts the implementation of the program activities in greater detail. For instance, the conduct of a gang activity may be preceded by an outreach effort to identify and recruit the target population; or the implementation of the activity might require the training of service providers and the gaining of permission from service organizations to operate the activity. This greater detail is helpful if an evaluation wishes to track the progress of a program activity, and not merely document its accomplishments. For many local program directors, such tracking increases the value of an evaluation and is therefore a desirable feature.

5. Develop Hypothetical Comparisons of the Terms of the Program's Success

The program director and staff told the evaluation team about their criteria for measuring the program's success. To the extent possible, these conditions were stated as a series of hypothetical comparisons. The following comparisons—whether for a targeted area, targeted individuals, or service system—were considered:

- The attained accomplishments will compare favorably to conditions prior to the start of the activity;

Exhibit 2-5

PROFILE OF HYPOTHETICAL GANG INTERVENTION ACTIVITY

| Characteristics | Hypothetical Activity |
|------------------------|---|
| Intensity | Weekly one-hour sessions |
| Duration | 1993-1994 school year |
| Organizational Setting | Three elementary schools |
| Target Population | At-risk fifth and sixth graders |
| Operational Routine | Group discussion led by a law enforcement officer |

- The attained accomplishments will compare favorably to those from some comparison groups;
- Improvements will occur incrementally;
- The attained accomplishments will meet or exceed the intended accomplishments; and
- The attained accomplishments will meet or exceed a pre-defined standard of performance.

The objective of this step was to name as many comparisons as possible, and not merely to rely on a single comparison. The more comparisons that were identified and monitored, the stronger the evaluation.

The evaluation team's responsibility was to collect evidence to "test" every comparison. To ease the data collection effort, different data have been used for different comparisons. The data are numeric, stemming from a survey or an analysis of archival records, and "qualitative," drawn from interviews or observations. This flexibility in using different data helped to ease the burden on both the program and the evaluation effort.

6. Define Instruments and Archival Records for Collecting Data about Individual Participants or Clients

For each program, the specific sources of individual-level data had to be defined precisely. The data came from two general sources: questionnaire instruments and archival records (court, law enforcement, or school records).

The questionnaire instruments were administered to individual participants or clients. In most cases, the instruments were self-administered questionnaires. In most cases, the instrument was a rating form completed by a client's counselor or adviser. The archival data were retrieved through the cooperation of the source agency or through assistance from the program.

7. Develop Rival Hypotheses about Other Events That Might Result in the Same Accomplishments

All of the gang intervention activities coincided with the occurrence of related efforts aimed at the same target area, target population, or service system. For instance, the Mayor's Gang Prevention Program, San Francisco, is

conducted in middle schools in which another violence prevention curriculum is delivered by law enforcement officers, targeting the same youth population.

It was important for the evaluation to specify as many of these “rival” conditions as possible. A media-led crimestoppers campaign (not limited to gang-related crime), improving economic conditions, the changing availability of drugs on the street, or a national gang-busting effort (affecting possible affiliates in the local area) are all examples of relevant rivals. Any one of these might account for an evaluation of the claimed accomplishments of gang-intervention activities. The objective of this step in the evaluation is for the program director, staff, and evaluator to name as many plausible rivals as possible. The completion of steps 1-7 completed the design of the data collection activity.

D. Site Visits and Data Collection

During Phase II of the evaluation, the evaluation team monitored the sites’ data collection and progress through regular telephone contacts. In addition, the evaluation team conducted three intensive site visits during this phase of the evaluation:

- *Site Visit 1* (June 1993): Observed and documented data collection instrumentation in participating agencies; processed and categorized other pertinent information;
- *Site Visit 2* (September 1993): Provided training to the program staff assisting in the data collection process concerning the instruments to be utilized for the evaluation; introduced revised forms; and provided timelines, direction and feedback to program staff assisting in data collection;
- *Site Visit 3* (September-November 1994): Assessed program implementation, investigated causal links between services and outcomes, identified and examined rival hypotheses.

Each visit was unique in its purpose and the information collected. The timing of the site visits was strategically planned to facilitate timely data

collection and progress in the overall evaluation. Each site visit is discussed in detail below.

Site Visit 1. In the winter of 1993, two-member teams visited each program. The purpose of this site visit was to review and assess existing program documentation and available documentation from participating service providers. As part of this effort, the team also documented the medium in which the documentation existed (i.e., electronic database or manual files). The site visit team used the data collection instrument (shown in Appendix C) to determine the types of documentation available and to assess how useful the documentation was for the purposes of this evaluation.

Site Visit 2. The second site visit occurred in the fall of 1993. The purpose of this visit was to provide technical assistance to the programs on data collection and to instruct the program staff on using data collection instruments. A number of instruments reviewed during the first site visit were selected for inclusion in the evaluation, and program staff were instructed on filling them out, and the process for submitting instruments to the evaluation team upon completion on site. The technical assistance and instruction provided by the site visit team was tailored to meet the needs of each intervention.

Site Visit 3. The third site visit to each program was conducted in the fall of 1994. The purpose of this site visit was to assess each program's implementation, investigate causal links between services and outcomes, identify and examine rivals to the outcomes, and collect additional outcome and community indicator data. During the two and one-half day visit, the site visit team interviewed program administrators, program staff, service providers, and other key individuals in the community.

Using the interview guide shown in Appendix D, the site visit team examined how many youth received services and what the different types of services were. To assess implementation, the team probed for specific information on the duration of the service, frequency of use, number of sessions/events, and the substantive content of the service. Links between the services and outcomes were pursued at two levels. First, the site visit team probed for predicted outcomes. The site visit team used several methods for establishing the link between the activity and the outcomes, including how youth were recruited to receive the service and how progress was tracked. Second, the team focused on possible rival explanations for these outcomes by probing for: other intervention activities; community trends; and other social, political, or economic factors. Where potential rival explanations were identified, the team pursued additional information and collected relevant data.

In addition to collecting implementation and rival data, the site visit team collected community indicator data such as school district reports on attendance and academic performance, juvenile and adult crime statistics, juvenile court and probation reports, and other reports to document social trends in the city. The team also collected qualitative data such as newspaper articles on violent crime, drugs, gangs, prevention/intervention programs, and community response.

III. REPORTS OF SIX INTERVENTIONS

Introduction

The 10 recommended sites were submitted to NIJ's Working Group for review and their recommendations. Six were selected as a result of the working group's impressions of what was practical, feasible, and responsive to NIJ's interests in identifying programs that are effective. Therefore, upon completion of the data confirmation site visits, the evaluation team focused on six components at three comprehensive sites: San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Project, Boston Community Centers, and Los Angeles County Probation Department. The three comprehensive recommended sites all had expressed great interest in participating in the evaluation and had provided written agreement to participate in the study.

The three comprehensive sites were: Office of the Mayor, San Francisco, Mayor's Gang Prevention Project; Boston Community Centers; and Los Angeles County Probation Department. The six components were:

- Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum (S.F.)
(prevention); and
Youth Development Workers Program
(S.F.) (early intervention);
- Winner's Circle Program (Bost.)
(prevention); and
Streetworker Program (Bost.)
(early intervention); and
- Voluntary Probation (L.A.)
(prevention); and
Diversion and Court-ordered Probation (L.A.)
(early intervention).

Each site therefore had one prevention and one early intervention activity. The population sizes evaluated varied from activity to activity, as some of the programs had continuous enrollment such as the Voluntary and Court Ordered Probation Programs and the Streetworkers Program. The school-based programs had more defined parameters and typically started and worked around the school semester timeframes, such as the Winner's Circle

Program, the Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum, and the Youth Development Workers Program (outreach workers moved from community-based organizations to the schools).

The study team targeted the following estimated client or participant population from these six components:

- For the *Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum (S.F.)* which is conducted in middle schools targeted by the program during the school semester, the study projected a universe of approximately 87 youths (11-13 year-olds) in the seventh and eighth grades. The final participants submitted 84 pre-tests and 86 post-tests;
- The *Youth Development Workers Program (S.F.)* has the outreach workers now based in the public schools where participation in the program is a result of referral, outreach, and volunteering. The projected sample size was approximately 183 youths (13-17 year-olds) in one cohort. The final sample size consisted of youth aged 11-17 in two cohorts of 6th through 12th graders with n=276 pre-tests and 252 post-tests in cohort one and n=215 pre-tests and 209 post-tests in cohort two;
- The original estimates for the *Voluntary Probation (L.A.)* to which youths were referred from a variety of sources to the Long Beach Probation Department were that, over a six-month period, about 60 youths in the 5th through 7th grades would participate as clients;
- The *Diversion and Court-ordered Probation (L.A.)* also had continuous enrollment with referral from the juvenile court, with a projected sample size of approximately 85 youths aged 13-18 years. The final sample size for the component was 231 worksheets for 9 through 17 year-olds;

A. Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum (Prevention)
Office of the Mayor
San Francisco, California

Overview of the Community Environment and Gang-related Violence

According to a May 3, 1992 article in the *San Francisco Independent*, a study conducted by students in a local middle school (one of the middle schools participating in the evaluation) described that more than one-half of the city's teens are regularly exposed to crime in their neighborhoods, and that weapons, gang-violence, and child-abuse are staples of the youngsters' lives. The survey indicated that 58% of the students see crime in their neighborhood regularly; 37% see people carrying weapons; 24% don't feel safe in their neighborhood; 18% are afraid to walk in their neighborhood during the daytime; 60% are afraid of their neighborhoods at night; 43% saw gang activity regularly occurring near their home; and 29% said child abuse is common.

According to another article in the *San Francisco Examiner*, on September 22, 1992, according to a San Francisco Police Department Gang Task Force Office, between April and September 1992, there were more than 20 shootings involving casualties (not including misses) in the Mission neighborhood. During that time four youths were killed. Police attribute the growing violence to the easy availability of guns and to substance abuse. According to the officers, the catalyst for gang crimes differs from neighborhood to neighborhood. In the Mission, the catalyst for violence is typically turf rivalry and revenge. Crimes often include stealing car stereos, robberies, and drive-by shootings. Drug use is common, but not a lucrative undertaking such as in Chinatown.

Introduction

The Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum (prevention) is one of two program activities within the Mayor's Gang Prevention Program (MGPP), in the Office of the Mayor, San Francisco. The other program activity is the Youth Development Workers Program (early intervention), which also was part of the present evaluation and is discussed in Section IIIB of this report. Thus, the two activities were among the six evaluated for this project. The MGPP and its two activities were awarded a consortia grant for two years (1989-1991) from the Family and Youth Services Bureau (FYSB), Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. In the closeout year of that two-year consortia grant, they

were awarded a five-year consortia grant from 1992 through 1996 to continue carrying out their work.

The MGPP is a consortium of loosely knit organizations collaborating to provide and deliver services to program participants, as well as to the citizens of San Francisco in other programs. The consortium is comprised of a number of institutions, agencies, and organizations—including seven community-based organizations representing seven of the most at-risk neighborhoods in San Francisco:

- 1) Bayview Hunters Point in the Bayview Hunters Point Foundation;
- 2) Chinatown in the Chinatown Youth Center;
- 3) Sunnydale in the Visitacion Valley Community Center;
- 4) Western Addition in the Ella Hill Hutch Community Center;
- 5) Mission in the Real Alternatives Program;
- 6) Oceanview-Merced-Ingleside in the OMI Pilgrim Community Center; and
- 7) Potrero Hill in the Potrero Hill Neighborhood House.

Meeting the Requirements of the Evaluation Design

The interventions studied in this evaluation should have had three features that were assessed initially in the screening phase of the study. The degree to which each feature was evident in the intervention activities is discussed below.

Community Involvement. Initially, both the gang prevention curriculum and the youth development workers program were claimed to have community involvement. As the study progressed, community involvement was not evident in the design, implementation, or operation of the gang prevention curriculum. However, community involvement was apparent in the youth development workers program on several levels. The youth development workers were actually members of the community in which they conducted outreach, and the

workers were located in community-based organizations. The nature of the intervention also involved close collaboration with the community for intervention with at-risk youth and for crisis intervention.

Comprehensiveness. Comprehensiveness of the intervention was assessed at three levels: 1) whether the two activities were part of the same organized effort, 2) whether the two activities collaborated, and 3) whether, within each activity, there was comprehensive service delivery. Both programs met these expectations. At the first level, the gang prevention curriculum and the youth development workers program both fall under the Mayor's Gang Prevention Program in the Office of Criminal Justice. At the second level, youth development workers are housed in the schools in which the gang prevention curriculum was administered, often servicing the same youth. In addition, there is collaboration between the gang prevention curriculum administration and the youth development workers on the needs of the youth. At the third level, there is slightly less comprehensiveness of service delivery in the gang prevention curriculum than in the youth development workers program. While the curriculum includes skill-building in multiple areas, other service providers are not involved in training the youth. However, in the youth development workers program, the workers act as case managers and provide links to a variety of service providers for their clients.

Collaboration with Law Enforcement. The two programs collaborate with law enforcement in two ways. First, law enforcement officials provide background information on program clients. Second, in the youth development workers program, the workers collaborate with law enforcement officers in crisis situations, such as a gang homicide, to intervene with the community and the youth.

The Prevention Curriculum

"The Gang Prevention and Education Curriculum (GPEC) is based on the premise that self-esteem, skill-building, and risk reduction is integral in the development of a confident, self-assured young person that will enable him/her to become productive and contributing members of our society.

This curriculum does not adhere to the approach which relies on graphics, videos, or posters alone, with only discussion as support. This perspective tends to assume that gang inclined youth need only be made aware of the hazards and detriments of the gang lifestyle to deter student from becoming involved with gangs.

The Gang Prevention and Education Curriculum takes the position that most youth who are attracted to gangs know the hazards and are fulfilled by the steadfast acceptance of the soldier mentality. For example, telling at-risk students that they or other innocent people may be hurt, which is repugnant to most, speaks to a value system which accepts such results as inevitable, and occasionally as necessary. (p.1,GPEC)”

The prevention curriculum is targeted to 11-13 year-olds and administered in middle schools to 7th and 8th graders. The curriculum is delivered in 14 sessions. The curriculum was first piloted in one middle school in 1989 and then implemented in eight middle schools. In the fall of 1993, the number of schools in which the curriculum was conducted was reduced to five. From the time of the first pilot through spring 1993, the curriculum was delivered in 14-week sessions (once a week in 50-minute sessions). In the fall of 1994, the number of schools was reduced to two and the curriculum delivered over a seven-week period (twice a week in 50-minute sessions) to increase intensity and provide consistency. Not all students in all sessions were included in the evaluation. The MGPP education specialist provided the MGPP project director with the fall participants’ pre- and posttests, which were then provided to the evaluation team. The students included were participants in the 14-week sessions, from 5 different schools. The focus of the curriculum is to help students recognize the internal and external influences that encourage choosing low-risk options or behavior over high-risk options.

The program goals for the prevention curriculum include:

- Youths demonstrating that they have options in high-risk behavior areas;
- Youths demonstrating decision-making skills—choose low-risk decisions; and
- Youths avoiding and withdrawing from gang membership.

One of the sessions is the use of the video van, jointly supported by the MGPP and the SF Department of Parks and Recreation. The video class has been a pull-out session from regularly scheduled class (social studies). Working with the video van gives the youths a goal-oriented tool to operate and control. One of the social lessons learned from working with the video van is that things seen on television and in the movies are manipulated. The youths also analyzed some popular culture movies. The video van equipment also has been used in other useful scenarios. For example, the video

equipment was utilized in gym classes of the 7th and 8th graders and was coordinated with health orientation discussions.

The Mayor's Gang Prevention Program provides the instructor (pays his salary) and materials to the schools—all funded through the FYSB grant. The schools provide a supervised class period—social studies—whose teachers are given introductory training about the curriculum and how to transfer the skills learned from the curriculum into their class periods.

At-Riskness of Youth. The schools in which the prevention curriculum is conducted are all gang-infested schools in high-poverty areas. The curriculum instructor as well as many others interviewed described all program participants as “at risk.” When asked if the curriculum was reaching the “most” at-risk youth, interviewees responded that those youth—the “most” at risk—are not even attending school.

Staff Characteristics. In the curriculum activity, the educational specialist for the MGPP is the instructor. He assisted in the development of the curriculum, the development of the pre-post test as part of the curriculum, and conducts all of the prevention curriculum classes. At the beginning of each semester, the education specialist meets with the social studies teachers in whose classes he will conduct the curriculum twice a week. This education specialist has been with the MGPP since its inception, while the classroom teachers have exhibited turnover. The schools are in high-poverty areas, and when teachers have an opportunity to transfer out, they often do. The educational specialist for the Prevention Curriculum is an aspiring artist in the African American community in San Francisco, having participated in a number of gallery exhibits. Also, he had previously conducted similar types of risk-prevention presentations for the S.F. Department of Parks and Recreation.

Intervention. The MGPP's education specialist delivers the curriculum in the middle schools during mainstream classes—usually social studies—to 7th and 8th graders only. At the beginning of each first class of each curriculum session, the education specialist administered a pre-test to the class participants. A post-test was then administered during the last class of the seven-week session. The goal of the curriculum is to establish and instill values that will help these youngsters make low-risk rather than high-risk choices in their daily lives. The curriculum is comprised of four areas, including: self-esteem; skill-building; risk reduction; and values.

The lesson format is typically presented in three parts:

- The first addresses the previous lesson through discussion and reviews any

prospective home assignments. During this discussion, the new lesson for the day is introduced and the second portion of the lesson is discussed;

- The second, primary activity—whether group process, role playing, written exercise or some other event as recommended in the lesson plan—comprises the next 30 minutes; and
- The third concludes the lesson with a discussion of the activity, a perspective on how the lesson applies to the world outside the classroom, and “Positive Self-Imagery”—a technique that can be used at any time to improve self-esteem, memory, solve problems, and reach goals. For example, in one exercise the instructor asks the students how they think they would feel if they frequently recalled mental pictures of their most embarrassing moments or mistakes they made. They then ask how they might feel if they frequently visualized the time they had succeeded, done something positive for someone else, or were complimented for something they had done well. Finally, they talk about negative imagery being similar to negative self-talk that can be changed by using a “thought stopping” skill and replacing the imagery with one that is positive. In addition, the class discusses how positive self-imagery can be used to improve self-esteem achieving personal goals and solving problems. (p.13 GPC) (see Exhibit 3-1 for a sample lesson plan).

SAMPLE LESSON PLAN

LESSON #3

POSITIVE SELF-IMAGERY: MAKE IT WORK FOR YOU

GOAL

In completing this lesson, the student will:

- ❖ Learn how positive self-imagery can be used to improve self-esteem, improve memory and reach goals.

PURPOSE

Positive imagery is a tool that can be used at any time to improve self-esteem, memory, solve problems and reach goals.

OBJECTIVES

The students will:

- ❖ Define and explain positive self-imagery.
- ❖ Describe how imagery can be used to improve self-esteem, achieving goals and problem solving.
- ❖ Explain and practice the process of using positive self-imagery.

VOCABULARY

Imagery, positive

ACTIVITY

- ❖ Students will be asked how they think they would feel if they frequently recalled mental pictures of their most embarrassing moments or mistakes they made.
- ❖ On the other hand, ask how they might feel if they frequently visualized the times they had succeeded, done something positive for someone else or were complimented for something they had done well.
- ❖ Talk about negative imagery being similar to negative self-talk that can be changed by using a "thought stopping" skill and replacing the imagery with one that is positive. In addition, discuss how positive self-imagery can be used to improve self-esteem achieving personal goals and solving problems.

QUESTIONS

- 1) How can imagery be used to influence self-esteem? (Because it affects how you feel about yourself it can elevate your self-esteem.)
- 2) How can positive self-imagery help you reach goals? (You can imagine yourself going through the necessary steps to accomplish a particular goal.)

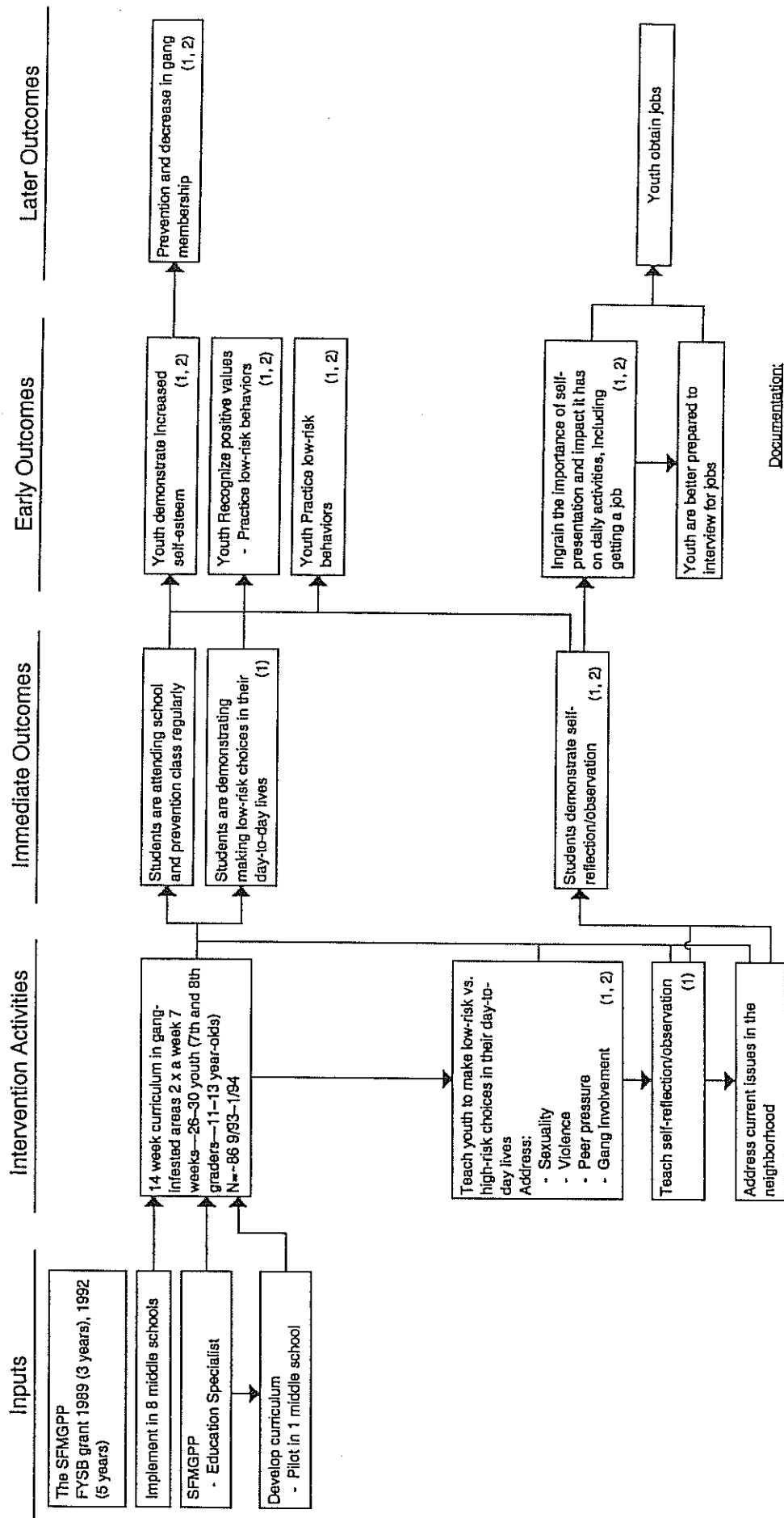
The curriculum developed is based on a low-risk lifestyle reduction model. Its philosophy is based on the belief:¹ *“that people are more likely to make sound choices about gangs and drugs when five options are instituted”*:

1. *Students must understand that they have choice.*
2. *Students must become aware of what behavior choices tend to increase their risk of problems via gangs.*
3. *Environmental influences (school policy, peer support, parental expectations, etc.,) that encourage low-risk options must be maximized. These factors are often the determinants for success or failure.*
4. *Likewise, internal influences (attitudes, values, self-concept) that encourage low-risk options must be minimized.*
5. *Students must realize all situations provide opportunities for learning the skills that are necessary for choosing and using low-risk options.*

The MGPP's prevention component is based on the premise that participation in the program will enhance the level of psycho-social functioning of the participants, thereby improving the quality of their lives, and better equip them to avoid becoming involved in gangs and other high-risk behaviors. Learning decision-making skills, self-reflection and self-observation skills, analyzing issues through a video medium, and addressing local issues, all will contribute to providing students the tools to make low-risk decisions in their daily lives. Exhibit 3-2 contains the program logic model for this intervention. The model makes references to the instruments used in assessing the program, showing the portion of the logic model covered by items in each instrument (see “Documentation”). The model also depicts the presumed relationships among the facets of the intervention, connecting them to presumed outcomes. In terms of *early outcomes*, youths should improve their ability to: solve their own problems, avoid using violence, understand whether or not they need their friends to help them make decisions, ask themselves questions before acting,

¹Office of the Mayor, *San Francisco Gang Prevention Project: Education Curriculum*, San Francisco, California, no date.

MAYOR'S GANG PREVENTION CURRICULUM (S.F.) LOGIC MODEL



Documentation:

(1) SF03—Pre-test

(2) SF04—Post-test

(3) SF04c—Post-test Comparison Group

think about the consequences of their actions, and gain confidence in feeling good about themselves and their decisions. These skills will contribute to *later outcomes* including having students: avoid gang membership, avoid friends in gangs, have fewer arrests and contact with law enforcement, and improve their relationships with parents, teachers, and counselors.

Testimonial about the Intervention

Testimonial from site visits conducted during 1992 and 1994 indicates the perceived relationships between program activities and impact on participants. A principal reported the program yields results as follows:

- *It is an organized systematic presentation, a demonstration of tribes, values clarification, conflict resolution, anger management, gang prevention, influences, role playing. The impact is evident during the in-class discussions when students are talking about incidents that have occurred, i.e., what should have happened, what possibilities existed and what were the consequences.*

He overheard conversations taking place in peer groups before and after school, interactions between students (non-formal gatherings) asking each other “why are people (other kids) acting like that?”—that is, they are questioning behavior! The principal went on further to say that:

- *The instructor is valid and he’s bringing in outside information and a fresh type of presentation. This is important and it’s consistent when kids don’t have very much.*

He also reported that parents were having conversations and understanding the pressures and kind of events that merit attention from their children. The curriculum instructor described program success in the following way—no young woman became pregnant during the semester—this was a positive. One teacher who hosted the prevention curriculum in his class during 1993-1994 attributed some positive effects of the program, including:

- *No occurrences of teen pregnancy during the conduct of the curriculum in 1993-1994 in the curriculum classes;*

- *The youth are usually out of control at school assemblies—but after the curriculum was implemented, two assemblies were held for 3 classes, comprised of 75 kids, in the 7th and 8th grades and the youth were extremely well-behaved and respectful.*

The instructor indicated that the some of the youths told him that they were trying to change their behavior concerning use of aggression and violence. Principals and teachers were not reporting negative feedback on program participants to him. The instructor explained that:

- *Students have learned to process a situation and come to a decision about their involvement in it before they are in it.*

The instructor also indicated that the participants learned to process immediately that they have options: gangs, sex, and drugs are all options, and most of the youths are not locked into being successful in these areas. The curriculum gave them tools. At the conclusion of the curriculum, students wrote descriptions of the program, and described what they got out of it.

Outcomes

In the present evaluation, a self-administered pre- and post-test was administered to 87 youths who participated in the program during the fall of 1993. The pre-tests were administered at the outset of the curriculum, and the post-tests were administered in January 1994. In addition to analyzing the data for pre-post patterns, rival interpretations were addressed by contrasting the responses to data on a comparable instrument (which shared a number of key variables with the original instrument). This instrument had been administered to a comparison group of 48 youths enrolled in the 7th grade of one of the same schools attended by the prevention curriculum participants. The comparison group was 7th grade class in the same school, at the beginning of summer school immediately following the school spring semester, who were administered a pre-test. Participation was not voluntary, but administered by the education specialist at the request of the MGPP project director, and agreed to by the principle of the school in which the curriculum was provided.

Pre- and Post-Test Instrument. The pre- and post-test instrument covered 64 items. The evaluation team classified these items into the five macro-categories reflecting the topics in the logic model, but especially the outcomes: self-esteem, skill-building, interpersonal relationships, school, and at-risk

behavior. A major weakness in this particular instrument was that there were no questions on the drug-related or gang behavior of the respondent, although such questions are asked about the respondent's friends. Nearly all of the items in the instrument have multiple (closed-ended) response categories, with such response arrays as: "all the time," "sometimes," and "not often"; or "very descriptive," "not descriptive," or "not descriptive at all."

Information on two demographic variables, the age and ethnicity of the participant, were obtained from a separate form (which was not, however, administered to the comparison group). For the participants, Exhibit 3-3 shows that all but one were between the ages of 11 and 13, and Exhibit 3-4 shows the multicultural distribution of the group, covering nearly equal numbers of Asian/Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, and African Americans.

Findings. A review of all the responses showed very few differences between the pre- and post-test results. The analysis below is intended to highlight 16 of the key outcome variables and demonstrate this lack of major change. (The variables are numbered according to the sequence of their appearance in the present text, not the order of their appearance in the original instrument.) In addition, the results for the comparison group also are discussed for the seven items that were shared in common with their instrument. (An indication of a sample size smaller than 85 for the participant group and 48 for the comparison group means that not all respondents answered a particular item.)

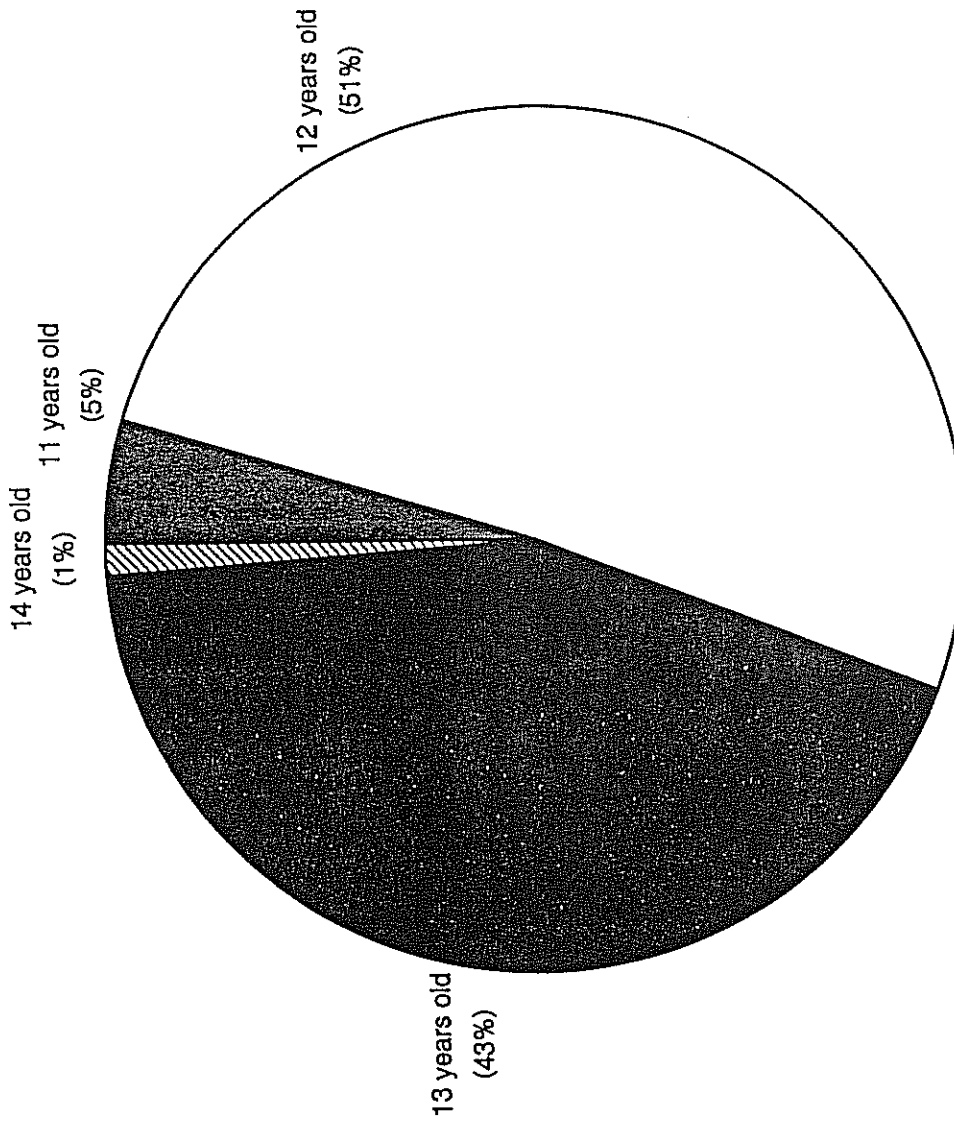
In the *at-risk* behavior category, the two initial items regarded use of violence and whether the respondent's friends were members of a gang. The results show the small and insignificant increments found throughout the items, although there is a slight increase in the proclivity to use violence but a mixed pattern of gang membership (e.g., a higher post-test response to "all of them" but also to "none," in Q.2):

Q.1 I Never Use Violence to Solve a Problem

| | Pre | Post |
|------------------------|-------|-------|
| Very Descriptive | 31.3% | 25.9% |
| Not Descriptive | 55.4 | 56.6 |
| Not Descriptive at All | 13.3 | 17.6 |
| N= | 83 | 85 |

AGE OF PARTICIPANTS
(PREVENTION CURRICULUM)

(N = 86)

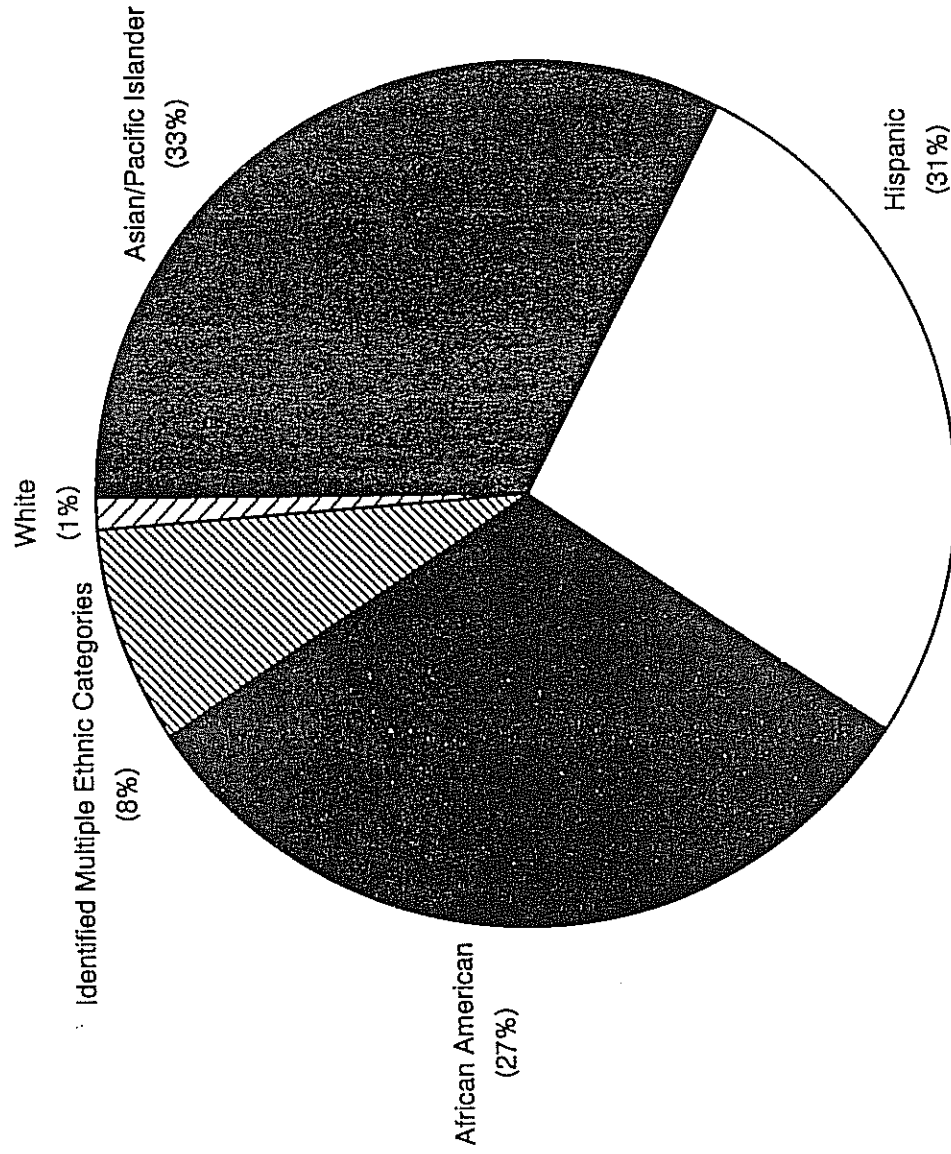


SOURCE: Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum (S.F.)
SF01—Daily Attendance Rosters

Exhibit 3-4

ETHNICITY AND RACE OF PARTICIPANTS
(PREVENTION CURRICULUM)

(N = 86)



SOURCE: Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum (S.F.)
SF01—Daily Attendance Rosters

Q.2 How Many of Your Friends Are Members of a Gang?

| | Pre | Post |
|--------------|------|------|
| All of Them | 2.5% | 4.9% |
| Some of Them | 65.4 | 59.3 |
| None | 32.1 | 35.8 |
| N= | 81 | 81 |

Continuing in the *at-risk* behavior category, the next item regarding friends' drug use also was one of the items for which data from the comparison group were available. Again, the pre-post changes are extremely minor, but the reported use rises for the three substances other than alcohol. Further, the pre- to post-test rise is moving in an opposite direction from the levels reported by the comparison group:

*Q. How Many of Your Friends Are Using
or Thinking about Using Drugs?*

3. CIGARETTES

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|--------------|------|------|------------|
| All of Them | 3.8% | 6.2% | 2.2% |
| Some of Them | 47.5 | 44.4 | 30.4 |
| None | 48.8 | 49.4 | 67.4 |
| N= | 80 | 81 | 46 |

4. ALCOHOL

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|--------------|------|------|------------|
| All of Them | 3.8% | 2.6% | 0.0% |
| Some of Them | 40.0 | 41.0 | 24.4 |
| None | 56.3 | 56.4 | 75.6 |
| N= | 80 | 81 | 45 |

5. MARIJUANA

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|--------------|------|------|------------|
| All of Them | 5.0% | 5.1% | 2.1% |
| Some of Them | 35.0 | 37.2 | 27.7 |
| None | 60.0 | 57.7 | 70.2 |
| N= | 80 | 78 | 47 |

6. COCAINE

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|--------------|------|------|------------|
| All of Them | 0.0% | 1.4% | 0.0% |
| Some of Them | 8.8 | 12.5 | 0.0 |
| None | 91.3 | 86.1 | 100.0 |
| N= | 80 | 72 | 43 |

Four of the ten items covered the *self-esteem* category, with the first three having data from the comparison group. For the first three items, the dominant trend besides the small amount of the pre-post changes was for the change again to move in the opposite direction from the comparison group (the one exception is the single percentage change for "mostly satisfied" response in Q.9; for all the other responses, the pre-test response rate was more like the comparison group than was the post-test response rate):

Q.7 How Do You Feel about Yourself?

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|---------------------|-------|-------|------------|
| Mostly Satisfied | 75.0% | 71.1% | 80.4% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 21.4 | 20.5 | 15.2 |
| Terrible | 3.6 | 8.4 | 4.3 |
| N= | 84 | 84 | 46 |

Q.8 When I Grow Up, I Will Be an Important Person

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|------------------------|-------|-------|------------|
| Very Descriptive | 74.4% | 78.8% | 58.7% |
| Not Descriptive | 20.5 | 17.6 | 28.3 |
| Not Descriptive at All | 4.8 | 3.5 | 13.0 |
| N= | 83 | 85 | 46 |

Q.9 How Do You Feel about Your Life as a Whole?

| | Pre | Post | Comparison |
|---------------------|-------|-------|------------|
| Mostly Satisfied | 69.0% | 70.2% | 80.4% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 25.0 | 27.4 | 13.0 |
| Terrible | 6.0 | 2.4 | 6.5 |
| N= | 84 | 84 | 46 |

The fourth *self-esteem* item was the only item to display a statistically significant pre-post change (Kendall's tau = .3447, $p < .001$). Fewer participants reported feeling satisfied with their personal safety. No data were available for the comparison group, however, so that the direction of the change is difficult to interpret:

Q.10 How Do You Feel about Your Personal Safety?

| | Pre | Post |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Mostly Satisfied | 71.1% | 56.1% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 21.7 | 35.4 |
| Terrible | 7.2 | 8.5 |
| N= | 83 | 82 |

None of the remaining questions had data from the comparison group. Among the *interpersonal relationships* items, the respondents' reported satisfaction with their relationships with their parents were the only ones to increase (relationships with teachers, counselors, and friends all declined):

Q. How Do You Feel about Your Relationship with the Adults in Your Life?

| 11. PARENTS | | |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| | Pre | Post |
| Mostly Satisfied | 74.7% | 77.1% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 22.9 | 18.1 |
| Terrible | 2.4 | 4.8 |
| N= | 83 | 83 |

12. TEACHERS

| | Pre | Post |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Mostly Satisfied | 53.0% | 51.2% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 39.8 | 40.5 |
| Terrible | 7.2 | 8.3 |
| N= | 83 | 84 |

13. COUNSELORS

| | Pre | Post |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Mostly Satisfied | 57.1% | 53.0% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 33.3 | 41.0 |
| Terrible | 9.5 | 6.0 |
| N= | 84 | 83 |

Q.14 How Do You Feel about Your Relationship with Your Friends?

| | Pre | Post |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Mostly Satisfied | 75.0% | 72.3% |
| Mostly Dissatisfied | 20.2 | 22.9 |
| Terrible | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| N= | 84 | 83 |

Among the *school* items, the responses are in the direction of increased sense of efficacy, with less feeling of being overwhelmed by school or of wanting to drop out of school:

Q.15 Do You Ever Feel That You Are Overwhelmed by School?

| | Pre | Post |
|--------------|-------|------|
| All the Time | 11.8% | 9.5% |
| Sometimes | 60.0 | 67.9 |
| Not Often | 28.2 | 22.6 |
| N= | 85 | 84 |

Q.16 Do You Ever Feel Like Dropping Out of School?

| | Pre | Post |
|-----|-------|-------|
| Yes | 30.6% | 26.5% |
| No | 69.4 | 73.9 |
| N= | 85 | 83 |

The overall results suggest little pre-post change in the outcomes reported by the participants. Where changes occur, they are very minor. Further, several of these minor pre-post changes are in a direction away from the levels of the comparison group. (Because the comparison group consisted of students in the 7th grade at one of the schools, it was not a comparison with other “at-risk” youths, like the prevention curriculum participants, but more akin to a comparison with “normal” youths.)

Although the evaluation team collected information about rival prevention activities that also were ongoing in the schools at the same time, the lack of substantial pre-post changes eliminated the need to investigate these rivals further. As a general conclusion, the prevention curriculum was not associated with any measurable change in the outcomes of the participating youths, as assessed by the present instrument.

The youth development workers program was strategically designed, although not specifically described with the following dimensions in mind:

- First and foremost, to conduct outreach to large numbers of neighborhood youths;
- Prevent them from getting involved in gangs and drugs;
- Get them involved in the program activities, and influence them to make low-risk decisions concerning choices in their daily lives.

However, the program administrators saw a unique opportunity in this grant to do a number of other important systemic things:

- Utilizing federal grant dollars efficiently and effectively;

- Provide training and jobs to local youth to work for the Mayor's Gang Prevention Program as outreach workers to other neighborhood youth. Hiring local youth does a number of important things:
 - it employs local youth—bring the jobs to the neighborhood;
 - employing neighborhood youth assists the neighborhood people in accepting the program; and
 - employing neighborhood youth in the neighborhood sets them up as role models for other youth in the neighborhood;
- Provide local youths a respectable salary; and
- Demonstrate to other neighborhood kids through the hiring and training of the neighborhood youths as youth development workers that they have choices about the types of daily activities they want to participate in; that a job is attainable for youth just like them; and healthy, pro-social, low-risk lifestyles are “cool” and socially acceptable.

B. Youth Development Workers Program (YDW) (Early Intervention)
Office of the Mayor
San Francisco, California

Introduction

The second activity within the Mayor's Gang Prevention Program (MGPP) is the Youth Development Workers Program. During the first two years of the program (1989-1992), the youth development workers were located in the community-based organizations (CBOs), where they contributed one day a week to administrative work for the CBOs and four days to the outreach work of the MGPP. Over time, the CBOs were requiring more time from the workers, jeopardizing the intent of the project and effectiveness with the youth, so the MGPP made an administrative decision and moved the workers out of the CBOs and into the schools. This was a significant move because the workers now had easier access to their clients, could interact with teachers and counselors, and could be more committed to the young people overall. The workers and the schools believe the move was a good decision.

One additional change included changing the six-month phase of the activity to coincide with the school semester. In this way, the workers program was on schedule with its clients. When the schools are closed, the workers are located at the CBOs or other community centers.

Staff Characteristics. Fourteen staff members comprise the program's outreach staff, two each representing one of the seven CBOs. Each worker should have a caseload of 25 in two waves—September 1993 through February 1994, and March 1994 through August 1994.

One very important component of hiring program staff is that they be indigenous to, or grow up in the community, thus being familiar with local culture, issues and people. Youth Development Workers were recruited within each community through the community-based organizations and in collaboration with the MGPP's project director. YDW's were typically indigenous to the community, familiar with community youth and adults, and demonstrated a sincere interest to have a positive impact on young people in the community. The workers, being indigenous to the community, were not atypically exposed to gangs or gang-related activity, and understood some of the underlying factors influencing young people to get involved in such risky behaviors. Coupled with the training provided by the MGPP project director and other staff, the YDW's were better able to understand the influences of those underlying factors, and implement outreach and program strategies with young people participating in the MGPP, YDW's Program.

A number of youth development workers reported in individual interviews for this evaluation that they were pursuing college degrees in such areas as social work and art. They serve as role models to other young people in the community, providing support, and guidance. Turnover probably needs to occur more frequently. A natural growth process occurs, and some of the workers outgrow their position. Also, the program budget does not have salary increases built into it, and the staff are frustrated with the inability of the program to demonstrate some incentive compensation or at least cost-of-living increases.

The Early Intervention Service

Training for Youth Development Workers. The project provides the workers with a series of six staff development trainings, focusing on issues including:

- Basic relationship building;
- Working in a structured environment;
- Filling out forms and handling paperwork;
- Learning how to prioritize items and issues;
and
- Learning the processes and roles of co-workers and who should be approached with different issues.

The project ran one workshop with a representative from the personnel office in City Hall. The representative brought job listings and showed the workers the relationship between their work now and a bridge to the future. The new focus is on writing skills and resume-building. This is a dual purpose approach: to help the workers learn to develop a resume and also to show them that they have skills. The workers are shown that they are marketable, particularly in civil service outreach types of jobs.

Referral and Services. Many of the clients are referred either by the school or the courts, or police officers. This indicates that someone identified them as likely in need of some supportive services. All of the clients are high risk. Some are involved with the courts, some with the California Youth Authority (juvenile probation).

Each year, beginning with the school semester, the 14 workers (two each affiliated with a CBO) conduct outreach to 25 youth to participate in the program and receive case management and a variety of other services affiliated with the program. The services provided by the workers or their referral include:

- Assessment;
- Psychological and substance abuse counseling (in separate facilities);
- Tutoring;
- Employment training;
- Gang prevention education in schools and community centers;
- Wilderness program with the San Francisco Police Department;
- Recreation; and
- Case management.

Each community organization provides a different combination of services, although all of them provide case management and peer counseling. As a result of the varied configuration of services, clients do not all receive the same services.

The workers are based in middle schools in their neighborhood from 11:00 a.m. through the rest of the school day, and after school either go to a center where a particular activity is taking place, or go to their CBO for program activities. The workers are case managers and court advocates, and conduct a number of recreational activities, social activities, and referral for services. A variety of services are available to all clients but differ from CBO to CBO depending on determination of needs of the clients. Most workers provide court advocacy for participants. Most CBOs provide some type of counseling including peer, group, family, individual or drama therapy. The MGPP works with each CBO through individual executive directors. The executive directors meet about twice a year to discuss program issues, but the workers meet with the MGPP monthly.

While services vary, so do theory and approach. One community center employs a drama therapist, a psychologist trained at the New School For Social Research in New York City. The therapy available to workers' clients is rooted in a cultural issue and is based on a method rooted in tribalism. A rites of passage ceremony is conducted for young girls. Another center employs a psychologist who conducts group therapy weekly with workers' clients.

In addition to working with the prevention participants, the MGPP video van staff work with the workers conducting impromptu filming of workers with their clients, and filming of new workers as a training tool for assessment of self-presentation to their clients. The video van staff documented the workers and police officers on the summer raft trip with clients. Many of the clients were familiar with the equipment and assisted in the documentation.

A number of services and activities were provided in 1993-1994. Peer counseling and conflict resolution were conducted as needed—often daily by the youth development workers for the GPP participants. Every Monday, clients and workers met at the Boys and Girls Club with counselors. The clients were fed and then participated in an activity such as a graffiti paint-out. The workers integrated “groups” from all over the city to play sports—basketball, football, baseball—including boys and girls. One worker explained that he facilitated peer tutoring for his clients by identifying a student who is good in that subject to work with the client needing help. Also, the CBO that he's affiliated with provided a counselor as needed either at the school or the community center for the clients to talk to. In the schools, the social worker identified individual students targeted as at risk and referred them to the workers.

Family involvement also has been part of the outreach and case management. The workers know most of the parents from their earlier years. Most of the parents respect the workers because they're from the neighborhood. Also, the workers involve their clients in employment preparation and training through the mayor's youth training in the summer, and the private industry council (PIC) conducts employment placement for 48 law offices, hospitals, and the IRS (73 placements were made in the summer of 1994). The workers show their clients the relationship between educational assistance (tutoring and skill development) and employment, and walk them through the educational system.

Anticipated Program Results. The program is intended to provide program participants with the services, activities, and guidance—to prevent them from gang and drug involvement.

The four categories of concepts developed to measure the effectiveness of the program—sense of efficacy, drugs and crime, school performance and prevention and support—are measured by a number of variables.

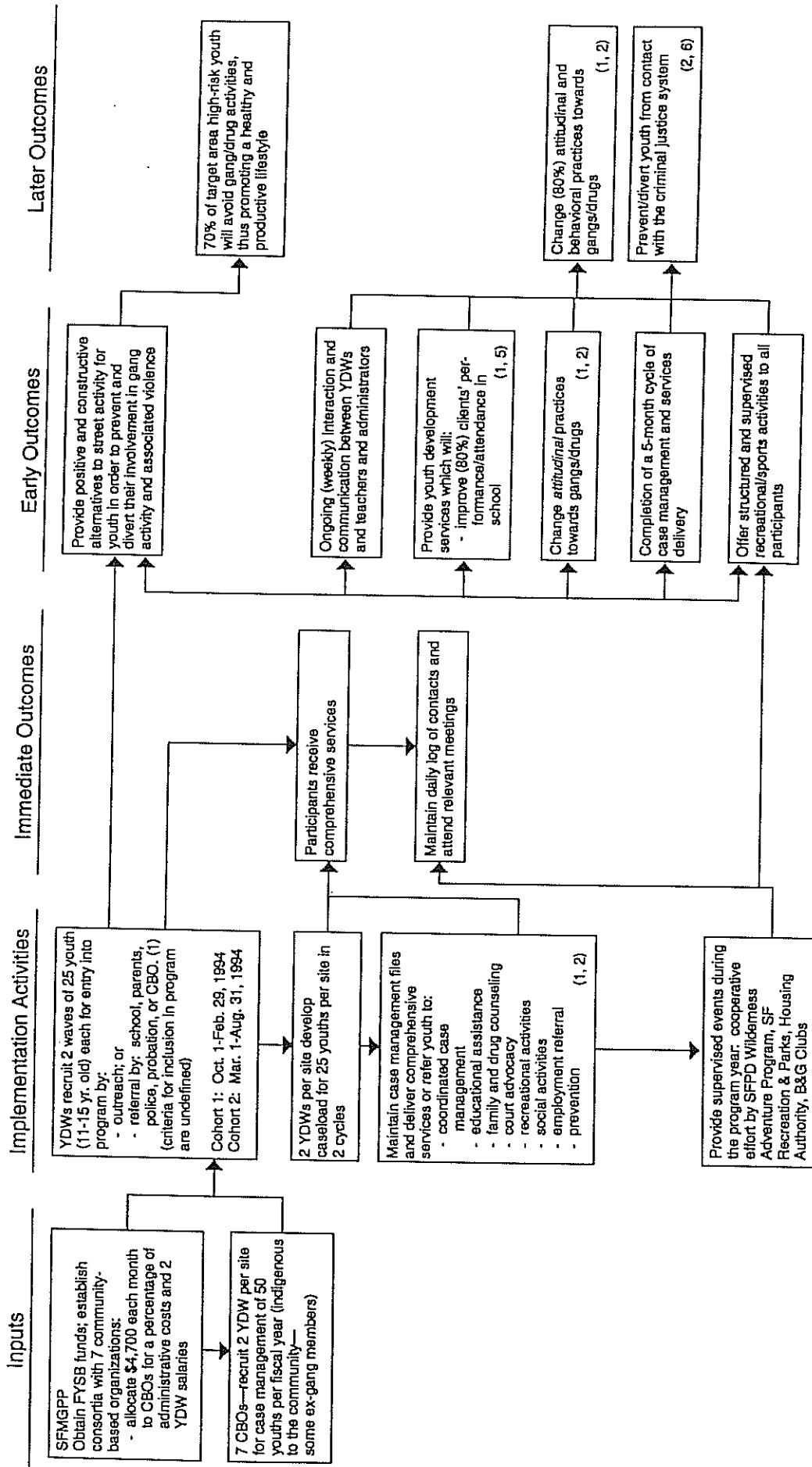
- **Sense of Efficacy**—Missed life's chances/feel abandoned; feelings about accomplishments; feelings about self; feelings about life as a whole; friends expect you to go to college;
- **Drugs and Crime**—Convictions; offense; arrested last year; substances used in last five weeks; friends use drugs;
- **School Performance**—Good at class; days absent; change performance in school; referrals for school discipline;
- **Prevention and Support**—Support, encouragement from family; stress or pressure with family; parents know best friends; weekend time spent with family; with whom do you live;

Exhibit B-1 contains a program logic model depicting the relationships among the facets of the intervention, connecting them also to presumed outcomes. For example, under the column labeled "intervention activities" is a list of comprehensive services available to participants. The causal flow indicates: the services provided; whether a participant actually receives services (in "immediate outcomes" column); the results of participation in the services in terms of such early outcomes as involvement in positive and constructive alternatives to street activity, improved performance/attendance at school, and changes in attitudes towards gangs (in "early outcomes" column); and eventually, in the "later outcomes" column, the objective that a high percentage of the target area high-risk youth will avoid gang and drug activities, and also avoid the juvenile justice system.

Outcomes

The present evaluation collected pre-post data from two cohorts of participants in the Youth Development Workers program. The first cohort participated during the period October 1, 1993 to February 29, 1994, and the second cohort participated during March 1, 1994 to August 31, 1994. For the first cohort, the program submitted 276 pre-tests and 252 post-tests to the

YOUTH DEVELOPMENT WORKERS PROGRAM (S.F.) LOGIC MODEL



Documentation:

- (1) SF09—Pre-test
- (2) SF09c—Pre-test (Cohort 2)
- (3) SF10—Post-test
- (4) SF10c—Post-test (Cohort 2)
- (5) SF15—School Grade Report and Attendance
- (6) SF18—Criminal Justice Information

*COSMOS Corporation
As of March 31, 1995*

evaluation team. For the second cohort, there were 215 pre-tests and 209 post-tests. (Where the sample sizes are smaller than these figures in the data reported below, this means that not all persons answered the particular item.)

To become a participant; youths 11-15 are recruited through outreach, referral by their school or parents, or referral by the police, probation officer, or the community-based organization. However, the program has no strict criteria for enrolling participants, other than the general targeting of youth who are already beginning to demonstrate early signs of gang or drug involvement. To give a brief idea of the behavioral backgrounds of these youths, in the first cohort:

- 11% reported having spent time in a locked facility;
- 15% reported receiving legal citations during the previous year; and
- 46% had grade point averages at or below 2.0, according to school records.

The enrollment data from these two cohorts also indicated that the bulk of participants are African American (with large proportions of Chinese and other Asians, Mexican Americans, and Central Americans).

Pre- and Post-Test Instrument. The pre- and post-test data came from a self-administered instrument of 101 items, nearly all closed-ended. As in the previous analysis of the Gang Prevention Curriculum, except for only a few statistically significant items, the pre-post differences were minor—and frequently in mixed directions—for both cohorts. (However, unlike the instrument used with the prevention curriculum, however, the Youth Development Workers' instrument had many items related to reported behavior, including substance abuse and delinquency-related behaviors.) To give an idea of these minor and mixed patterns, 16 items that illustrate the major categories of dependent variables are reported below, with the direction of pre-post change noted whether items were statistically significant or not.

Findings. In the *at-risk behavior* category, both cohorts showed a mixed pattern of reported substance abuse during the past five weeks, given a simple choice between a “yes” and a “no” response (each substance represented a single item in the instrument): reported use of three drugs declined, but only one decline was statistically significant—alcohol use by cohort 2 (Kendall's tau = .103 $p < .05$); and marijuana use increased, but only marginally:

*Q. Have You Used These Substances
during the Past Five Weeks?*

1. CIGARETTES

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 20.5% | 18.5% | 13.4% | 12.7% |
| No | 79.5 | 81.5 | 86.6 | 87.3 |
| N= | 268 | 243 | 209 | 181 |

2. ALCOHOL (ANY KIND)

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 23.0% | 19.4% | 21.7% | 13.7% |
| No | 77.0 | 80.6 | 78.3 | 86.3 |
| N= | 265 | 242 | 212 | 182 |

3. MARIJUANA

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 20.6% | 20.8% | 13.3% | 14.8% |
| No | 79.4 | 79.2 | 86.7 | 85.2 |
| N= | 267 | 240 | 211 | 182 |

4. COCAINE/CRACK

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 1.2% | 0.9% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| No | 98.8% | 99.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N= | 260 | 234 | 206 | 179 |

This mixed pattern of reported substance abuse also was found when the respondents were asked about their friends' drug habits. Here, the possible responses were multiple (not just "yes" and "no"), but where respondents reported a lower rate of "all" of their friends using a particular substance (as in reported alcohol and marijuana use), they also reported a lower rate of

“none” of their friends using the same substance. Thus, the pattern of multiple responses for any given substance yielded an inconsistent picture of increased or decreased substance abuse:

Q. How Many of Your Friends Have Used Drugs?

5. CIGARETTES

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|--------------|----------|------|----------|------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| All of Them | 8.3% | 3.7% | 6.7% | 7.1% |
| Some of Them | 25.4 | 26.7 | 21.4 | 17.6 |
| A Few | 25.8 | 29.6 | 20.5 | 23.6 |
| None | 40.5 | 39.9 | 51.4 | 51.6 |
| N= | 264 | 243 | 210 | 182 |

6. ALCOHOL

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|--------------|----------|------|----------|------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| All of Them | 9.2% | 6.6% | 8.5% | 7.1% |
| Some of Them | 23.7 | 20.5 | 19.0 | 15.9 |
| A Few | 24.0 | 29.5 | 27.5 | 36.3 |
| None | 43.1 | 43.4 | 45.0 | 40.7 |
| N= | 262 | 244 | 211 | 182 |

7. MARIJUANA

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|--------------|----------|------|----------|------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| All of Them | 10.7% | 7.3% | 10.8% | 7.1% |
| Some of Them | 18.0 | 17.1 | 18.4 | 17.0 |
| A Few | 27.6 | 37.0 | 32.1 | 39.0 |
| None | 43.7 | 38.6 | 38.7 | 36.8 |
| N= | 261 | 246 | 212 | 182 |

8. COCAINE/CRACK

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|--------------|----------|------|----------|------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| All of Them | 0.8% | 0.8% | 0.0% | 0.5% |
| Some of Them | 1.6 | 3.8 | 4.3 | 2.8 |
| A Few | 8.2 | 9.2 | 11.1 | 7.3 |
| None | 89.4 | 86.1 | 84.5 | 89.4 |
| N= | 245 | 238 | 207 | 179 |

For both cohorts, reported arrests during the past year consistently declined, but the amount of the decline was minimal:

Q.9 Were You Arrested Last Year?

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 18.5% | 16.9% | 12.7% | 10.9% |
| No | 81.5 | 83.1 | 87.3 | 89.1 |
| N= | 275 | 249 | 213 | 184 |

Among the *self-esteem* items, larger changes were found, in a positive direction, to an item about "having missed your chance in life." This change did attain statistical significance for Cohort 2 (Kendall's tau=.114, $p < .05$). Further, an item regarding the expectation to "go to college" showed small differences and inconsistent differences between the two cohorts:

Q.10 Do You Feel That You Have Missed Your Chance in Life or That You Have Been Abandoned?

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 27.4% | 21.9% | 17.9% | 9.9% |
| No | 72.6 | 78.1 | 82.1 | 90.1 |
| N= | 259 | 242 | 212 | 181 |

Q.11 Do You Expect to Go to College?

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| Yes | 87.9% | 86.8% | 85.3% | 90.1% |
| No | 12.1 | 13.2 | 14.7 | 10.0 |
| N= | 264 | 243 | 211 | 181 |

For Cohort 2, an item in the *interpersonal relationships* category was another item among the dependent variables to show a strong change in a significantly positive direction (Kendall's tau = .134, $p < .01$) the time reportedly spent with one's family on weekends:

Q.12 On the Weekends, How Much Time Have You Generally Spent with Your Family?

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|---------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| A Great Deal | 39.1% | 41.9% | 46.4% | 57.9% |
| Not Too Much | 46.2 | 40.2 | 35.5 | 33.9 |
| Very Little or None | 14.7 | 17.9 | 18.1 | 8.2 |
| N= | 266 | 246 | 211 | 183 |

Finally, among the *school* items, there were small pre-post improvements, for both cohorts, in the reported number of days absent, days late to school last year, and in the number of days "expelled" (meaning "suspended") last semester. Cohort 1 showed especially consistent reductions among the extremely high numbers of days absent or late or expelled:

*Q.13 Number of Days Absent from School,
Last Year*

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| 0-5 days | 61.1% | 63.7% | 57.3% | 57.0% |
| 6-10 days | 14.9 | 17.9 | 20.4 | 26.0 |
| >10 days | 24.0 | 18.5 | 22.3 | 17.0 |
| N= | 175 | 168 | 103 | 100 |

*Q.14 Number of Days Late to School,
Last Year*

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| 0-5 days | 58.8% | 64.3% | 58.8% | 60.6% |
| 6-10 days | 19.9 | 18.1 | 19.3 | 20.2 |
| >10 days | 21.3 | 17.6 | 21.8 | 19.3 |
| N= | 221 | 199 | 119 | 109 |

Q.15 Number of Days Expelled Last Semester

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| 0 | 75.9% | 79.5% | 90.5% | 89.9% |
| 1-2 | 11.4 | 11.0 | 4.8 | 5.9 |
| >2 | 12.7 | 9.5 | 4.8 | 4.2 |
| N= | 220 | 200 | 126 | 119 |

A final *school* item showed some change for Cohort 1 but the strongest (but still not statistically significant) improvement (among all *school* items) for Cohort 2:

*Q.16 Number of Referrals for School Discipline
Last Semester*

| | COHORT 1 | | COHORT 2 | |
|-----|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| 0 | 38.7% | 38.5% | 45.5% | 55.4% |
| 1-3 | 40.4 | 45.1 | 40.3 | 28.9 |
| >3 | 20.9 | 16.4 | 14.2 | 15.7 |
| N= | 225 | 195 | 134 | 121 |

The data collection for this program also included access to school records from the San Francisco Unified School District. These data covered the actual grade point averages (GPAs) of the two cohorts during the time of the intervention. At the outset of the intervention, the mean GPA of Cohort 1 youths started at 2.12 and the mean GPA of the Cohort 2 youths started at 1.76. However, for neither cohort did the GPA change appreciably by the end of the intervention period (2.18 and 1.72).

Summary. The findings are difficult to interpret in the absence of a comparison group. Many pre-post differences are in the desired direction, but with only minor and statistically nonsignificant changes. A few items among self-esteem and reported school behavior are in the desired direction and the pre-post differences were more substantial. However, virtually no changes were found among actual school grades.

One possible interpretation is that these results show basically no impact of the Youth Development Workers Program, given the generally small pre-post changes for two cohorts of youths. An alternative interpretation, given the young age (11-15 year-olds) of these youth, would be more positive, but based entirely on supposition. During this period of time, at-risk youths might normally be expected to show major increases in drug use and other undesirable behavior. Under these circumstances, any mild improvements or even neutral results for participants in a prevention or early intervention program should be interpreted positively. The data for the two cohorts might therefore be considered a positive outcome from the Youth Development Workers Program.

The current evidence was not sufficient to choose between these two alternative interpretations. The evaluation team sought other types of information, in the absence of a comparison group, to help resolve the issue. For instance, the team retrieved five-year statistical trends for multiple categories of referrals and other actions by the San Francisco Juvenile

Probation Department.¹ These data show that law violations do indeed rise sharply for youths during the ages 11-14 (each of these ages has more than double the number of violations than the preceding age). As another example, the program was subject of an earlier, local evaluation.² This evaluation, covering the 1991-1992 school year, found a reduction in the incidence of gang-related activities as well as other positive changes. Overall, it is therefore possible that the findings of the current evaluation—demonstrating no improvement but also no deterioration—may reflect a positive outcome from the Youth Development Workers Program. However, such an interpretation must be regarded on the speculative side.

¹San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department, *Annual Report*, 1994.

²Goddard, Lawford L., Milton Morris, and Wade W. Nobles, *The San Francisco Mayor's Gang Prevention Program: Formative Evaluation Year-02 (1992-1992)*, Institute for the Advanced Study of Black Family Life and Culture, Inc., Oakland, California, 1993.

C. Voluntary Probation (Prevention)
Gang Alternative and Prevention Program (GAPP)
Los Angeles County, California

Introduction

The Gang Alternative and Prevention Program (GAPP) was funded in July 1988 by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors through the Los Angeles County Probation Department. GAPP's activities focus on pre-delinquent and marginal gang youth who live in neighborhoods characterized by high crime rates, violent gang activity, and heavy drug use. The primary emphasis is on elementary and junior high school-aged youth who are identified as "at risk" for serious gang drug involvement; who demonstrate gang type behavior (e.g., graffiti writing, gang talk, wearing gang apparel, intimidation of others, or gang association); who have been charged with status offenses; who pose serious behavior problems in school; or who are first-time criminal offenders. The GAPP serves seven geographic areas in Los Angeles County: Antelope Valley, Centinela, East Los Angeles, Long Beach, Rio Hondo, San Gabriel Valley, and San Fernando Valley. The GAPP Program participating in this evaluation is administered out of the Long Beach Probation Department.

The GAPP targets two specific populations in two types of probation programs. Each has been considered a separate component in the present evaluation. The first, **voluntary probation**, targets a younger population, generally ages 11 to 13, and is viewed as a prevention effort. Participation in the program is voluntary, and there is no record of arrest or citation for participants. Referrals for voluntary probation come from the School Attendance Review Board, teachers, or parents and not the juvenile justice system. The second, **diversion and court-ordered probation**, targets older youth (ages 13 to 18) and is primarily an intervention effort for youth who have been found delinquent and sentenced to probation in the juvenile court.

Four primary referral codes for GAPP are used to determine the status of a youth. Exhibit 3-6 below illustrates the referral codes for voluntary and for diversion and court-ordered probation—and the conditions for the code.

GAPP Voluntary Probation (Prevention). A "236" WIC (Welfare and Institutions Code) is a voluntary probationary referral with no criminal record. Under section code 236, GAPP is authorized to work with youth that are not on formal court-ordered probation, but are at risk of becoming involved with law enforcement and the court system. This type of referral may come from the school, parents, or police. Any legitimate person having a formal

Exhibit 3-6

PROBATION REFERRAL CODES AND CONDITIONS

| TYPE OF INTERVENTION | PROBATION CODE | CONDITIONS |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| Voluntary Probation | 236 WIC (Welfare and Institutions Code) | Voluntary probationary referral for youth with no criminal record. |
| | 654 WIC Informal Supervision | Voluntary probation referral for a youth who has committed a status offense or who is likely to come under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. |
| Diversion and Court-ordered Probation | 654 WIC Supervision | Court-ordered probation for youth already under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. |
| | 602 WIC | Court-ordered formal probation for youth with a violation of the 654 Supervision code; formal charges are not dropped after completion of probation until the youth is 35 years old. |

relationship with the youth may make a referral. This type of referral requires GAPP to obtain parental consent for youth participation.

A “654” *Informal Supervision* code is used when a status offense has been referred to the probation department. The referral does not necessarily come from the courts but can come from law enforcement, the school, or the parents. If the case merits “diversion” as determined through an investigation of the facts in the case, the youth is offered the opportunity to participate in a diversion program as discussed next.

GAPP Diversion and Court-ordered Probation (Early Intervention). A “654” Supervision code is court-ordered probation. Youth in this category have a criminal record that includes charges (felony or misdemeanor). They are placed there as a last effort to keep them out of jail. If the youth completes his or her probation, the petition to declare the youth a ward of the court is dropped. If the youth does not complete the program successfully, he or she can be referred to the District Attorney’s Office for further action, re-petitioned, and may be reclassified or placed under custody.

A final referral type occurs when the “654” Supervision code is violated. This is called a “602” WIC. In this category, formal charges are not erased upon completion of the probation until the youth is 35 years-old. Youth who do not conform to the conditions of this probation are placed into custody.

Meeting the Requirements of the Evaluation Design

As discussed earlier, the interventions in this evaluation should have had three features. The degree to which each feature was evident in the intervention activities is discussed below.

Community Involvement. In neither the voluntary and the diversion and court-ordered probation was community involvement evident, with one exception—some of the services available to the clients were provided through a community center with particular emphasis on cultural awareness and sensitivity. These services, provided by the United Cambodian Center, focused on the particular issues faced by the Cambodian community in Long Beach, and these services were determined by the needs identified by the community.

Comprehensiveness. Comprehensiveness of the intervention was assessed at three levels. Both programs met these expectations. At the first level, the voluntary probation and diversion and court-ordered probation both fall under the GAPP program within the Los Angeles County Probation Department. At the second level, probation officers for the GAPP program supervise both

voluntary and diversion and court-ordered clients, providing a comprehensive array of services for both types of probationers. In addition, the GAPP program is a county-wide effort that works with the district attorney, juvenile court, and the Los Angeles County Unified School District. At the third level, GAPP probation officers coordinate the efforts of several service providers—including counselors, police, school officials, and courts through intensive case management, ensuring a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary service system.

Collaboration with Law Enforcement. In addition to using the police as service providers via the Police Athletic League, the GAPP interventions collaborate with law enforcement officers in several ways. The police provide access to records for the clients' intake into the GAPP and provide follow-up information on subsequent arrests and potential violations of probation. Moreover, for both intervention activities, the police may make referrals to the GAPP.

Scope of Evaluation

The GAPP was evaluated between 1989 and 1990 by Michael W. Agopian, Ph.D., and the study found mixed results, concluding that,

*"Whatever the limitations identified by this study, the GAPP should be recognized as a balanced, practical, and intensive attempt to provide juveniles an alternative to gang involvement."*¹

Among other ambiguous findings, GAPP participants showed more probation violations and gang activity three and six months later, in contrast to a comparison group. However, such a finding also can be attributed to the nature of intensive supervision and the likelihood of increased surveillance and reporting, in contrast to the comparison group.

The scope of the present evaluation covered the period from 1993 to 1994. Program objectives included:

- Insuring long-term protection of the community;

¹ Agopian, Michael W., *Gang Alternative Prevention Program: Evaluation Report*, no place of publication, 1991.

- Reducing drug use and gang involvement by persons identified as “at risk” of delinquency patterns;
- Intervening with first-time offenders who are involved with gangs or drugs;
- Providing positive alternatives and enhancing self-esteem for “at-risk” youth before they become entrenched in gangs and drug use;
- Networking with various community groups involved in gang and drug prevention; and
- Providing intensive supervision and insuring imposition of appropriate sanctions for probationers under GAPP supervision.

In general, GAPP is tailored to meet the needs of a specific community. Thus, it is unique in its concept and delivery of services. Ongoing services for the youth include:

- Individual and group counseling;
- Utilization of prevention resources provided by public, private, and religious organizations;
- Bicultural and bilingual services to help meet the needs of youth and their parents;
- Special programs such as tutoring and parent education; and
- Recreational, educational, and cultural experiences.

Since its implementation, program funding has decreased, resulting in a decrease in the number of GAPP probation officers. The intense fiscal pressure especially hampered the data collection efforts during the evaluation, as the number of participants decreased and lower priority was given to data collection and reporting. The following description covers the prevention program, although no usable data were ultimately provided by this program (only partial baseline data were submitted, but no follow-up data or

comparison group data were made available). Section IIID then covers the diversion and court-ordered probation program.

In addition, the Long Beach Probation Department underwent departmental cutbacks in 1993, decreasing the number of probation officers assigned to GAPP. This created additional burden for the probation officers and the probation department staff who were providing assistance in the evaluation. This additional burden became even more evident when the evaluation team requested comparison group data and were promised delivery dates which kept changing and were delayed for many months. Nonetheless, for the diversion and court-ordered probation program, the data were delivered and the evaluation team was most appreciative of the efforts of the staff to deliver the comparison group data.

Voluntary Probation Component (Prevention)

Between August 1993 and March 1994, there were approximately 59 active cases on voluntary probation.

Probation officers participating in the GAPP were drawn from existing probation officers within the Los Angeles County Probation Department. Since 1992, two GAPP probation officers left the program and have been replaced. All the GAPP probation officers have worked in some capacity with juveniles either through the probation department or as part of a special gang unit. The GAPP probation officers act as case managers for their clients, identifying the need for services, making appropriate referrals, and conducting follow-up.

Probation officers visit their clients once a month. Some probation officers are more proactive with weekly group meetings in the schools or family contacts. The caseload cap for each probation officer for "236" WIC clients is 20; for "654" Informal Clients, each officer has a caseload of approximately 30.

Upon receiving referrals for voluntary probation, the GAPP probation officers prepare individualized case plans based on personal interviews with each youth and the parent(s) and/or legal guardian(s). The case plans are signed by the parent/legal guardian, constituting a contract by which the youth's cooperation and progress can be measured. The case plans provide for specific services and the dosage, e.g., number of counseling sessions. The probation officer acts as a service broker and liaison between the youth, family, and service providers. Available services include the following:

- The Young Horizons Juvenile Diversion Program for counseling and drug treatment services;
- School attendance services for attendance and behavior monitoring;
- Alternative schools for problem youth who have been expelled from regular school;
- Various community center services and activities such as counseling, parenting education, bilingual services, and culturally relevant activities; and
- Police Athletic League (P.A.L.) for recreation and organized sports.

The GAPP program is based on the theory that at-risk youth who are subjected to individualized case plans, coordinated prevention services, and intensive supervision will not use drugs, exhibit delinquent behavior, or become involved in gangs.

To ascertain whether the program goals have been met and to test the theory under which GAPP is operating, several benchmarks have been identified which include:

- Better probation performance;
- Reduced incidence of drug use and gang involvement by youth identified as “at risk”;
- Improved self-esteem;
- Reduction in absenteeism; and
- Improved school performance both academically and behaviorally.

Testimonials

Testimonials from various service providers and GAPP probation officers indicate that the GAPP has been effective in reaching a large portion of the youngsters involved.

- The clinical psychologist at the Young Horizons Juvenile Diversion Program reports that 75 to 80 percent of the GAPP clients receiving services at the facility are not referred back. Based on information from the individual counseling sessions with the GAPP clients, the psychologist reports that kids feel better about themselves through the efforts of the probation officers and seem to be doing better in school.
- At the alternative school for at-risk youth, the teachers report great improvements in GAPP client behavior including improved attendance and better grades. One indicator of these testimonials is that 9 out of the 12 students who met the criteria to return to regular school were GAPP clients.
- The parent educator at the community center reports a higher level of parental involvement with GAPP clients and some positive behavioral changes in the GAPP kids.
- The counselor at the community center indicated that the youth who are involved in GAPP are very responsive to the probation officer.
- A resource specialist at the Student Assistance Review Board (SARB) reports that the GAPP is having an effect at least on short-term behavior. The youth are very responsive to their probation officer, and think about the consequences of their actions before acting.

Anticipated Program Results

The GAPP volunteer probation component is intended to prevent gang membership, substance use, and delinquent behavior among at-risk youth. Several benchmarks provide indicators of the program's success in achieving these outcomes, as indicated above. Measures of these benchmarks include self-efficacy variables, school performance variables, prevention and support variables, and drug and crime variables. The variables used to measure self-efficacy, school performance, prevention/support, and drug/crime are discussed below.

Self-Efficacy. The self-efficacy composite variable is measured by the youth's attitudes toward classmates, teachers, and authority, as well as the attitude of classmates toward the pupil. Other measures include whether the youth is cooperative, courteous, mature, and a leader.

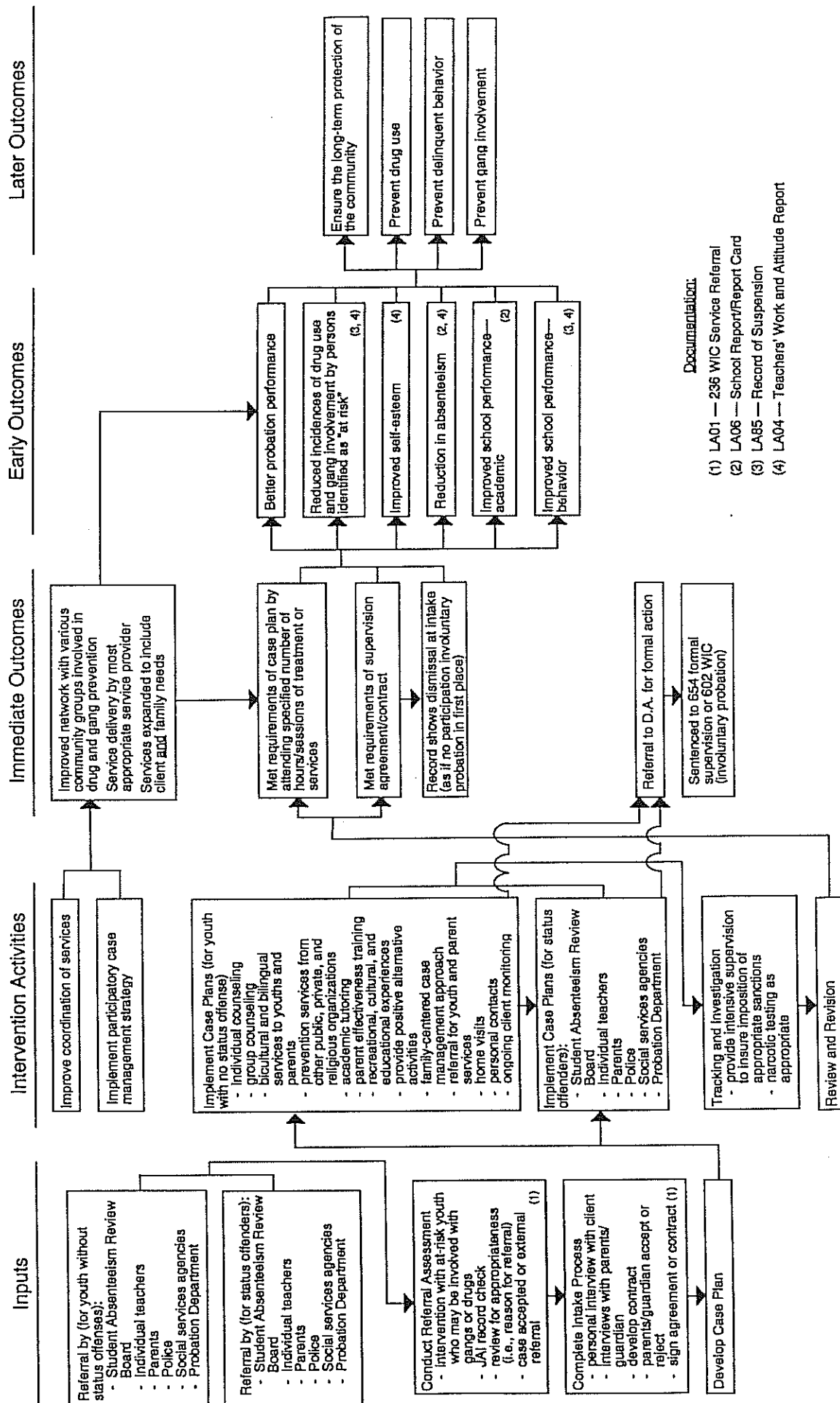
School Performance. The school performance composite is measured by grade level, school grades, status of homework, whether or not the child is in a special class, number of days suspended, absences, and tardiness.

Prevention and Support. The prevention and support variables are qualitative data drawn from the clients' case files. Probation officers produce progress reports documenting the services being received and how the client is responding to the services and the terms of the probation.

Crime and Drugs. The crime and drug scale consists of number and type of arrest, law enforcement contacts, allegations (reason for intervention), substance use, and gang membership.

Exhibit 3-7 contains a logic model detailing the voluntary probation program inputs, activities, and outcomes. The logic model represents paths that voluntary probation clients may take through the program and the causal links between the intervention and the outcomes. The logic model contains two key elements. First, referred youths may be of two types: (1) at-risk youth, defined as pre-delinquent or exhibiting marginal delinquent behaviors and (2) status offenders, defined as youth who have been adjudicated as delinquent, but do not have criminal charges against them. Second, voluntary probation clients sign a contract and if the youth meet the requirements of their contracts, the record of their participation in voluntary probation is erased by showing a dismissal on their intake form. However, if they do not meet the requirements of the contract, they can be referred to the district attorney for formal action and sentenced to 654 Formal Supervision (involuntary probation) for which no early or later outcomes are expected under this effort.

VOLUNTARY PROBATION (L.A.) LOGIC MODEL



Outcomes

As previously stated, the prevention program was unable to furnish the evaluation team with usable data. At the outset, the program provided data on 27 of the 59 cases active between August 1993 and March 1994. The profile of these 27 cases was reported by the evaluation team in its baseline report.² However, because post-test data or comparison group data (or complete baseline data) did not follow, the present report omits any further consideration of the prevention program.

² Biondi, Louis G., June S. Sivilli, Rob T. Yin, and Robert K. Yin, *Preliminary Baseline Data Report: Voluntary Probation (L.A.) and Diversion and Court-Ordered Probation (L.A.)—Gang Alternative and Prevention Program, Los Angeles County Probation Department*, COSMOS Corporation, May 1994.

**D. Diversion and Court-Ordered Probation Component (Early Intervention)
Gang Alternative and Prevention Program (GAPP),
Los Angeles, California**

Intervention Program

The second of GAPP's programs focuses on an older age group (ages 13 to 18) who are generally referred into the program as a result of diversion or court-ordered probation. Between August 1993 and March 1994, there were 224 active cases on diversion and court-ordered probation. For "654" and "602" clients, each probation officer carried a caseload of approximately 30 each (total 60). Referrals for diversion and court-ordered probationers came from the police, juvenile court, and the probation department. Clients were first-time offenders facing criminal charges. As with voluntary probation, the GAPP probation officers developed individualized case plans based on court-ordered sanctions and personal interviews with the youth and their parent(s)/legal guardian(s). The provisions in the case plan were considered to be the terms of the youth's probation. Face-to-face contact with diversion and court-ordered probationers occurred at least once a month, with regular phone contact. The worst cases, including "602" clients, were contacted more often, sometimes with face-to-face contact once a week.

As noted in the volunteer component, diversion and court-ordered clients received a variety of services based on individual needs. For the worst cases, the range of services was more comprehensive. Services occurred more frequently and the substance, for example of counseling, was more intensive. The various services are discussed below.

Court Advocacy Services were provided through the city of Long Beach Gang Prevention Program. The court liaison was a resource person for the GAPP. He worked with the probation officers to make sure GAPP clients were receiving services and to serve as a liaison between the probation officer, courts, and the client. Some of the services that the court liaison helped facilitate included psychological testing and assessment through the Young Horizons Juvenile Diversion Program, community service, and youth/leadership development. The court liaison also assisted in getting and keeping the client in school. A key difference between diversion and court-ordered probation and voluntary probation discussed above is that clients who successfully complete the terms of their probation have their juvenile records expunged, which the court advocate facilitates. Those clients who do not successfully complete probation, may be sentenced to juvenile detention.

The Young Horizons Juvenile Diversion Program is designed specifically to divert youth from unhappy, unproductive, or criminal lifestyles to constructive, socially acceptable and responsible behaviors. The services provided at Young Horizons included individual, family, and group counseling; drug counseling; remedial tutoring, parenting education; a 24-hour hotline for participants; court and school assistance; community services; truancy tracking; restitution; and inpatient assessment. These services were provided by a clinical psychologist. Specific services were tailored to individual needs. In general, the clients received 10 weeks of counseling (45 to 50 minute sessions each week) in areas determined by the diagnosis and treatment plan. Primarily, the program operated on an eclectic philosophy—to do whatever it took to help the youth. The focus was to make the youth understand the consequences of their actions. In addition, Young Horizons worked with 85 to 90 percent of the families. There were also multi-family counseling sessions (four to five families) to help define and make parents and kids understand their responsibilities. The majority of clients were referrals from the GAPP (approximately 19). The psychologist reported a success rate of 75 to 80 percent of youth who do not get referred back to the program.

School Attendance Services are an effort coordinated by the Long Beach Unified School District to help keep at-risk youth in school at all costs. Attendance services provided several services to help facilitate keeping the youth in school and meeting the conditions of their probation. Field personnel worked with parents and families to get needed services including bilingual services for monolingual/bilingual ESL families. There were six goals which included student achievement, climate, parental involvement, racial harmony, and professional development. Attendance services developed several programs such as Project Leap, First/Second Step, Camp Returnee, and Gang Violence Suppression Curriculum to help address the social and behavioral problems of youth. Severe cases, often GAPP clients, included youth with a multitude of problems (defined as having more than two at-risk indicators) such as no parental supervision, nutritional problems, poor grades, behavioral problems, etc. For these youth, alternative schools were available (described in the next section) to help keep them in the educational system. First/Second Step is a program designed to teach impulse control and anger management. Camp Returnee is a school and county outreach program to help reintegrate kids back into the school system and keep them from getting expelled. It consisted of individualized instruction, case management from a probation officer, and counseling for the student and family.

Alternative Schools were available to students who posed serious behavioral problems in school and were expelled from the regular school system. The alternative schools (elementary, junior high, and high school) were intensive settings that provided attendance monitoring, individualized

academic services, group sessions on behavior, and weekly parent-teacher conferences (daily for problem youth or problem parents). Classes ran in one-half-day sessions Monday through Friday during the school year. During the class, the students received academic lessons and were provided lunch. Each Friday, the teachers ran group sessions dealing with topics such as respect, tolerance, acceptable behavior, etc. Role-playing was the primary avenue for dealing with these topics. Parents also came in each Friday for a group session. A GAPP probation officer came to the parents' group and showed videos or provided speakers about relevant prevention issues. In addition, the teachers worked with each youth to develop a set of goals for the upcoming year, and worked with the kids to make sure they were meeting their goals. The teachers have multiple teaching credentials and are trained in counseling techniques.

Community Center Services were provided for community residents in Long Beach. The city of Long Beach has the largest Cambodian population in the United States. At the United Cambodian Center (UCC), GAPP clients received a variety of services including counseling, support groups, family counseling (at the center and at home), parent support groups, parent education, parenting skills training, case management, and cultural activities. The counseling was based on Eastern philosophy as opposed to Western philosophy and is more therapeutic. The staff at the center are all Cambodian and are para-professionals who receive regular in-service training from the professional staff counselor and outside professionals. For those cases referred by GAPP that are too far entrenched in behavioral/criminal problems, the UCC reached out to the families to provide parent education. The youth themselves were referred out to licensed therapists. The parent education classes included individual counseling with family members and drama therapy. The parent educators made the class language-accessible and culturally relevant for those families that did not speak English. The substantive areas included U.S. law; communication with their child and cultural differences between the homeland and the U.S. in terms of communication style; and involvement with the school, including helping to bridge the language barrier between the school and the parents by providing translation services or a translator. There were ten sessions (one per week) for one and one-half hours. In addition, the GAPP probation officer working with youth in the center came twice a week to meet with clients and check on their progress.

Police Athletic League (P.A.L.) is a sports recreation-oriented crime prevention program that relies on athletics and recreational activities to prevent gang violence and drug activity. Many of the GAPP clients were referred to P.A.L. for recreational activities. P.A.L. is based on the belief that children, if they are reached early enough, can develop strong positive

attitudes that help them attain the goals of adulthood and good citizenship. P.A.L. operated the following programs: karate, boxing, basketball, weightlifting, H.A.M. amateur radio operations, tutoring, drill team, water sports, and junior golf. Activities took place Monday through Fridays from 3:00 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. and operated in two high schools, one intermediate school, and one P.A.L. center located in the community.

The diversion component was based on the theory that at-risk and marginal youth who are subjected to individualized case plans, coordinated intervention services, and intensive supervision will show reduced drug use, reduced delinquent behavior, and reduced gang involvement. In addition, youth receiving these services also will show better probation performance and less criminal activity.

Testimonials

Testimonials from GAPP and other juvenile probation officers and service providers on the effectiveness of the diversion and court-ordered component indicated that program goals were being met:

- The GAPP probation officers felt that they were meeting the program goals. Reports from the probation officers indicated that in approximately 75 percent of the cases, the youth re-directed their lives toward becoming law-abiding citizens. They also reported that, among the GAPP clients, there were fewer reports of delinquent behavior and fewer re-arrests.
- A probation officer from the juvenile services division who does not work with GAPP clients felt that there was approximately a 60 percent compliance rate, which was higher than the compliance rate for non-GAPP probationers. He attributed this to the additional specialized work the GAPP officers did and to the level of contact between GAPP officers and their clients.
- The counselor at the community reported he saw a difference in behavior among GAPP

clients. In at least one “hard-core” GAPP case, the youth told the counselor he was “jumping out” of the gang.

Anticipated Program Results

Diversion and court-ordered probation is intended to intervene with youth who are marginally involved in crime and delinquent behavior. Through the GAPP, diversion and court-ordered probationers are expected to exhibit reduced drug use, reduced delinquent behavior, and reduced gang involvement. Several benchmarks provided indicators of the program’s success in achieving these outcomes:

- Better probation performance;
- Reduced incidence of drug use and gang involvement by persons identified as “at risk”;
- Improved self-esteem;
- Reduced absenteeism; and
- Improved school performance (academic and behaviorally).

Measures of these benchmarks included self-efficacy variables, school performance variables, prevention and support variables, and drug and crime variables.

Self-Efficacy. The self-efficacy variable is measured by the youth’s knowledge about the difference between right and wrong and about what happens when you do something wrong.

School Performance. The school performance scale is comprised of grade level in school, academic grades, behavior in school, reason for suspension, and explanation for truancy.

Crime and Drugs. The crime and drug scale consists of type of allegation, arrests/citations, gang activity, and alcohol and controlled substance use.

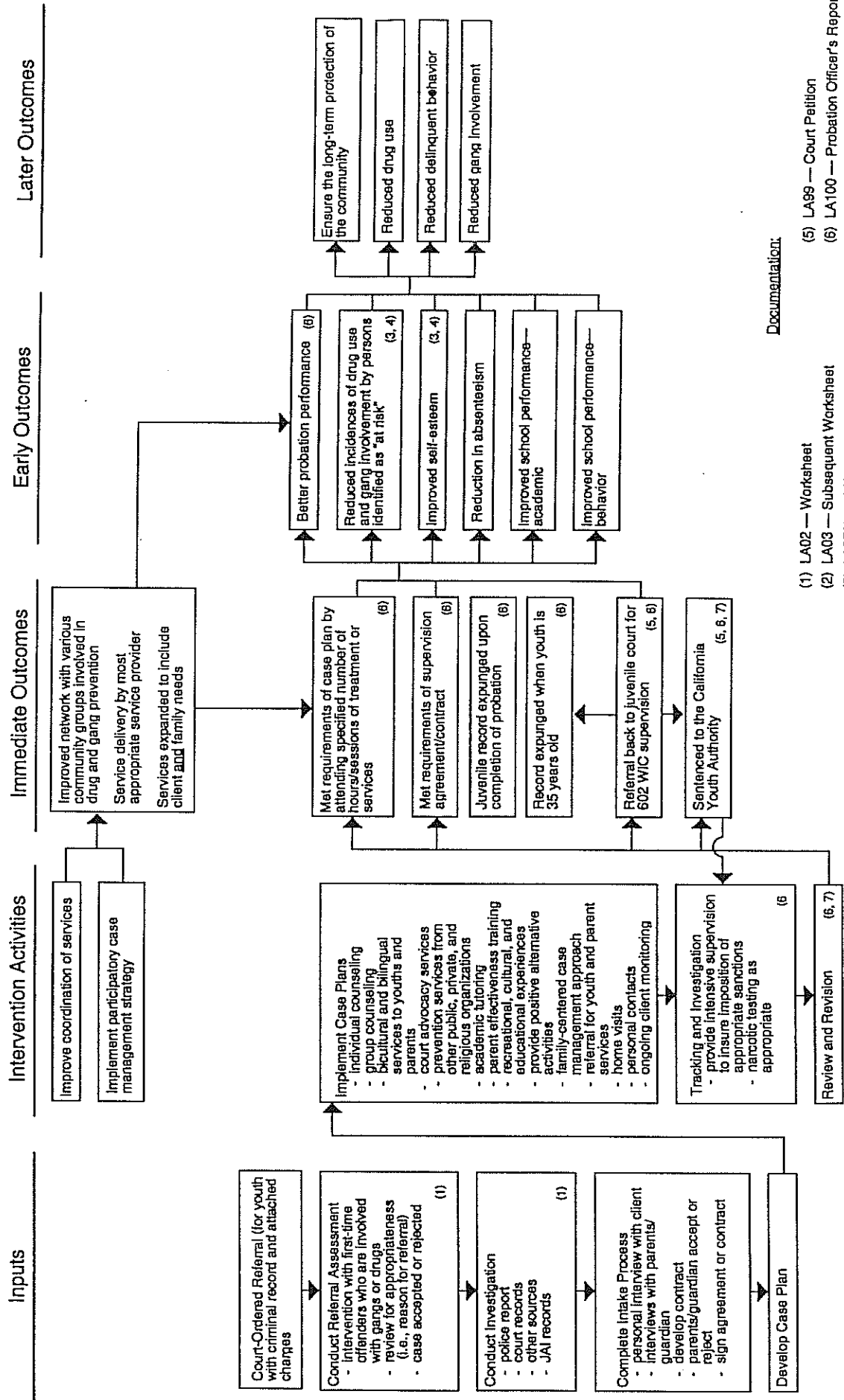
Exhibit 3-8 contains a logic model for the diversion component. The logic model depicts important differences between the diversion component and the voluntary component. First, all referrals to this component come from the juvenile court. Referred youth have criminal records with charges attached. Second, if the youth meet the requirements of their probation, their juvenile record is expunged immediately following completion of probation. However, if they violate the conditions of their probation, they may be referred back to juvenile court for "602" WIC status, at which time they receive a revised case plan and contract. If the youth successfully completes the "602" WIC probation, his or her juvenile record is expunged at age 35. In this scenario, early and later outcomes are still predicted. However, if the youth fails to meet the requirements of the "602" WIC probation, he or she may be sentenced to the California Youth Authority, for which no early or later outcomes are predicted.

Outcomes

Pre-Post Instruments. In assessing GAPP's Diversion and Court-ordered Probation activity, baseline data were collected on 231 active cases participating in the activity during the period from August 1993 to March 1994. The data were based on a probation officer's worksheet form, filled out for each youth. This form covered basic demographic variables, as well as items on: legal custody, substance abuse, gang activity, allegations, and arrests. Unlike the other sites in this evaluation, no items covered self-esteem, skill-building, or interpersonal relationships. According to the basic demographic data, 81.5 percent of the youths were male, and 18.5 percent were female. Exhibit 3-9 shows that, despite the program's intended targeting of "older" youth (13-18), in fact over half of the youths during this period of time were 13 years or younger. Exhibit 3-10 shows that Hispanics were the dominant ethnic group.

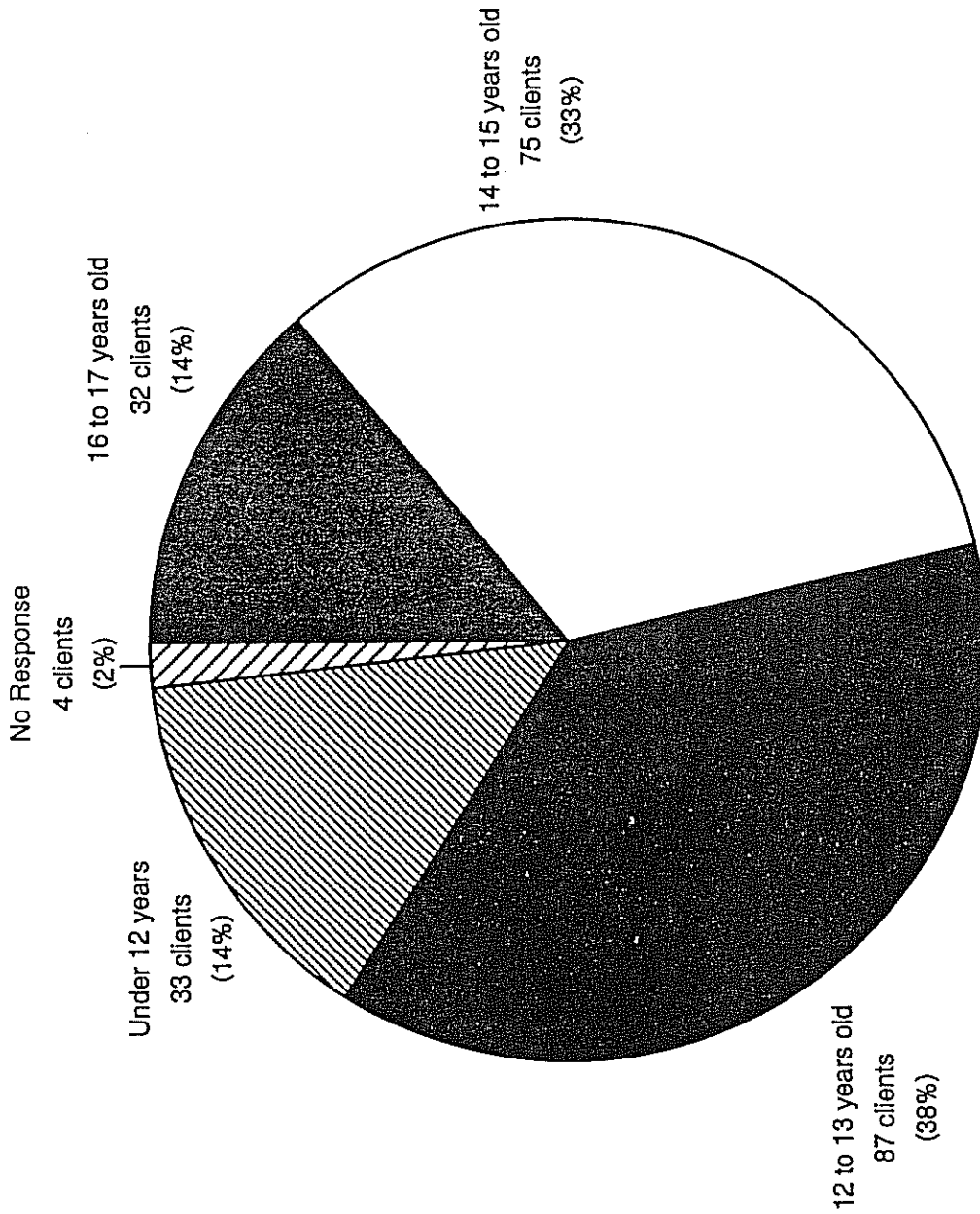
For the post-test, records for the same youths were retrieved six months later. The post-test data were not based on a repeated administration of the pre-test instrument. Rather, the post-test consisted of tallying the probation officers' subsequent recommendations for these youths. Such recommendations were available for 81 of the youths. Exhibit 3-11 describes the 10 possible recommendations. Of these, only recommendation nos. 1 and 10 may be considered positive; recommendation nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, or 9 are all considered negative; and recommendation nos. 2 and 3 may be considered neutral ("no change"). The 10 recommendations were therefore coded into these 3 broader categories.

DIVERSION AND COURT-ORDERED PROBATION (L.A.) LOGIC MODEL



**AGE OF PARTICIPANTS
(EARLY INTERVENTION)**

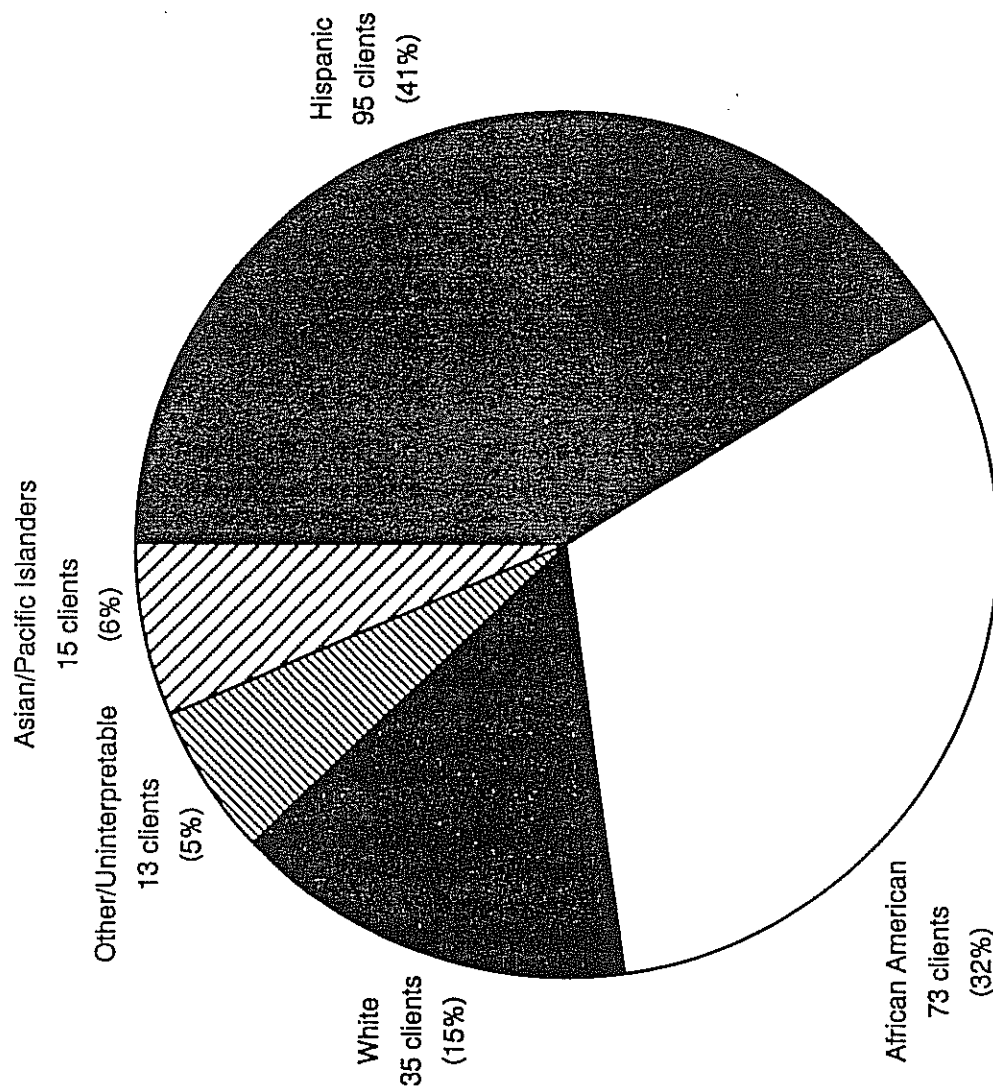
(N = 231)



Source: Gang Alternative and Prevention Program (L.A.)
LA02—Worksheet

**ETHNICITY AND RACE OF PARTICIPANTS
(EARLY INTERVENTION)**

(N = 231)



Source: Gang Alternative and Prevention Program (L.A.)
LA02—Worksheet

Exhibit 3-11

PROBATION OFFICERS' RECOMMENDATIONS: DESCRIPTION OF RESPONSE CODES

1. **Terminate/Dismiss Case:** Juvenile successfully completed and met the conditions of their probation and their record is expunged—for the 654s. For the 602 WICs (meaning they violated a 654 supervision—if they have a *terminate and dismiss* this means that they have met conditions of the 602 probation and formal charges are dropped from their record when the youth turns 35 years old.
2. **Remaining conditions:** The youth continues in their probation with all conditions remaining unchanged.
3. **Continued for their supervision:** The probation conditions remain and supervision is continued.
4. **Add conditions:** Additional conditions are added to the terms of the probation.
5. **Recommend proceeding with petition:** The probation officer is recommending that the juvenile court proceed with the outstanding court petitions; that is, if the youth are not meeting the terms of their probation, the P.O. is recommending to the court to initiate proceedings against the youth which may result in detention or transfer to formal probation.
6. **Request for warrant:** The youth has violated some term of their probation and the P.O. is requesting the court to issue either an arrest warrant or a bench warrant for the youth—the bench warrant is because they failed to appear for their probation office contact meeting or the youth failed to appear in court; the arrest warrant would be issued if the P.O. believes that the youth has violated the law.
7. **Recommend detention:** A recommendation by the P.O. to the juvenile court to detain the youth as a result of some violation of their probation.
8. **Termination:** A closure of the probation case file for one of several reasons: lost contact; transferred to another jurisdiction or the youth moved to another jurisdiction; other causes including death; or a transfer to adult court.
9. **Remain in detention:** The youth remains on probation with continued supervision with the P.O. recommending the youth remain in detention.
10. **Release from detention:** The youth is released from detention and remains on probation with continued supervision which may include added conditions to the supervision.

The analysis below therefore juxtaposes selected items from the pre-test with the three broad categories of recommendations as outcomes at the time of the post-test.

[Three complementary data collection activities were attempted unsuccessfully, mainly reflecting the budgetary challenges faced by the program. First, the evaluation team asked the probation officers to administer a short (two-page) instrument containing the self-esteem and other attitudinal items absent from their regular worksheet form. This administration was supposed to occur during the “baseline” period and repeated six months later. However, only 25 pre-tests and 10 post-tests were completed, too few to warrant analyzing the data. Second, the evaluation team also asked the probation officers to identify a comparison group, and administer the same short instrument to such a group. (The comparison group was to come from the regular juvenile probationers in the county system, but not in the GAPP program.) Again, the team received a small number of such instruments, but not enough to warrant analysis. Third, the team also collected information about the court charges associated with each youth, but the data only covered the period before and during the early part of the intervention period—but not any later charges. Therefore, this dataset was considered too incomplete for analysis.]

Findings. The pre-test data showed that: only a small minority of the 231 youths were associated with gang activity, substance abuse, or arrests:

1. GANG ACTIVITY
No. Percent

| | | |
|---------|-----|------|
| Yes | 35 | 15.2 |
| No | 165 | 71.4 |
| Missing | 31 | 13.4 |

| | | |
|----|-----|-------|
| N= | 231 | 100.0 |
|----|-----|-------|

2. SUBSTANCE ABUSE
No. Percent

| | | |
|-----------------|-----|------|
| Significant Use | 2 | 0.9 |
| Occasional Use | 36 | 15.6 |
| No Indication | 175 | 75.8 |
| Missing | 18 | 7.8 |

| | | |
|----|-----|-------|
| N= | 231 | 100.0 |
|----|-----|-------|

| | 3. ARRESTS | |
|-----|------------|----------------|
| | <u>No.</u> | <u>Percent</u> |
| Yes | 18 | 7.8 |
| No | 213 | 97.2 |
| N= | 231 | 100.0 |

However, a vast majority of the youths had allegations against them (the reason for being in the program in the first place):

| | 4. ALLEGATIONS | |
|-------|----------------|----------------|
| | <u>No.</u> | <u>Percent</u> |
| One | 213 | 92.2 |
| Two | 17 | 7.4 |
| Three | 1 | 0.4 |
| N= | 231 | 100.0 |

Cross-tabulations between these four pre-test conditions and the subsequent recommendations revealed that all four conditions were associated in the desired direction with positive recommendation outcomes—e.g., those with no gang activity, no substance abuse, no arrests, or fewer allegations were associated with the positive or neutral recommendations. One of these relationships—between no substance abuse and positive or neutral recommendations—attained statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 18.73$, $p < .001$)—see Exhibit D-6. Exhibits D-5, D-6, D-7, and D-8 show all the cross-tabulations (the maximum number for each tally was 81 clients, but missing records reduced this number for any given cross-tabulation):

Exhibit 3-12

GANG ACTIVITY AND SUBSEQUENT RECOMMENDATION (N=62)

| Gang Activity | Negative | No Change | Positive |
|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Yes | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| No | 13 | 20 | 22 |

Exhibit 3-13

SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND SUBSEQUENT RECOMMENDATION
(N=65)

| Substance Abuse | Negative | No Change | Positive |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Significant | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Occasional | 8 | 1 | 2 |
| No Indication | 7 | 23 | 22 |

Exhibit 3-14

ARRESTS AND SUBSEQUENT RECOMMENDATION
(N=71)

| Arrests | Negative | No Change | Positive |
|---------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Yes | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| No | 13 | 21 | 26 |

Exhibit 3-15

ALLEGATIONS AND SUBSEQUENT RECOMMENDATION
(N=71)

| Number of Allegations | Negative | No Change | Positive |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| One | 14 | 24 | 25 |
| Two | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Three | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Overall, the data from the diversion and court-ordered probation program were not as substantial as was earlier expected, in part due to the budgetary difficulties experienced by the program. However, the available

data showed the desired pattern of prior conditions in relation to the subsequent recommendations made by probation officers. Any further interpretation regarding the effectiveness of the diversion and court-ordered probation program was not possible.

E. Winner's Circle Program (Prevention)
Boston Community Centers
Boston, Massachusetts

Overview of the Community Environment and Gang-related Violence

In 1990, Boston experienced its most significant increase ever, in violence and in homicide, totaling 155 murders. This trend of increasing violence and homicides began in 1987 when 75 persons were murdered. The trend continued rising, up to 95 murders in 1988; and 100 murders in 1989. These increases in violence and homicide were coinciding with an equally dramatic increase in gang activity and violent gang related incidents.¹

Introduction

Boston Community Centers (BCC) has operated since 1972. BCC offers educational, recreational, and youth services as well as special programs for senior citizens and persons with disabilities. Currently, BCC operates the city's recreation facilities, which include 22 community schools, 8 recreation centers, 5 municipal buildings, 20 swimming pools, and 1 beach.

"The children, youth, and families who participate in Boston Community Centers are generally considered to be 'at risk,' if 'not high risk.' They often live in public or subsidized housing, and are surrounded and buffeted by a plethora of social ills including: alcohol and drug abuse, poverty, crime, violence, abuse/neglect, AIDS, physical and mental health problems, poor housing, joblessness, and illiteracy."²

The Winner's Circle Program (prevention component) and the Streetworker Program (early intervention component)—the two programs participating in this evaluation from Boston—are conducted under the umbrella organization of the Boston Community Centers. This section first discusses the prevention program, although a major disappointment was the inability of the program to provide the evaluation team with the needed data. This occurred because funding for the Winner's Circle Program was discontinued in December 1993, making the fall 1993 session the last program cycle. As a result, the evaluation team only received pre-test data on 36 youth.

¹Boston Police, *Anti-Gang Violence Unit*, Roxbury, MA, 1994.

²Boston Community Centers, *Back to School Program*, Boston, MA, Draft, no date.

[The evaluation team knew at the outset that Winner's Circle's funding would expire in December 1993, but the BCC anticipated continuing funding from the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP). Such continued funding did not occur. A further deterrent to data collection was a surprise requirement—not imposed until the evaluation team's second site visit—to gain clearance from the Boston Public Schools, its research division, and the principals of the three participating middle schools. The team tried repeatedly and unsuccessfully to gain this clearance, so even the data for the fall 1993 cohort of participants were not made available].

Meeting the Requirements of the Evaluation Design

The degree to which the interventions had the three requisite features is discussed below.

Community Involvement. The Winner's Circle Program and the Streetworker Program both appeared to have community involvement. The Winner's Circle Program took place in the local community centers and was developed in response to local issues. The program provided a "safe haven" for many youth. The neighborhoods were not safe for young children due to the gang and drug conditions, and in many cases home was either not safe or children went unsupervised due to working parents or other issues. The community center was based in the community and administered and staffed by residents of the community. The Streetworker Program was staffed by outreach workers indigenous to the neighborhoods in which they worked, who could access local at-risk youth and refer them to a variety of local services.

Comprehensiveness. The comprehensiveness of the interventions was assessed in three ways: (1) whether the two activities were part of the same organized effort, (2) whether the two activities collaborated, and (3) whether within each activity there was comprehensive service delivery. Both programs were administered under the Boston Community Centers. While the Winner's Circle Program was underway, it did not appear that the program staff or participants interacted in any way with the streetworker staff. The Winner's Circle Program appeared both on paper and in practice—while it was underway—to have been comprehensive. The program was designed to target the needs of youth both academically and on a variety of other dimensions, including prosocial afterschool activities to strengthen body and mind including sports, drama and self-esteem activities and access and referral to a variety of social services. The Streetworker Program provided comprehensive services to program participants either directly or through referral.

Collaboration with Law Enforcement. The Boston Community Centers program staff worked closely with all local agencies, including the Boston police and the municipal courts. The Winner's Circle Program staff were not directly involved with law enforcement officers via program activities. However, the Boston Community Centers staff were able to assist the evaluation team in accessing any juvenile court data that might be relevant to Winner's Circle participants. The streetworkers worked closely with the Boston Police Anti-Gang Violence Unit in three ways: assisting in rumor control and gang retaliation; assisting young people who need to surrender to police in entering the system; and providing soft intelligence to avert any locally planned gang violence.

The Prevention Program

The Winner's Circle Program had been co-sponsored by the Boston Community Centers and the Boston Public Schools. The program was designed to take a comprehensive, holistic approach to primary prevention for middle school students in grades 6, 7, and 8—ages 10-15 years old. Students attending 12 schools were offered a comprehensive instructional program along with support and in-house counseling services at their public schools. A highly structured and supervised recreational program was provided by each collaborating community center.

Services offered through Winner's Circle included: a 10-hour per day case-managed program that coordinated services at the middle school and at the community center after school; and after-school activities such as academics, counseling, tutoring, outreach, recreation, and social skills.

Winner's Circle was designed to increase academic performance, prevent substance abuse, and improve self-esteem through regular program activities. The program provided a safe haven for youths until 10:00 p.m., Monday through Saturday. The program was voluntary; the young people attended regularly.

Staff Characteristics. The unique element of the Winner's Circle Program was the student coordinator who maintains the role of counselor. The student coordinator communicated daily with the community center staff about each Winner's Circle participant, discussing academic activities to be focused on during the tutoring session afterschool and other activities or issues.

Prevention Strategies and Activities. The Winner's Circle Program provides a comprehensive holistic approach to prevention through a middle school instructional program with additional support and in-house counseling

services provided at 12 public schools. A structured and supervised recreational program is provided by the collaborating community center school which begins immediately after school closes at 2:00 p.m.

As described in a one-page program description, the Winner's Circle endeavors:

- *To provide all students with an excellent basic education and the chance to expand their abilities and talents to the fullest;*
- *To develop a comprehensive program to meet the needs of students who are not working up to grade level;*
- *To improve crisis intervention and support, and to institute prevention programs to deal with the problems of teenage drug abuse;*
- *To provide a safe and enriching environment until early evening each day;*
- *To provide high-quality, supervised activities, including such activities as tutoring, recreational programs, and support services; and*
- *To arrange for appropriate supplemental services from other agencies, on an "as needed" basis.*

The unique feature of the program was the comprehensive collaboration between the public schools and the community school centers and the resulting services provided to the students in the program. The support service coordinators in the public schools met regularly and spoke daily with the community center staff concerning individual students needs.

The student support coordinator screened all referrals, assessed each student's needs, designed and implemented service plans, and matched the student with appropriate services within the school and community, working closely with teachers, parents, school-based clinicians, the school nurse, health agency representatives, guidance counselors, and community center staff. The student support coordinator was responsible for processing between 150 and

200 referrals per site and chaired the student support team who collectively reviewed all referrals on a case-by-case basis.

Students were identified at risk of school failure when they exhibited one or more of the following risk-factors:

- Being two or more years behind grade level;
- Having poor attendance and/or behavior record;
- Exhibiting signs and/or symptoms of chemical dependency;
- Not meeting promotion policy requirements;
or
- Having health, social, or family problems that impair his or her ability to succeed in school.

Thirty-five of these most at-risk students were targeted for the Winner's Circle Program.

At the Boston Community Centers, the Winner's Circle supported two program specialists per center who provided tutoring, mentoring, and recreational activities for Winner's Circle participants participating in the after-school program. The community center programs operated Monday through Friday during the regular school year and throughout the summer when the regular day schools were not in session. School supplies, fee for instructional services, recreational equipment, student transportation home and snacks were provided to each center strengthening the overall quality of the after-school program.

Youth participating in the after-school program were required to attend by 2:00 p.m. Monday through Thursday and by 3:00 on Friday. Students were required to adhere to numerous rules including doing homework for the first hour from 2:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.; respecting others; paying a ten cent fine for swearing, and if they owed 50 cents or more they could not participate in swimming; and general good behavior.

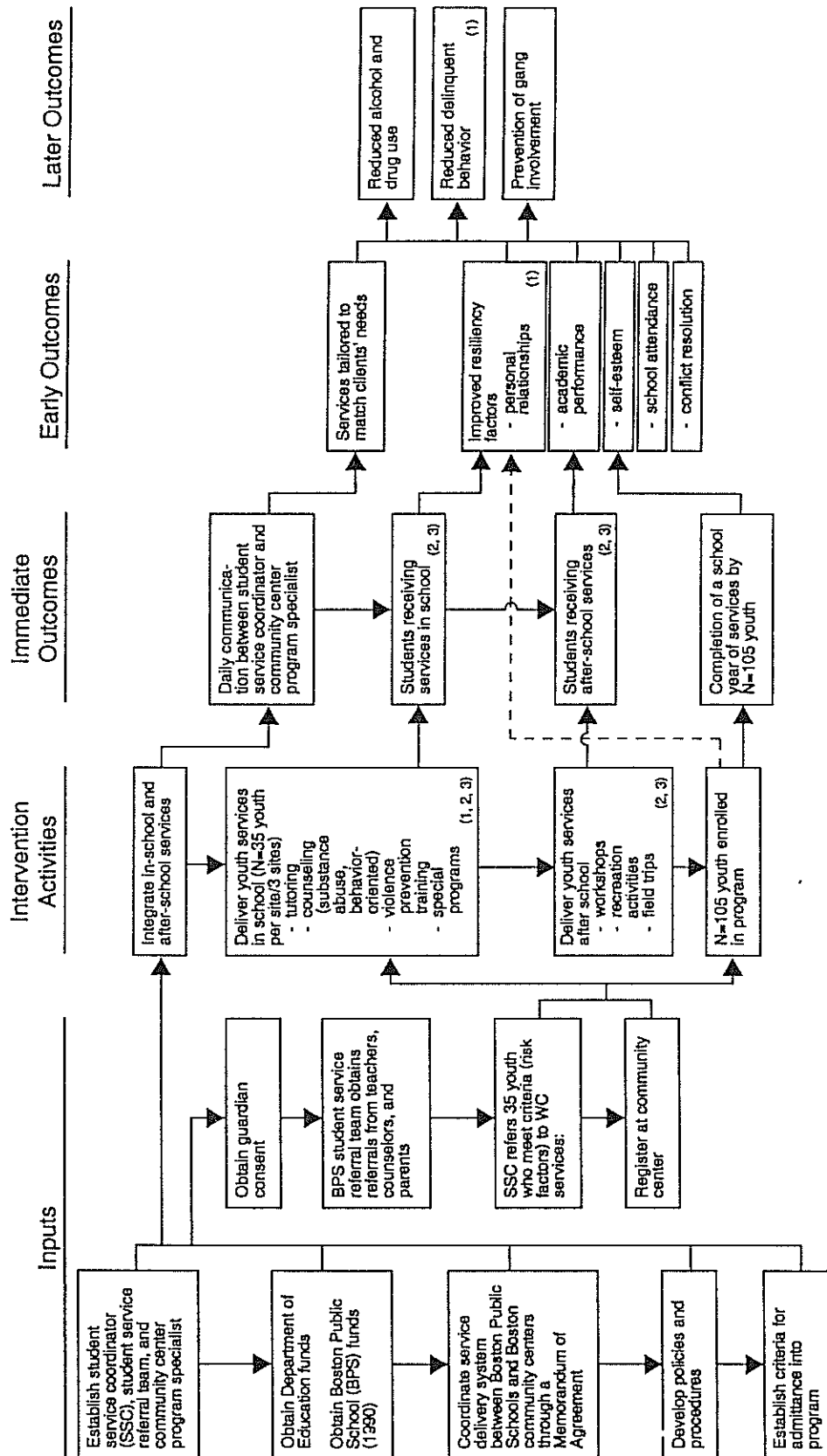
The community center provided alternative activities including, for example:

- Attending open studios of local artists;
- Attending the Boston Children's Theater;
- Sponsoring of "Reading is Fundamental" book fairs;
- Participating in a cable televised game show produced by the Center for Media Technology at the Campbell Resource Center;
- Attending the Children's Museum; and
- Elder awareness and interaction at a local nursing home.

The logic model depicted in Exhibit 3-16 shows how the evaluation team conceptualized the relationship between the inputs and activities to immediate, early, and later outcomes.

Exhibit 3-16

WINNER'S CIRCLE PROGRAM (BOST.) LOGIC MODEL



Documentation:

- (1) BCC08 — Pre/post Student Profile Form (self-report)
- (2) BCC03 — Biweekly Attendance Tracking Chart for In School Activities
- (3) BCC04 — Biweekly Attendance Tracking Chart for Community Center Activities

COSMOS Corporation
As of March 31, 1995

F. Streetworker Program (Early Intervention)
Boston Community Centers
Boston, Massachusetts

Intervention Program

Between 1989 and 1991, the Streetworker Program grew to include 22 streetworkers working with the 38 Boston Community Centers and the 22 nonprofit community councils. Each streetworker managed a caseload of about 10 clients between the ages of 11 and 15. The Boston Community Centers: houses the Streetworker Program in its administrative offices, providing complete office resources (space, desks, telephones, receptionist); pays streetworkers an annual salary; and provides them the affiliation with a legitimate institution and access to a network of resources.

The Streetworker Program helps youths and their families gain access to a wide array of health and social services, educational and recreational activities, and interventions for substance and alcohol abuse, as well as food and shelter. Additionally, school-based streetworkers assist urban youths and their families with career enhancement and conflict intervention between students and/or administrators.

Key elements of the Streetworker Program are:

- Engaging hard-to-reach youth;
- Referring them to needed services; and
- Involving them in constructive activities.

Streetworker services include referral and case management, such as: outreach, family involvement, peer and professional counseling, court advocacy, home visits, recreation, field trips, education, food (food bank), and shelter. Some specific examples, including services directly provided by streetworkers, are:

Roxbury Youth Advocacy Program: a youth advocacy program in the Juvenile Court, was started by the Chief Magistrate at the Roxbury Court while at the Roxbury Public Defenders Office. The Streetworker Program was invited to participate along with other community programs. Streetworkers attend court with the client, agree to conduct close monitoring, and involve the client in constructive activities.

Upon return to court from pretrial detention, the streetworker advocates for the client recommending potential program participation, and the judge may recommend some others. The streetworker continues further case management for both the courts and the youth. The court is responsible for monitoring the youth from 9 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. The streetworker is available and on call to monitor the youth referred to the program from the court from 9:00 a.m. to 10 p.m.

School-based Streetworkers: an important link between school and home, the streetworkers are able to intervene at a critical time in a youngster's life when little adult direction is available. Streetworkers participate in a student support team comprised of guidance staff, teachers, and health agency representatives who discuss cases and referral. The streetworkers complement the services provided on the student support team by addressing student discipline issues and drug dealing issues. The streetworkers bring community issues occurring over the weekend to the attention of the school staff, and according to the school superintendent, they focus on issues that help to avoid potential major conflicts (violent events, shootings, etc.).

The Back-to-School Program: an alternative middle school for expelled students, provided through the Boston Public Schools and the Boston Community Centers.

Boston City Hospital: a routine primary medical care and referral for counseling to clients brought in by streetworkers, and emergency services to those injured and brought in to the emergency room. A psychiatric nurse calls the streetworker who immediately comes in and talks to the youth as a crisis response, but also to avert any retaliation that may be planned by alerting other streetworkers who will then work the neighborhood, and alerting the Boston Police's Anti-Violence Gang Unit. This service is delivered on an as-needed basis.

According to the attending physician at Boston Hospital the strength of this approach is that it is a seamless collaboration:

- Youths are injured and treated for physical trauma;
- Youths are provided peer counseling via streetworkers and psychological counseling from staff;
- Streetworkers conduct advocacy in both the community and court if required. They

encourage a youth to move away from drugs, and to help them identify the issues in their lives and the street that got them into the position that they are in now; and

- The attending physician does routine medical and psychological follow-up on these clients.

The streetworker and attending physician coordinate follow-up to make sure that appointments are made and kept.

The Dimock Community Health Center: counseling services to clients referred by one streetworker who conducts outreach for the center via a Youth Intervention Program providing counseling services for adults—both through regular outpatient and therapeutic settings. One workshop activity conducted on site in five schools by a streetworker is focusing on prevention, education, and youth development. The workshop provides youth with skills that they will grow with, including academic activities, social skills, and recreation, in order to prevent them from getting into negative activities.

Boston Police Anti-Gang Violence Unit: young people who need to surrender to police often enter the system by contacting a streetworker, who will walk them through the system, explain what will happen and when, and contact the Boston Anti-Gang Unit. Officers in the unit and the streetworker work with the youth explaining options and the system.

The Boston Violence Prevention Program, Boston Department of Health and Hospitals: training to service providers, including training to the streetworkers in crisis intervention techniques, based upon the principles of the public health approach to violence prevention.

At-Riskness. The Streetworker Program is a citywide effort, with the streetworkers focusing on the city's most violent gang-infested areas, including Dorchester, South End, Roxbury, Mattapan, Jamaica Plain, and Mission Hill. Streetworkers also cover South Boston, Hyde Park, Roslindale, West Roxbury, and East Boston. The streetworkers as well as others interviewed on site described all program participants as "at risk," and many were described as disassociated or disenfranchised from any social institution. When asked if the streetworkers were reaching the "most" at-risk youth, interviewees responded that in most cases streetworkers are the only people making contact with these youth and linking them to systems of care.

Staff Characteristics. The streetworkers are not highly paid and are required to give a lot of themselves. Nonetheless, turnover has not posed a problem for the program. Streetworkers are typically young (though not in all cases), indigenous to the communities in which they work, and have some college training. All have a strong commitment to helping young people.

A streetworker conducts outreach, identifies a young person in trouble, attempts to bring the young person into the office for some intake, and to assess their overall situation and develop some type of services plan. The streetworker will then accompany the young person to any appointments set-up to ensure easy access to the service. Streetworkers manage a caseload of approximately 10 youths over a 6-month period.

Program Goals. To determine whether the program goals have been met, several benchmarks have been identified which include:

- Decreased contact with law enforcement;
- Reduced incidence of drug use and gang involvement;
- Improved self-esteem; and
- Improved school performance either academically or behaviorally.

Testimonial

Testimonial from different service providers and streetworkers themselves indicate that the program has been effective in reaching this population through the program. According to the Roxbury Court Chief Magistrate, some of the important and unique characteristics of the streetworker include:

- Credibility among criminal justice professionals;
- Credibility and trust of youth (more than any other establishment or system figure);
- Understanding of the nuances of at-riskness and are able to manage them;

- Knowing how to be tough when appropriate;
and
- Being on-call round the clock on the streets
with the youths.

Streetworker staff indicated that some youth will never be reached, but claimed that 85 percent of their cases will be successful. The staff also attest to a significant decreased retaliation (violence and shootings) to gang-related shootings.

According to the Director of Clinical Services at The Dimock Health Center, the streetworker's role is invaluable because no one else can move as effortlessly from the courts to the streets as the streetworkers. He also reinforced the idea that the streetworkers are reaching the most "at-risk" kids who are not in school. The streetworker's position is invaluable because they connect the most disconnected youths to services. Some youths are referred by other streetworkers to Dimock, but they also are referred to other treatment services.

The Streetworker Program is based on the premise that neighborhood youth workers can effectively intervene and prevent gang and other anti-social behavior in at-risk youth. The benchmarks identified earlier would serve as criteria for judging the program's success in achieving its intended outcomes.

Exhibit 3-17 contains a logic model for the Streetworker Program. The model depicts the causal flow of activities to outcomes. For example, under the "intervention activities" column, the seventh box in this column specifies the conduct of conflict mediation. The logic model goes on to assume that an immediate outcome of youths participating in conflict mediation is that they will adhere to the agreement specified in the conflict mediation. Continuing one step further, this in turn will lead to the early outcome of increased non-violent resolution of disputes and leading to the later outcomes of decreased delinquent violent behavior and gang-related violence and reduced substance abuse.

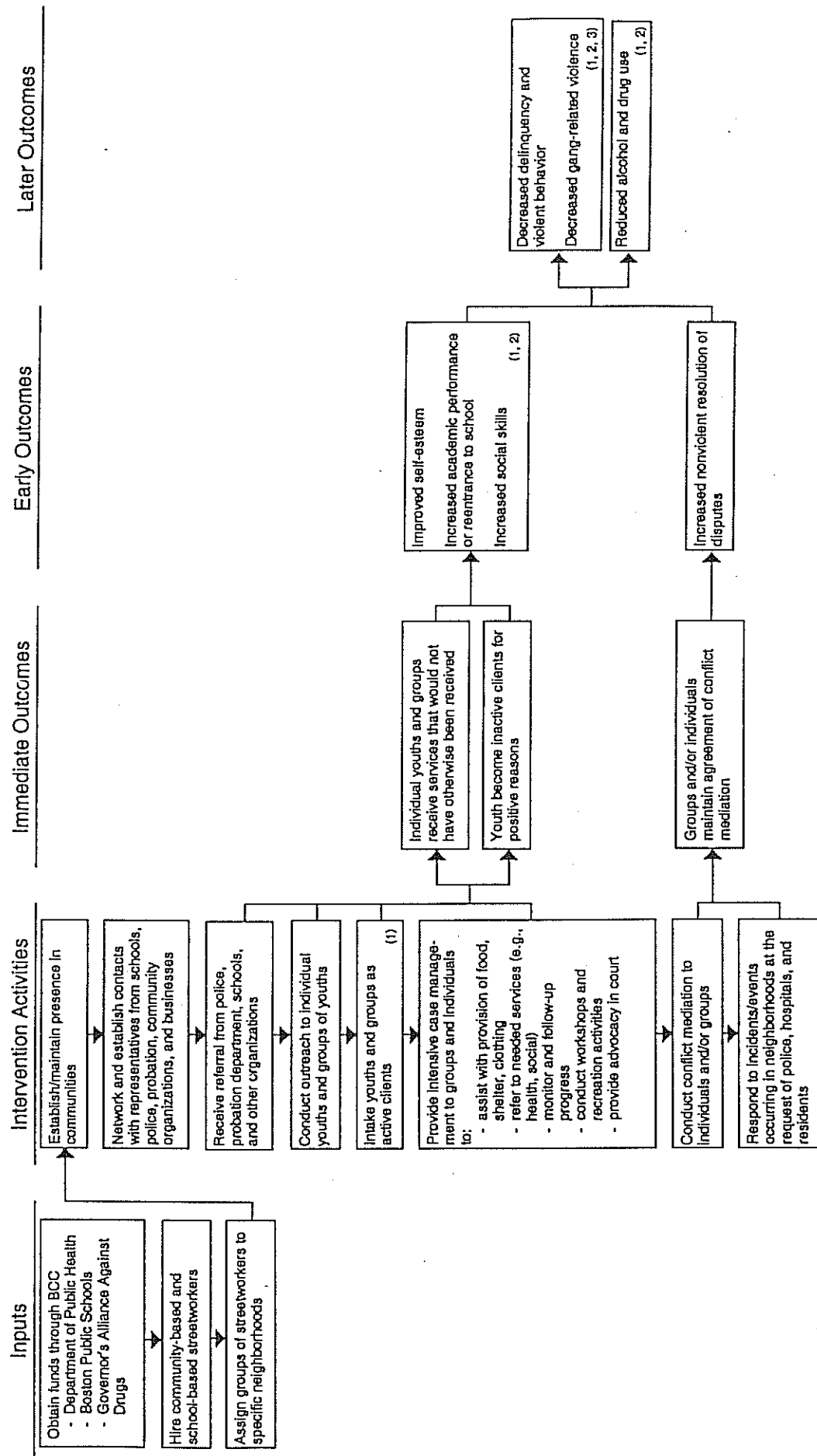
Outcomes

The assessment of outcomes from the Streetworker Program was based on two sets of data.

Pre- and Post-Test Instrument. The first set of data covered 108 youths participating in the Streetworker Program starting in the fall of 1993 (as with

Exhibit 3-17

STREETWORKER PROGRAM (BOST.) LOGIC MODEL



Documentation:

- (1) BCC22 — Intake and Pre-test Form (staff-report)
- (2) BCC23 — Post-test Form
- (3) BCC30 — Juvenile Court Data

the Los Angeles programs, youths are recruited and begin their affiliation on an individual, not grouped basis—so that the pre-tests are staggered according to the start date of the youth). The post-test was then administered about six months after a youth had been in the program. Post-test data for 86 youths were submitted to the evaluation team, but 44 of these did not have IDs for matching back to the pre-test. Therefore, the post-test data analysis was limited to 42 youths. Of the 108 youths at pre-test, Exhibits 3-18 and 3-19 show that over 50 percent of the youths were aged 15 or younger, and 69 percent of the youths were African American.

The instrument in this case called for a set of ratings to be made by the streetworker—not an instrument self-administered by the youths. Therefore, all of the data consist of the perceptions of a streetworker about an individual youth.

Juvenile Court Records. A second set of data derived from the court records of the juvenile courts in the Boston greater metropolitan area. The data covered 23 district, city, and county courts. The evaluation team provided the courts with the names of the 108 youths in the pre-test, and asked the courts to provide information on the frequency and types of offenses ever recorded about any of these youths. Of the 108 youths, 47 had recorded one or more offenses. The evaluation team counted up to five offenses per any given youth in this particular data retrieval.

Findings. As before, the analysis focused on the variety of outcomes claimed by the program or logically associated with this type of intervention. As with the previous interventions, most of the changes were not statistically different, but the text nevertheless notes the direction of the changes even though they were minor.

Among *at-risk* behavior items, the streetworkers' ratings indicated that youths had declined in their feelings or behavior in relation to alcohol and drug use (Q.1), and violence behavior (Q.2):

Exhibit 3-18

AGE OF PARTICIPANTS
(EARLY INTERVENTION)

(N = 108)

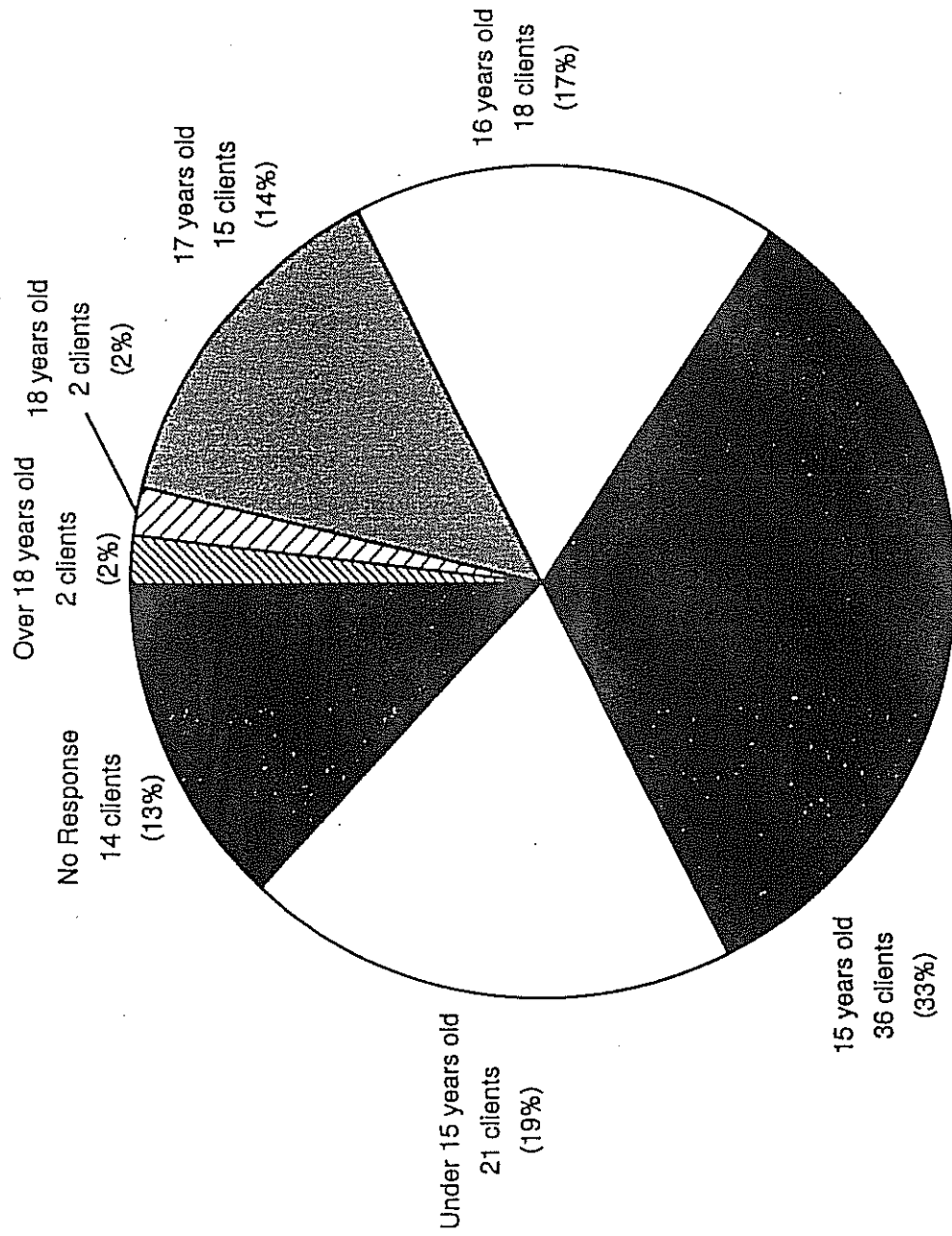
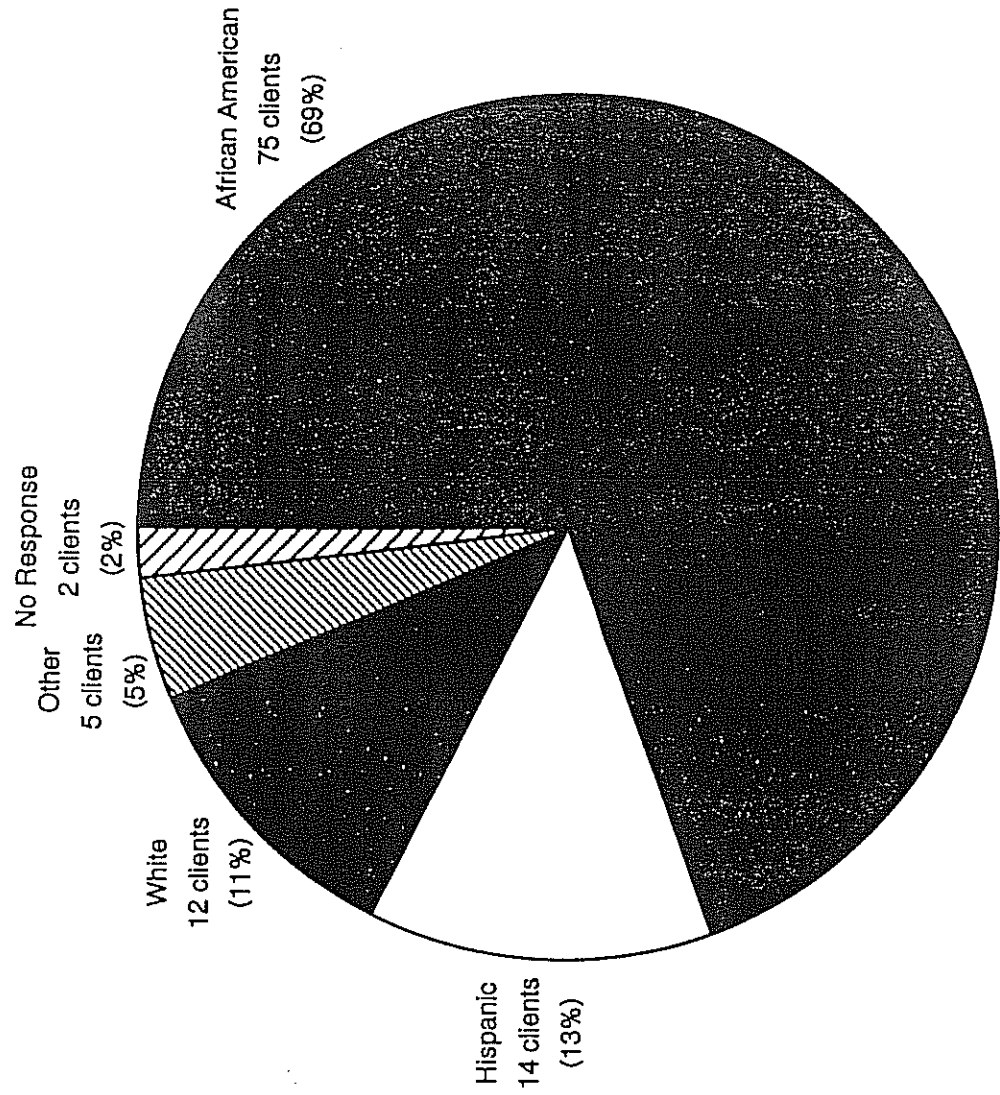


Exhibit 3-19

ETHNICITY AND RACE OF PARTICIPANTS
(EARLY INTERVENTION)
(N = 108)



Source: Streetworker Program (Bost.)
BCC22—Intake and Pre-Test Form

*Q. Circle the Item That Best Describes
the Youth's Perceptions of His/Her Feelings/Behavior
at this Time*

1. ALCOHOL AND DRUG USE

| | Pre | Post |
|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Poor or Very Poor | 60.4% | 75.6% |
| Fair | 27.4 | 17.1 |
| Good or Very Good | 12.2 | 7.3 |
| N= | 106 | 41 |

2. VIOLENCE/GETTING IN FIGHTS

| | Pre | Post |
|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Poor or Very Poor | 58.7% | 68.2% |
| Fair | 32.7 | 26.8 |
| Good or Very Good | 8.6 | 4.9 |
| N= | 104 | 41 |

However, in the streetworkers' ratings, the youths had improved regarding:
legal citations or detentions (Q.3):

*Q. Circle the Item That Best Describes
the Youth's Perceptions of His/Her Feelings/Behavior
at This Time*

3. AMOUNT OF LEGAL CITATIONS
OR DETENTIONS

| | Pre | Post |
|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Poor or Very Poor | 87.8% | 80.0% |
| Fair | 10.1 | 15.0 |
| Good or Very Good | 2.0 | 5.0 |
| N= | 99 | 40 |

Among *school* items, the streetworkers rated the youths as having
improved regarding their: school attendance (Q. 4) and school grades (Q.5):

conditions, two of the most important at-risk behaviors—alcohol and drug use, and violence—still received negative pre-post ratings, though not attaining any statistical significance.

The juvenile court record data do not offer any more encouraging picture. The court records covered 16 possible categories of offenses ("other" being the 16th type of offense). Through February 1995 (the earliest offense was recorded July 9, 1985), these court records showed that 47 of the 108 youths in the pre-test had criminal offenses, most of a serious nature. Exhibit 3-20 tallies all of the offenses associated with the 47 youths (many had multiple offenses) and shows that there was only a low incidence of the least serious offenses—trespassing, shoplifting, and fighting. All told, 47 youths had at least one offense, 35 had two offenses, 28 had three, 26 had four, and 22 had five or more (however, only up to a limit of five were counted in this analysis).

The court record also included the date of the offense, and the number of offenses prior to and during the program period (through April 1994) and after the program period (May 1994 to February 1995). These two numbers were 86 and 71 respectively (one missing record). Although this shift cannot be interpreted definitively in the absence of some norms—e.g., how many offenses others outside of the program have committed during these same time periods—it is clear that the program hardly eliminated criminal offenses or reduced them to any substantial degree, given the records of these 47 youths.

The overall conclusion is that streetworkers did rate their youths as having improved feelings or behavior along a number of dimensions—school, skill-building, self-esteem, and interpersonal relationships items (but a few of the skill-building items were statistically significant). However, even their ratings indicated negative changes in at-risk behavior, and when combined with the continuing record of criminal offenses based on the court records, the Streetworker Program cannot be said to have had a strongly positive effect on the participating youths. An important continuing caveat to this conclusion is the low-response rate for the post-test.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings

The preceding section has presented the findings from six gang prevention or early intervention activities. These six activities were selected after an exhaustive search, on the basis of claims of having outcome data and willingness to continue collecting such data with a pre-post if not also comparison group design. Overall, the results were minor.

Of the six activities, only four were able to provide sufficient data for analysis. All of the activities had encountered difficulties in maintaining their funding and therefore their services during the desired period of data collection, and in two cases this led to the unavailability of appropriate data for analysis. Of the four that provided sufficient data, the essential findings may be summarized as follows.

First, in San Francisco's Gang Prevention Curriculum, the pre-post differences on a variety of self-administered scales were extremely minor and in many cases in a direction away from a (normal) comparison group.

Second, in San Francisco's Youth Development Workers Program, two cohorts of pre-post data were available. The pre-post differences for both cohorts were generally in a desired direction, but, with rare exception, only a minor (and not statistically significant) degree. No direct comparison group was available, but one speculative possibility is that these minor changes were nevertheless a positive sign, given the strong negative records of law violations of other youths reported by the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department.

Third, in Los Angeles's Diversion and Court-ordered Probation Component, desirable traits at the pre-test were associated with positive probation recommendations after the intervention.

Fourth, in Boston's Streetworker Program, pre-post ratings of at-risk behavior moved in a (statistically nonsignificant but nevertheless) negative direction, although ratings of other items were slightly positive (but statistically nonsignificant in most cases). Further, court records showed no marked decline in subsequent criminal offenses.

Across all of these sites, the quality of the evidence was lower than desired. Data from comparison groups were not always available, the

instrumentation varied in its quality, response rates were not always high, and two of the six interventions reported no data sufficient for analysis.

Conclusions

The most general conclusion is that the findings from these various interventions did not produce evidence of any effects (positive or negative) from the interventions. Statistically significant differences were infrequent and the quality of the evidence was not strong. One may speculate about this overall conclusion and the lessons that might be learned. These include issues of: (1) intervention design and implementation, as well as (2) evaluation design and implementation.

One possible lesson is that the design of these interventions still basically reflects the "values transformation" and "control" theories whose interventions have historically been found ineffective (Lundman, 1993). Essentially, the theory calls for predelinquent interventions based on individual treatment (a counselor working with a youth), of which the historically strongest and most robust research has been the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. This possibility is raised because the community involvement, comprehensive service, and collaboration with law enforcement features of the six interventions in the present evaluation did not appear strong, although such features were present. Without such features, the four interventions for which data were analyzed all resemble closely the individual treatment model.

Another possible lesson is that the implementation of these interventions did not assure a sufficiently high dosage to attain clear results. The difficulties of maintaining funding and levels of effort and commitment appeared to affect all six interventions, with two of them leading to the absence of the needed evaluation data. A side note is that, in the current policy environment, funding support for these types of interventions—whether emanating from federal, state, or local sources—is highly uncertain. Carrying out interventions, much less evaluations, under these circumstances may be beyond reasonable expectations.

A third possible lesson is that the evaluation design and implementation were insufficiently directed or strong to produce discernible effects. The evaluation team struggled hard to get the intervention sites to collect data with appropriate instruments, and to collect data from comparison groups. The team itself collected a large amount of data from other archival sources, both schools and criminal justice agencies. Despite these efforts, the final datasets were disappointing. Such experiences may call into question the entire strategy of evaluating existing rather than new interventions. Presumably, a

new intervention would have associated with it the appropriate evaluation design and data collection activities, but as noted in Section I, the dilemma is that the new intervention might itself not be implemented well enough to be evaluated or might be implemented differently than originally planned (thereby jeopardizing the original evaluation design and data collection plans).

All of these lessons may have merit. A possible future direction is to marshal the resources needed for a robust intervention, based on the best available theories, and to develop evaluation technologies that can be put into place once an intervention has demonstrated sufficiently strong implementation processes and dosages. Unfortunately, the most promising current theories, calling for sustained community intervention and comprehensive services, also are likely to be the most costly and most difficult to implement—and are the most difficult to evaluate. Ongoing efforts to evaluate community partnerships, in delinquency or related fields such as substance abuse prevention, therefore may deserve greater attention at this time.

A final possible future strategy would be to engage in a two-staged process. Promising (but already existing) interventions would be monitored for consistent outcomes, as in a management information system rather than an evaluation (stage one). Those that showed repeated results over a period of time—and whose funding was secure for a new cycle of activities—would then be asked to cooperate in a complete evaluation, with an appropriate evaluation design (stage two). In this scheme, sponsoring agencies would monitor a large number of stage-one sites and derive useful administrative data at a minimum from all of these sites. The more costly and burdensome evaluation investments and designs could then be applied to only a few selected situations.

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Youth Gangs, Drugs, and Violence

"In the 1950s youth gangs were widely recognized as a serious problem in major U.S. cities. . . Three decades later, youth gangs still are widely recognized as a serious problem in the United States. But there is a major difference. Youth Gangs of the 1980's and '90's are more numerous, more prevalent, and more violent than in the 1950s, probably more so than at any time in the country's history" (Miller, 1990).

The past decade has seen significant increases in gang activity, gang-related homicides, and gang-related drug-trafficking. Criminal gangs have increased in number and size and spread to cities in all 50 states (Klein and Maxson, 1989; McKinney, 1988; and Spergel, 1990b). From 1985 to 1989, homicides per capita rose 10 percent (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1990). During this same period, the number of emergency room mentions for cocaine rose 317 percent, while emergency room mentions for heroin rose 20 percent (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1990).

These three trends are linked (Skolnick, Correl, Navarro, and Rabb, 1988; and Taylor, 1990a). Gangs are clearly a major source of other criminal justice problems exacerbating existing levels of delinquency, crime, and drug abuse (Elliott, Huzinga, and Ageton, 1985; and Fagan, 1990). And, the gang problem has gotten worse (Short, 1990; and Miller, 1990). Gang members participate in a host of crimes ranging from petty theft to premeditated murder. Some gangs are predominantly drug-trafficking organizations. However, gangs also play a variety of roles in drug abuse and predatory crime (Spergel, 1990b). Despite the lack of national trend data on gang activity, there is increasing concern on the part of law enforcement officials that gangs are spreading from the largest metropolitan areas to medium-sized and smaller cities. The extent of this movement cannot be determined precisely. Reports by law enforcement officials suggest that many cities are experiencing this problem, although some cities may have an exaggerated perception of the extent of their gang problems, and other cities may be engaged in denial when they claim a total absence of ganging. Spergel (1990b) suggests that police

Although violence and drug use can be pervasive within gangs, the relationship among these factors is difficult to establish. First, Spergel (1990a) points out that there is no consensus as to what crimes can be attributed to gangs. This is not merely an academic debate among criminologists; police departments themselves differ as to what incidents to ascribe to gang activity (Spergel, 1990b). Klein and Maxson (1989) illustrated this point by comparing the definitions of gang-related homicides used by the Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department to the more restrictive definition used by the Chicago Police Department. When the Chicago definition of gang-relatedness was applied to the Los Angeles homicide data, the interpreted numbers of gang-related killings in Los Angeles were reduced by 14 percent to 25 percent (Klein and Maxson, 1989).

Second, recent research suggests that the relationship between drugs and crime may vary by type of gang. Fagan (1989) was able to distinguish between four different types of gangs:

- Social gangs—not very involved with crime and little drug use;
- Party gangs—not very involved in predatory crime, but heavily involved in drug use;
- Serious delinquents—heavily involved in predatory crime, but not as involved in drug use as party gangs; and
- Organized gangs—extensively involved in predatory crime, drug use and sales.

These four types were found in three cities and were not associated with any particular ethnic group. The fourth type—organized drug dealing and predatory gangs—is more likely to be involved in drug-related violence.

Research on Gangs

Gang Membership and Types. Recent gang research focuses on the gang context: environment, economics, and relationship to violence (Knox, 1991). However, early gang research focused on street gangs by ethnicity (Whyte, 1943), type (Thrasher, 1968), class (Cohen, 1955), and organizational structure (Yablonsky, 1962).

More recently, Klein, Maxson, and Cunningham (1990) point to what is different about the gangs of today: The modal age for gangs has increased from 16 to 20 years; the propensity for violence has increased; and ethnic representation is more diverse.

Gangs and Violence. The problems of gangs, drugs, and violence have been addressed in a variety of research studies. Unfortunately, the research, though enlightening, is far from definitive.

Research on gangs goes back to the early decades of this century (Puffer, 1912; and Thrasher, 1936.) However, there are few general statements about gangs that can be applied across diverse geographic, temporal, and ethnic settings. As a recent expert on gang research summarized: "The scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem is not clearly or reliably known because of limited research and the lack of consensus on what the definition of a gang or gang incident is" (Spergel, 1990a). Most researchers are beginning to recognize the following relationships between gangs and crime:

- Juvenile delinquency is frequently a group activity;
- Males participate more frequently in gangs than females;
- Crime specialization among gangs is rare;
- Gang participation and activity declines with participants age; and
- Gang crime is more prevalent in poor, lower socio-economic neighborhoods, marked by substantial social disorganization.

Thrasher (1936) noted that boys form play groups and that some develop into gangs. He and other early criminologists noted that group delinquency among boys and teens is more frequent than individual delinquent acts (Shaw and McKay, 1942). This tendency toward co-offending among juveniles is as true today as it was earlier in this century (Reiss, 1988). Similarly, ganging was and still is a primarily male enterprise; girls seem to participate less in gangs and female gangs are rare (Thrasher, 1936; Spergel, 1990b). Additionally, gang members involved in criminal activities participate in a variety of crimes and do not seem to specialize in one form of crime (Klein and Maxson, 1989). In other words, a gang member who commits

robberies is also likely to commit other offenses. Further, gang affiliation, like most deviant behavior, declines with age (Thrasher, 1936; Spergel, 1990b), and criminal gangs are more prevalent in impoverished neighborhoods characterized by rapid population turnover, and reduced social and parental controls (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Elliott, Huizinga and Ageton, 1985; and Spergel, 1990b).

Variability of Gangs. Because researchers have not been able to agree on a definition of a gang, they have been unable to find a link between ganging, violence, and drugs. However, this also may be because researchers have not made the appropriate distinctions among gangs. The research strongly suggests that gangs differ in composition, organization, and activity—and that some gangs are clearly involved in drug-trafficking, dealing, and violence. Further, there is evidence that less serious gangs can and do evolve into serious gangs, under the right conditions (Short, 1990).

The most consistent finding is that there is a great deal of variability in gangs, gang activity, and gang problems. Gangs vary by: ethnic make up, their involvement in predatory crime, their drug-related activities, the age of members, the propensity toward violence, their stability, their cohesion of the organization, and a variety of other factors. Even when one focuses on a single factor—for example, gangs involved in drug-trafficking—there is variation in the type of drug, how they market it, their aggressiveness in expanding their drug market, and their willingness to use violence.

Gang Interventions

Tracing Prevention and Intervention Efforts. Many gang prevention and intervention efforts for gang and at-risk youth have been focused at two levels: at-risk youth, and the larger social/economic environment.

Law enforcement efforts for gang control commonly target delinquent or gang-oriented youth through suppression. Suppression strategies include intelligence-gathering, tracking, arresting, vertical prosecution and sentencing—particularly of the hard-core “gang leaders”—and keeping them in jail or prison as long as possible. Interagency intelligence-sharing at the local, state, and federal levels has allowed law enforcement to more easily track identified gang members on computerized databases. These suppression strategies are expected to rid communities of gang members.

Some evidence points to the effectiveness of law enforcement in solving gang-related violent crimes. However, other evidence suggests that this only delays gang formation and violence in smaller cities with an emerging gang

problem. No research has indicated that suppression alone over the long- or short-term has decreased or lowered gang crime (Spergel, 1990a).

Strategies targeted to the larger socio-economic environment emphasize structural changes to provide accessibility to and availability of jobs—as well as opportunity, training, services, and education. These intervention strategies are aimed at developing a process and structure of support, opportunity, and growth. Other intervention strategies targeting youth involve outreach, counseling, support services, and involvement in positive activities with a larger group—with the intent that the group can act as a change agent.

Intervention efforts in the 1960s reflected the rehabilitative model focusing on individual change and value transformation. However, subsequent evaluation deemed these efforts ineffective, and surveillance and deterrent efforts became more prevalent although their effectiveness has not been evaluated. Programs and research from the 1960s and 1970s indicate that what is needed to address gang-oriented and high-risk youth are comprehensive, interorganizational efforts within the community (Klein and Maxson, 1989). The Chicago Intervention Network (CIN) model offers disadvantaged youth with a lifestyle alternative to gangs (Martin, 1988). Its five programs promote: reduction of gang violence; citizen involvement in addressing gang problems; employment and training opportunity; positive youth development services to institutionalized youth; and street intervention to diffuse hostilities and avert violence.

The current literature enumerates many youth gang prevention, early intervention, diversion, interdiction, suppression, and related activities (e.g., California Council on Criminal Justice, 1989; Goldstein, 1990; Goldstein and Huff, 1993; and Vigil, 1990). Unfortunately reviews of these activities do not present a complete picture of the underlying intervention strategies or their possible relationships. However, the activities can in fact vary significantly, in terms of their strategic placement in the overall domain of high-risk youth, youth gang, and drug-related environment.

The Current Need for a Flexible Strategy. Given the variation in gangs, it is not surprising that different cities and different neighborhoods may be experiencing different gang problems. Klein and Maxson (1989) are blunt in their assessment of gang problems: “The assumption of dealing with common phenomena from city to city is not only inappropriate, it is grossly inaccurate.” It is likely that gangs change over time, making knowledge of ganging obsolete unless it is continuously updated in an objective manner. Given this variability, anti-gang strategies need to be flexible and based on the specific problems of a city or neighborhood within a given time period. In fact, after seven decades of attempts to alleviate gang problems, the best explanation for

Spergel's (1990a, 1990b) inability to identify widely used programs that are generally acknowledged to be effective may be that there is no single strategy that works in all places at all times.

Flexibility through Comprehensive Efforts. In conducting current fieldwork on comprehensive gang initiatives, the project team identified a number of comprehensive initiatives and conceptualized the link among project outcomes, activities (prevention, intervention and suppression), and the gang problem being addressed. Comprehensive strategies, with multiple organizations, agencies, and activities, are the types of efforts identified as most promising for working with the gang problem today. A process and impact evaluation of these efforts could prove fruitful for communities nationwide.

Flexibility through Multiple Initiatives: Existing Federal Programs. Flexibility also has been created by the variety and multiplicity of recent federal initiatives, often but not always feeding into comprehensive programs at the local level. For example, the U.S. Administration on Children, Youth and Families, Family and Youth Services Bureau (FYSB), has made available funds for competitive discretionary grants for a Youth Gang Drug Prevention Program. Members of the project team have provided training and technical assistance to two cycles of grantees provided funding by FYSB. The purpose of the FY1989 funding cycle of the Youth Gang Drug Prevention projects was to conduct programs to reduce and prevent the involvement of youth gangs that engage in illegal drug-related activities. Awards were given to coordinated activities between community-based organizations and city, county, and state agencies leading to more consolidated and sustained efforts in specific geographic regions. The 52 FY1989 grants were made in three priority areas:

- Establishment of community-based consortia for addressing issues relating to youth who are members of, or at-risk of becoming members of gangs involved in illicit drug use;
- Development of single purpose youth gang prevention, intervention, and diversion programs; and
- Innovative support programs for at-risk youth and their families in communities with high incidence of gangs involved in illicit drug use.

The second cycle of funding in FY1990 awarded 32 new grantees in four new focus areas:

- Development of intervention strategies for intergenerational gang families;
- Field initiated research for youth gang prevention;
- Development of innovative youth gang prevention and intervention strategies aimed specifically at adolescent females; and
- Development of community or neighborhood plans for identifying and addressing local youth gang problems and solutions.

Current grantee projects target all populations from very young children to grandparents who find themselves raising their grandchildren—whose parents are gang members. Each community implements strategies identified as necessary for working with its unique problems given community circumstances and the level and type of gang problem. Additionally, the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Office of Justice Programs (OJP) is currently conducting an assessment of effective, comprehensive, anti-gang efforts as the first step in developing a model program for replication. Members of the project team are collaborating with the Police Executive Research Forum in doing this assessment.

Other federally funded programs offer guidance in the comprehensive, community approach. The Boys and Girls Clubs Gang Prevention and Intervention program—funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention—involves interagency coordination and developing interventions for youth at-risk of ganging or delinquency. This program involves 50 Boys and Girls Club units of the Boys Club of America in a targeted outreach program of delinquency prevention, focusing on gang prevention and intervention. Five test sites will develop an intervention model to address the needs of their clients. The project is currently in the fourth stage of a four-stage development process:

- Identification and assessment of program approaches;
- Development of training;

- Development of technical assistance materials; and
- Testing of the prototypes.

The Boys and Girls Club Gangs program is anticipated to serve approximately 1750 youths at-risk of being involved in gang or delinquent behavior. Recruitment will involve interagency collaboration with 200 referral agencies.

A final example is an OJJDP funded impact evaluation, the Evaluation of the Habitual Serious and Violent Juvenile Offender Program (HVSJOP) which involved implementation and evaluation of a model program. This program targeted habitual offenders for intensive and swift prosecution and improved correctional programs. The program was first funded in 1986. A process and impact evaluation study was funded using a multiple-cohort design on four HVSJOP sites. The cohort design makes comparisons between the experience of the "target offenders" processed before and during the program, as well as between non-target offenders in the two time periods. The evaluation will determine if the HSVJOP has made measurable improvements in processing time, case findings and sentencing of serious, habitual offenders (OJJDP, 1988).

One local effort, the Gang Community Reclamation Project, which was federally funded, targeted a number of communities in the harbor area of Los Angeles County, developing a coordinated drug and gang prevention effort among law enforcement, the schools, community-based organizations, churches, businesses, and private citizens.

Summary

The seriousness of current gang problems has led to the need for identifying improved and effective gang intervention strategies. Although extensive research on gangs has been carried out over the years, the identification of such strategies has been slow. In part, the nature of the gang problem has shifted, and newer strategies must be found. Rigorous evaluation of existing models has not occurred.

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TELEPHONE SCREENING INSTRUMENT

Respondent: _____

Title: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____ Date of Screening: _____

Screened by _____

Directions to screener: Contact the respondent to schedule a time for the interview (allow a minimum of one hour). During the interview, ask the necessary questions and probes to gain a complete understanding of the agency's gang intervention activities. After the interview, answer each of the following questions based on your conversation with the respondent. Include in your answers any documentation sent by the respondent after the interview.

1. Enumerate the gang prevention activities currently undertaken by the organization? When did these activities begin?
2. Enumerate the gang intervention activities currently undertaken by the organization? When did these activities begin?
3. For each activity, what outcome data are collected? How are the data analyzed or evaluated?
4. For each outcome measured or evaluated, document the following comparisons:
 - Site performed better than at an earlier time (pre-post comparison);

- Site performed better than another site (cross section comparison);
 - Site performed better than a broader comparison group (cross-section comparison);
 - Site's performance trend is in desired direction (time series comparison);
 - Outcomes appear faster or better than expected;
 - Outcomes exceed the initial goals or objectives; or
 - Outcomes exceed the established standard.
5. For each outcome, what compelling explanation of events is provided by the respondent?
 6. For each outcome, what rationale can the respondent provide for rejecting a rival explanation?
 7. What documentation can the respondent send us regarding the activities, outcomes, and causal interpretations?
 8. What is the procedure for obtaining the agency's cooperation in being evaluated?
 9. Describe the agency's interest in being selected as an evaluation site?
 10. Provide any additional relevant information not captured in your other answers.

EVALUATION OF GANG INTERVENTIONS

1. Responses to Introductory Comments:1.a. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #1 ::

1) ..."It was essential to have developed a theoretically driven research design and program effort. A research and development design could also have been imposed on the program and evaluation." (p.1)

INSERT THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE #1 on p.iii-following para 1:

The evaluation strategy was methodologically driven using a theoretical set of gang interventions, as well as drawing on theory to guide the selection of the type of interventions selected for participation, and the parameters of the sponsoring agency whose priority was to focus on "the role of social service agencies, schools, families, peers, and community groups in the lives of those high risk youth who become involved in gangs and those who do not" (NIJ Program Plan Grant announcement supporting this evaluation, 1992-check year)

2) ..."A basic policy and research flaw also is the assumption that adequate or tested models for successful prevention and intervention exist for dealing with at-risk or gang youth through agency, probation, or street-work approaches."(p.1)

(integrate on p.4 in second to last paragraph in second sentence)

following "evaluation was"...insert: *attempting to identify effective strategies for youth in the prevention and intervention of gang involvement...*

(Response Comment)

This comment neglects to recognize both the 1992 NIJ program plan's objective for attempting to identify effective strategies for youth in the prevention and intervention of gang involvement through the use of multiple social factors, ie, community programs, outreach, schools, and families; and as described on page 1 of the report, the earlier work of Walter Miller and Irving Spergel, that : successful gang interventions can be created short of changing life in disadvantaged communities or of raising these communities to a more middle-class status. Resources can therefore be focused narrowly on gang members and those at risk for membership.

Assumption based on earlier work of Walter Miller and Irving Spergel as referenced on page 1 of report; that : successful gang interventions can be created short of changing life in disadvantaged communities or of raising these communities to a more middle-class status. Resources can therefore be focused narrowly on gang members and those at risk for membership.

1.b. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #2 :

No introductory comments provided to respond to.

1.c. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #3 :

No introductory comments provided to respond to.

1.d. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #4 :

No introductory comments provided to respond to.

2. Responses to Editorial Quality and Format Comments:

2.a. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #1 ::

I. Editorial Quality and Format.

1.)..."More systematic cross-agency program analysis as to underlying similarities and differences could have been attempted." (p2)

Agree

2).."More background data about agencies and neighborhoods or communities in which programs were carried out would have been useful." (p.2) *Develop more background information if possible.*

Mayor's Gang Prevention Program, Agency Description:

Neighborhoods/gang related problems; Population - SES - Low income - known gang activity in schools and from newspapers

insert response 2.a.2., p.29 prior to introduction.

Overview of the Community Environment and Gang-related Violence.

According to a May 3, 1992 article in the San Francisco Independent, a study conducted by students in a local middle school (one of the middle school participating in the evaluation), described that more than one-half of the city's teens are regularly exposed to crime in their neighborhoods, and that weapons, gang-violence, and child-abuse are staples of the youngsters lives. The survey indicated that 58% of the students see crime in their neighborhood regularly; 37% see people carrying weapons; 24% don't feel safe in their neighborhood; 18% are afraid to walk in their neighborhood during the daytime; 60% are afraid of their neighborhoods at night; 43% saw gang activity regularly occurring near their home; and 29% said child abuse is common.

According to another article in the San Francisco Examiner, on September 22, 1992 according to a San Francisco Police Department Gang Task Force Office, between April and September 1992, there were more than 20 shootings involving casualties (not including misses) in the Mission neighborhood. During that time 4 youths were killed. Police attribute the growing violence to the easy availability of guns, and to substance abuse. According to the officers, the catalyst for gang crimes differs from neighborhood to neighborhood. In the mission, the catalyst for violence is typically turf rivalry and revenge. Crimes typically include stealing car stereos, robberies and drive-by shootings. Drug-use is common, but not a lucrative undertaking like in Chinatown.

Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum:

Target population within schools in the context of neighborhoods & issues

Youth Development Workers Program:

Target population within schools in the context of neighborhoods & issues

Los Angeles Juvenile Probation Department, Long Beach Office

Agency Description:

Neighborhoods/gang related problems; Population - SES - Low income - known gang activity in schools and from newspapers

Gang Alternative and Prevention Program - Voluntary Probation:

Target population within schools in the context of neighborhoods & issues

Gang Alternative and Prevention Program - Voluntary Probation:

Target population within schools in the context of neighborhoods & issues

Boston Community Centers:

(Population - SES - Low income - known gang activity in schools and from newspapers)

insert 2.a.2.a., p.84, after first paragraph in Introduction

"The children, youth and families who participate in Boston Community Centers are generally considered to be "at-risk," if not "high-risk." They often live in public or subsidized housing, and are surrounded and buffeted by a plethora of social ills including: alcohol and drug abuse, poverty, crime, violence, abuse/neglect, AIDS, physical and mental health problems, poor housing, joblessness and illiteracy. ¹

insert 2.a.2.b, p.84, before Introduction

Overview of the Community Environment and Gang-related Violence.

In 1990, Boston experienced it's most significant increase ever, in violence, and in homicide, totalling 155 murders. This trend of increasing violence and homicides began in 1987 when 75 persons were murdered. The trend continued rising, up to 95 murders in 1988; and 100 murders in 1989. These increases in violence and homicide were coinciding with an equally dramatic increase in gang activity and violent gang

¹Boston Community Centers, *Back to School Program*, Boston, MA., Draft, nodate.

related incidents. ²

Winners Circle Program

Target population within schools in the context of neighborhoods & issues

Streetworkers Program:

Target population within schools in the context of neighborhoods & issues

²Boston Police, *Anti-Gang Violence Unit*, Roxbury, MA, 1994.

2.b. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #2 ::

I. Editorial Quality and Format.

(Q.1)"Does the full report adequately cover the technical aspects of the project? Is the content of each section presented clearly, completely, and at the appropriate level of detail?"

**"The evaluation requires substantive reconsideration because the evidence presented does not support the conclusion that the projects reviewed have had little effect."
(DISAGREE)**

2.b.1. "The first two sections of the report describe an evaluation strategy. In general these are well organized and clearly written. The charts are nicely developed and provide a clear means for conveying relevant information. The charts should, however, indicate the nature of evidence available for each of the evaluations, and the text should indicate why there is such a large discrepancy between planned evaluations and actual ones."

2.b.2. "The third section of the manuscript describes particular programs and their evaluations. Some important information is missing in this section:

2.b.2.a. Descriptions of staff characteristics should include data that could be helpful for identifying similar programs elsewhere. For example, (p.32), it would be helpful to know the education and training of the educational specialist. What types of degrees were the workers representing the CBO's pursuing?

2.b.2.a.1 Insert p.32. para 2.

The educational specialist for the Prevention Curriculum is an aspiring artist in the African American community in San Francisco, having participated in a number of gallery exhibits. Also, he had previously conducted similar types of risk-prevention presentations for the S.F. Department of Parks and Recreation.

2.b.2.a.2 Insert p.45, after para 3

One very important component of hiring program staff is that they be indigenous to, or grow up in the community, thus being familiar with local culture, issues and people. Youth Development Workers were recruited within each community through the community based organizations and in collaboration with the MGPP's project director. YDW's were typically indigenous to the community, familiar with community youth and adults, and demonstrated a sincere interest to have a positive impact on young people in the community. The workers, being indigenous to the community, were not atypically

exposed to gangs or gang-related activity, and understood some of the underlying factors influencing young people to get involved in such risky behaviors. Coupled with the training provided by the MGPP project director and other staff, the YDW's were better able to understand the influences of those underlying factors, and implement outreach and program strategies with young people participating in the MGPP, YDW's Program.

INSERT RESPONSE on p. 45, paragraph 3. Replace second sentence in paragraph two with:

A number of YDW's reported in individual interviews for this evaluation that they were pursuing college degrees in such areas as social work and art.

2.b.2.b Primary program activities should be described more fully (e.g., on pg. 32 and "positive self-imagery" on p. 33)

INSERT RESPONSE on p.32 end of bullet 2.

"some other event"...insert as recommended in the lesson plan--

INSERT RESPONSE at end of 3rd bullet:

(For example, in one exercise the instructor asks the students how they think they would feel if they frequently recalled mental pictures of their most embarrassing moments or mistakes they made. They then ask how they might feel if they frequently visualized the time they had succeeded, done something positive for someone else, or were complimented for something they had done well. Finally, they talk about negative imagery being similar to negative self-talk that can be changed by using a "thought stopping" skill and replacing the imagery with one that is positive. In addition, the class discusses how positive self-imagery can be used to improve self-esteem achieving personal goals and solving problems. (p.13 GPC). (SEE Exhibit XX for a sample lesson plan)

Insert a lesson plan from the curriculum as an exhibit -- "Positive self-imagery" exercise.

- 2.b.2.c. Too little information is given regarding the comparison group for the Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum. The report notes that the comparison group of 48 youths were enrolled in the 7th grade, in one of the same schools attended by the prevention participants. Were they in the school at the same time? **YES.** IF so how was the choice to participate made? If not, when was the comparison group in attendance?

INSERT RESPONSE P.36 FOLLOWING LAST SENTENCE

The comparison group was a 7th grade class in the same school, at the beginning of summer school immediately following the school spring semester, who were administered a pre-test. Participation was not voluntary, but administered by the education specialist at the request of the MGPP project director, and agreed to by the principle of the school in which the curriculum was provided.

- 2.b.2.d. "More information should be provided regarding who was studied in the evaluation for outcomes for the Mayor's Gang Prevention Curriculum. On p.31, the curriculum is described as having varied in terms of number of schools (between 2 & 8) and compression 14 and 7 weeks). Were all students included in the evaluation? If not, what biases were introduced? How were they distributed across schools, timing and course compression?" **AGREE**

INSERT RESPONSE p.31

- Not all students in all sessions were included in the evaluation. The MGPP education specialist provided the MGPP project director with the Fall 1993 participants pre & post tests, which were then provided to the evaluation team. The students included were participants in the 14-week sessions, from 5 different schools.

- 2.b.2.e. "More information also ought to be given about the questions used for evaluating impact. What, exactly, was asked, of whom, and under what conditions?" **AGREE**

INSERT RESPONSE p.32 following sentence 1 under subhead *Intervention.*

At the beginning of each first class of each curriculum session the education specialist administered a pre-test to the class participants. A post-test was then administered during the last class of the 7 week session.

- 2.b.2. f. p. 33 The philosophic basis for the program needs clarification. #4 contradicts #3 rather than compliments it (as is suggested by the "Likewise" with which it begins. #5 seems to claim that everything teaches beneficially, but provides no interpretation of what this involves."

2.b.2.f. RESPONSE COMMENT: The evaluation did not intend to assess/critique the philosophical intent of the intervention, but to assess the effectiveness of the activities on participants.

INSERT RESPONSE 2.b.2.f-insert p.31 new first paragraph

"The Gang Prevention and Education Curriculum (GPEC) is based on the premise that self-esteem, skill-building, and risk reduction is integral in the development of a confident, self-assured young person that will enable him/her to become productive and contributing members of our society.

This curriculum does not adhere to the approach which relies on graphics, videos, or posters alone, with only discussion as support. This perspective tends to assume that gang inclined youth need only be made aware of the hazards and detriments of the gang lifestyle to deter student from becoming involved with gangs.

The Gang Prevention and Education Curriculum takes the position that most youth who are attracted to gangs know the hazards and are fulfilled by the steadfast acceptance of the soldier mentality. For example, telling at-risk students that they or other innocent people may be hurt, which is repugnant to most, speaks to a value system which accepts such results as inevitable, and occasionally as necessary. (p.1,GPEC)"

- 2.b.2.g. "The reference list is incomplete."
 SEARCH ALL REFERENCES: - Only one error: Appendix A: Fagen, year 1986.

2.b. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #2 -- I. Editorial Quality and Format (continued):

(Q.2) Is the Report well-written and well-organized? Are the chapters and sections consistent in their approach and presented in a logical progression?

- 2.b.2.h. "The introductory pages should include a clear picture of the weaknesses of the evaluations. As written it misleadingly suggests that six programs have been monitored and evaluated against control or comparison groups, using both quantitative and qualitative data. In fact, evaluation of only one program included a control group, -- and that one was comparable to only part of the treatment group. No control groups were used for evaluating the other five programs. Criminal justice records were used to evaluate only one program -- and evaluation of the program did not include a comparison group."

RESPONSE COMMENT 2.b.2.h.

The original evaluation design intended to collect data on comparison groups, identified early in the site selection. Due to the difficulties of collecting participating program data of the program participants, and the difficulties encountered in attempting to collect comparison group data, the evaluation team focused on collecting the evaluation program participants data. Circumstances changed at each of the sites from the time of site selection to implementation of the evaluation, and the likely comparison groups initially discussed either did not materialize, or their data were not easily accessed.

- 2.b.2.i. "For the most part the report is well written. Occasionally, however the word data is treated as though it were singular (e.g. p. 22). Occasionally, too a word seems wrongly selected: (e.g. formatted p.23-REPLACE WITH CATEGORIZED; document on p.24 DISAGREE or a sentence is confusing. e.g. p.20. "The program director and staff also assisted in defining these activities as part of their program planning" and

Replace with this sentence:

- 2.b.2.j. p. 48 "Peer counseling and conflict resolution were activities conducted as needed--often daily--by the youth development workers for the GPP participants."

"It would be helpful to have the sections describing the each of the six interventions follow a similar format. When no information is available for one of the interventions, a heading, followed by "no information available" would appropriately indicate the status."

"Lack of specificity in describing the Youth Development Workers Program (p.45-46) leads to confusion regarding whether the Youth Development Workers or their clients were targets of the intervention."(p.2) AGREE

Insert Response p.45, 2.b.2.k. The Youth Development Workers Program was strategically designed although not specifically described with the following dimensions in mind:

- *First and foremost, to conduct outreach to large numbers of neighborhood youths;*
- *prevent them from getting involved in gangs and drugs*
- *get them involved in the program activities, and influence them to make low-risk decisions concerning choices in their daily lives.*

However, the program administrators saw a unique opportunity in this grant to do a number of other important systemic things;

- *Utilizing federal grant dollars efficiently and effectively;*
- *Provide training and jobs to local youth to work for the Mayor's Gang Prevention Program as outreach workers to other neighborhood youth. Hiring local youth does a number of important things:*
 - it employs local youth--bring the jobs to the neighborhood;*
 - employing neighborhood youth assists the neighborhood people in accepting the program;*
 - employing neighborhood youth in the neighborhood sets them up as role models for other youth in the neighborhood;*
- *Provide local youths a respectable salary,*
- *Demonstrate to other neighborhood kids through the hiring and training of the neighborhood youths as youth development workers that they have choices about the types of daily activities they want to participate in; that a job is attainable for youth just like them; and healthy, pro-social, low-risk lifestyles are cool and socially acceptable.*

2.c. Issues & Responses to Reviewers #3:

I. Editorial Quality and Format

Focus on criminal behavior and socially undesirable behavior of gangs (drugs and Violence. AGREE - need to better clarify "gang" or negative gang-related behavior)(p.3)

2.d. Issues & Responses to Reviewers #4:

I. Editorial Quality and Format

NONE (see recommendations section for description of 654=formal probation??)

3. Responses to Significance and Utility

3.a. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #1

III. Significance and Utility:

5) "Better define or operationalize key terms such as high risk condition or youth, gang organization and gang member, or a "high dosage of interventions", or current "policy environment"."(p.2) *AGREE*

high risk condition

high risk youth -see- telephone screens for descriptions or early site reports; refer to final evaluation design for description -

INSERT RESPONSE page 1, footnote #1: Use insert from Comprehensive Gang Initiative report:

At-risk is used broadly in this report to describe youth "at-risk of gang involvement" (living and attending school in gang infested areas) as well as "at-risk" youth in terms of being at-risk of not having a healthy developmental life due to daily environmental factors such as: living in single parent households, and/or poverty, suffering from malnutrition, illness, and lack of medical care.

RESPONSE COMMENT: The San Bernardino CHOICES program defines students "at-risk" as those who suffer from multiple risk factors: anti-social behavior, low academic achievement, truancy, substance abuse, emotional problems, and gang affiliation. The Lakewood Police Department describes the following facets as contributing to gang membership: dysfunctional families, low self-esteem, no positive male role model, no job skills, and the lack of parental education.

"high dosage of interventions"-

INSERT RESPONSE p.v, in paragraph 4, following: "a sufficiently high dosage"

... (including consistency of services, sufficient intensity, and duration both at the level of each service provided ie., 1 hour vs. 15 minutes, and biweekly, weekly or monthly over a specified time period)

3.a. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #1: III. Significance and Utility: (continued)

current "policy environment"

INSERT RESPONSE p.v, paragraph 4, second to last sentence: *posturing towards suppression efforts and away from prevention and intervention*

RESPONSE COMMENT - current "policy environment"- posturing towards suppression efforts during the late 1970's and 1980's (with a reemergence of social intervention strategies in the late 1980's p.11 Spergel in Curry) and away from intervention and prevention efforts. CURRY (1995): The rise of suppression as the dominant response to gang crimes in the late 70's and 80's may be a function of growing political conservatism (p.13).

gang organization - as described by the site
gang member - as claimed by the site

- 6) "The lessons to be learned are not adequate. The programs do more than retest "value transformation" and "control theories" p.v. --*The programs and conceptualization do address notions of coordination of services and a suppression approach.*

RESPONSE COMMENT: Goldstein & Glick (1994) have challenged Klein's longstanding conclusions on group programming. They argue that what Klein and others were measuring in their evaluations of detached street worker programs was a failure of program implementation rather than the effectiveness of group programming. Their approach "aggression replacement training" (ART) is a group approach that they contend is capable of transforming gangs into prosocial groups. The authors (pp.92-96) offer process and impact evaluation results to support their conclusions.

Following Miller's reasoning that "to the extent that the strategy was not related to the cause of the problem, it seemed logical to anticipate that the problem would not be addressed adequately and therefore not alleviated...The causes of gang crime problems require assessment through sound research, but the link between cause and response is fundamental to program logic.(Curry, 1995 p.22)-- The evaluation attempted to identify the gang problem, identify the community's response to it - or in the case of prevention and intervention - the prevention of it, and to tie program activities to their intended goals to determine program logic.

7) "An R & D or quasi-experimental design approach should be recommended, involving close collaboration of program operators and researchers, as well as policy makers from the start. The authors notion of a two-stages process is too weak. A good theoretically driven approach is essential. The two staged approach begs the issue of good program and evaluation design. In other words, the authors do not go far enough in their recommendations. The cost of approaches recommended by the authors would be too great with few long-term useful results." (p.3)
(insert p. vi.)

Replace last paragraph on p.vi. with this:

INSERT RESPONSE 3.a.1, p.vi

*"One final possible future strategy would be to engage in a two-staged process. Promising (but already existing) interventions would be monitored for consistent outcomes, as in a management information system rather than an evaluation (Stage 1). For example, information more robust but similar to the fulfillment of requirements of federal grantees who are required to submit program data quarterly, in a standardized report. If such an MIS report were a standardized internal requirement of intervention programs, the identification and evaluability of promising programs would be more fruitful. Those that showed repeated results over a period of time --and whose funding was secure for a new cycle of activities--would then be asked to cooperate in a complete evaluation, with an appropriate evaluation design (stage 2). In this scheme, sponsoring agencies would monitor a large number of stage one sites and derive useful administrative data at a minimum from all of these sites. The more costly and burdensome evaluation investments and designs could then be applied to only a few selected situations."*p.vi

Insert 3.a.2. p.vi - new very last paragraph.

Additionally, cost is an important issue that must be considered when concerning the scope of what is possible in any evaluation. NIJ made available \$ 250,000 to conduct this evaluation of six interventions. In contrast, the Little Village Project--an evaluation of efforts to work with Latino gangs in Chicago, is costing approximately \$1 Million dollars (as described by project director Irving Spergel), at the National Gang Suppression & Training Conference in Denver, August, 1995, (which is being touted as a very comprehensive and perhaps model evaluation strategy although little literature is yet available for researchers to learn about it) and is supported from a variety of sources.

"Practitioners and policymakers will not find the research useful. Program and research issues are not described or analyzed with sufficient insight based on existing knowledge, experience, and insight about gangs or gang programs. Specific reference should have been made to ideas in Klein's book Street Gangs and Street Workers (1971). Adequate research results were not really obtained." (p.3)

Insert 3.a.3 (Insert p.vi, at end)

The research and program issues identified in the conduct of this evaluation address important issues concerning both program evaluation and data collection issues. Of critical importance is determining the measurement of each specific level of service delivered to each participant, including:

- ✓ *number of times the participant participated in the service;*
- ✓ *frequency of the service provided to each participant (biweekly, weekly, monthly;*
- ✓ *mode of delivery (individual vs group service) the time period of the service (1 hour, 15 minutes); and*
- ✓ *duration of the service provided (one time, a school semester, four weeks, eight weeks, or one year).*

Additionally to ensure the regular submission of data collected, and to address quality control issues, program evaluators need to aggressively monitor the submission of data by program staff, which may require funding one person at the program site to be responsible to the evaluation team for the submission of data.

3.b. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #2

III. Significance and Utility:

Clarify the use of existing instrumentation and the potential limitations this poses, ie, ambiguous questions. Perhaps include copies of the instrumentation.

"The introductory material contains an erroneous argument. The authors reason that interventions having what tradition might consider to be separate components would require "significant resources because each type of intervention within the overall effort would first have to be evaluated separately"(p.1,4). The error is important because it could deter those whose interventions contain several components from evaluating their programs...

RESPONSE COMMENT: Not erroneous - fact - good evaluation requires significant resources - a problem in the field today that there is little good evaluation - not enough dollars or resources.

Q2. Will practitioners or policy makers find the research useful?-- YES. All evaluation needs attention. These results reinforce the need for more funds to be allocated, and that good evaluation requires significant resources.

3.c. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #3.

III. Significance and Utility:

"There is more appreciation lately for the fact that intense evaluation inside the system is needed." *The evaluation findings, as well as the evaluation process and it's difficulties reinforce the need for the evaluation of services inside the system -- at all levels. This concept should be clarified early in the report. (p.1)*

Recommendations inserts (p.1)

Elaborate somewhat on the development of MIS within programs similar to the PMIF's, and the two stage MIS process for future evaluations. (p.1)

In recommendations section, we should elaborate on measures linked to outcomes.

3.d. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #4
III. Significance and Utility:

"...there is an underlying theoretical basis for the programs..." Describe more specifically attempts to learn about the theoretical bases of the programs, and elaborate more on what they are if possible.

Clarify better the utility of data collection issues to program administrators (Bot.p.8)

insert new recommendations section

The importance for program administrators of collecting program data is multidimensional.

- 1) It informs administrators of accurate participation rates, the real numbers of people participating in each event and activity;*
- 2) It informs administrators of the cost effectiveness of efforts. A target population of 100 youths is easy to measure by counting participants. If 20 youth are attending program events the program is clearly falling short of it's goals.*
- 3) Simple administration of attitudinal pre-post tests assist an administrator in understanding if the interventions implemented are having even a slight impact on participants.*
- 4) Knowledge is power, and power is influence. Program administrators can use data collected about it's program participants as evidence that populations are being reached. This can be useful particularly when developing proposals for additional funding.*

IV. Responses to Recommendations

IV.a. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #1 on Recommendations:

- 1) "There are no major revisions, additions or deletions which can improve the evaluation document simply based on mere editorial work."

Believe we respond to a good deal of the comments which are intended to point out gaps and allow us to improve and embellish the report to be more useful to the field, particularly practitioners.

- 2) "I would not recommend the report or the executive summary for publication. The report provides no meaningful data and very little in the way of recommendations useful to program operations or evaluations, other than certain negative lessons which should have been better recognized before the evaluation started."

The evaluation had two goals. First, to test a new methodology for conducting evaluations of local interagency multiservice programs already in progress without the benefit of an evaluation already integrated into the programs design, utilizing existing data (so as not to introduce new burden to program staff), and multiple sources of data. Second, to evaluate the different programs for effectiveness.

The first goal taught us a few lessons worthy of consideration, particularly given the small amount of federal dollars allocated for both programs and program evaluation. First, that this new methodology is certainly worthy of consideration if implemented more effectively because not all programs are new, and capable of participating in an experimental or quasi-experimental designs as recommended by reviewers because they are very costly and not practical in light of fiscal constraints being experienced by many prevention and intervention agencies currently. They are ongoing and those interested in measuring effectiveness can implement some of the strategies used in this design to begin to measure effectiveness.

Second, that programs, whether participating in federal demonstration programs or funded by local dollars, need to track (measure) service delivery of all services of all program participants in order to determine for themselves, participants, local agencies, and citizens, whether or not the program is in fact achieving what it is intending. This report describes how and at what level programs need to collect such data.

- 4) "I would not publicize this research, other than to assemble a variety of

researchers in the area to discuss how evaluators of gang programs could generally improve their efforts." *Disseminate executive summary.*

Comments on Details

"p.36 Specific differences and similarities of the schools covered in the analysis would have been useful, age race/ethnic, income levels." *Done where possible.*

"p.40 Questions about the nature of criminal activities of gang members should have been included." *Review site's contextual data. Completed where possible.*

p. 45. "The workers are indigenous to the community-that is, they were likely gang-involved or involved in some high risk activity" is unclear, and not a useful statement. There are stable, educated, non-risk persons in most low-income neighborhoods. The reports evidence is that some of the workers indeed have advanced degrees.

RESPONSE COMMENT: DISAGREEE:

This is a very important statement. Needs clarification..." The workers are indigenous to the community- that is many were gang-involved or involved in some high-risk activity, and they know families in the community and the community folk know them. This is a very important characteristic for outreach workers. They have credibility within the community and thus lend credibility to the program --in the eyes of people in the community. The usefulness is that they have experienced life as people in the community do. They are not outsiders. This strategy of using not only people indigenous to the community but also ex-gang members is supported by Hagedorn's work (his practical agenda for gang reform (1988.p167- in curry p,24)--

"Gang members must participate in any meaningful programs. By "participate" we mean gang programs need to train and hire former local gang members as staff, utilize older gang members as consultants in developing new programs, and make sure input from the gang 'clients' takes place and is genuine".

Also from Curry-p.24--

"Additionally, Bursik and Grasmik (1993.p177) have suggested "the recruitment of gang members as core members of locally based crime prevention programs." They base this recommendation on gang members' knowledge of crime in the community, gang identification with communities as "turf", and a number of historical examples where gang involvement in positive actions have led to short-term reductions in criminal violence.

"p.51 11% in a locked facility"

Clarify why they were in a locked facility - reasons were unspecified in the instrumentation; The only information we have is that students received "Legal citation - description unspecified";

"What is the average grade in the school itself" - *Information unknown.*

"p.54 Don't know what kids were arrested for".

"More detailed anecdotal reports might have been useful to supplement results of weak questions and quantitative results." Find more anecdotal reports.

"p.80 What is meant by gang activity? What is meant by substance abuse?"

gang activity--not described - a variable selected from a probation officers report form. They do not provide a definition.

Substance abuse-Use of illegal substances; illegal and illicit drugs & alcohol.

"p.86 - Elaborate on meaning of 10 hour per day case managed program; explain safe haven."

"p.88 What are the characteristics of the "most at-risk students"?"

Describe

"p.91. Street workers monitor the youth from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. What does this mean specifically?" *Those referred to the program via the court are on call to Street Workers from 9am to 10pm.*

"p.96. What are characteristics of youth in pre- & post test, e.g. age, race/ethnicity, delinquent background?" - *((We don't know review contextual data))*

"p. 104 Need statistical control on time periods, on priors, age of youth to do adequate comparisons of effects of program on youth."

"p. 106-107 If adequate data had been collected is it possible that the street work program could have been assessed as positive?" *Difficult to speculate.*

"p. 106-107 No evidence presented on quality of programs developed."

How is this reviewer defining quality? We used a selection criteria meeting the needs of the evaluation and important components for this type of program.

"A-1. See D. Curry at al recent research or national trend data on gang activity (NIJ publication)"

"A-19. Agree with last paragraph.

IV.b. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #2 on Recommendations:

p.5 clarify grades of control and treatment groups; control groups - where are they from - similar backgrounds??

Agree lack of comparison groups against which to measure change - that's what the community indicator data is for.

p. clarify N's too small to use LA probation data. Explained sufficiently.

p.6 Check Boston - matched pair analyses? Yes. all paired analyses.

p.8 state early on that only four of the six were actually evaluated. Subjective

IV.c. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #3 on Recommendations:

Provide better explanation of Exhibit 1-1 (logic model-Evaluation Oriented Framework))

IV.d. Issues & Responses to Reviewer #4 on Recommendations:

#4 (see recommendations section for description of 654=formal probation??)

insert p.59, following paragraph 1 - begin new paragraph:

The GAPP Program participating in this evaluation is administered out of the Long Beach Probation Department.

Insert in Exhibit C-1, p.60:
in Probation code column
of exhibit C-1:

654 WIC Informal Supervision
654 WIC Supervision

Insert in Conditions column of Exhibit C-1, next to
654 WIC Informal Supervision:

Voluntary probation referral for a youth who has committed a status offense or who is likely to come under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court.

And Insert in Conditions column of Exhibit C-1, next to
654 WIC:

Court-ordered probation for youth already under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court.

Page 61, paragraph 2: In line 1, Delete the word *formal*;

In line 4: If the youth completes his or her probation, the *petition to declare the youth a ward of the court is dropped*. omit "the charges are dropped from his or her record".

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