

142675

Youth Employment Model

Irving Spergel, Kenneth Ehrensaft,
Alba Alexander, and Robert L. Laseter

National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program
School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago

142675

**U.S. Department of Justice
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Distributed by:

National Youth Gang Information Center

NYGIC Doc.# D0013

142675

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Arlington, VA 22203

1-800-446-GANG
1-703-522-4007

NYGIC Document Number D0013

This [redacted] report was prepared under Grant Number 90-JD-CX-K001 from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

01/93

Statement of the Problem

It is impossible to address the problem of gangs without reference to the declining labor force participation and earnings of young men. The increase in the gang problem, at least partially, is the result of the unemployment and underemployment of minority males; particularly young black men. Inner-city gang and gang prone youth have the highest rates of school failure, unemployment, and least appropriate employment skills and work attitudes. For example, among male African American drop-outs (20-24), only 14.2 percent reported no earnings in 1973. However, 43 percent of this group reported no earnings in 1984 (Berlin & Sun 1988). Therefore, it is no surprise that these youth join gangs, present enormous problems to the criminal justice system, and participate in illegal economic alternatives to work.

The job market demands a higher level of skill than gang youth possess. An above average share of new job growth has been and will continue to be in the professional, technical, management, and administrative fields. For most of these jobs, good basic skills and post-high school education and training will be minimum requirements. "The primary labor market is virtually shutting down for those with limited skills and attainment" (Berlin & Sun, 1988). At the same time, practically no attention has been paid to the connection between basic education, vocational training, and employment systems. The United States has the least well articulated system of school-to-work transition in the industrialized world.

The basic syndrome that generates the inability of many inner city and minority youth, including gang members, to enter the labor market is low achievement at school, falling behind in grade level, poor school performance, and a sense that they cannot catch up to their peers. There is, furthermore, an intergenerational effect. The parent's education, especially that of the mother, appears to be a significant determinant of the youth's performance at school.

While there has been some large scale attempts -- with varying degrees of success -- to train and employ low income, minority and non-minority youth who do not go to college, there have been no policies or programs to deal with the employment problems of inner-city gang and gang prone youth. These youth have not only proved resistive to efforts at training and rehabilitation, they have been consistently ignored or excluded from available special education, training, and work programs.

At the same time, it is possible that certain strategies which have proved effective in lowering drop out and arrest rates, reducing institutional racism, and improving employability of the more able or conforming low income, minority youth may be relevant to gang youth. It is conceivable that these strategies and programs can be adapted to the needs of the most vulnerable segment of urban youth.

There is considerable evidence that increased suppression-oriented measures alone, i.e., police sweeps, prison construction, harsher sentencing for juveniles and young adults, have not reduced the youth gang problem. However, there is some promise that close supervision of gang youth in combination with basic or remedial education, attitudinal change, vocational training, and work experience may be more effective in dealing with the youth gang problem. It is possible to construe much street crime, including an increasing proportion of youth gang member activity, as a form of self-employment that fills part of the vacuum created by depression levels of unemployment and underemployment, particularly among Black and Hispanic youth in disadvantaged communities. Compared to meaningless on-again, off-again poorly paid jobs, the periodic excitement of gang life, robbery, hustling, drug dealing, and drug use may be an attractive if short-range alternative in chronic and emerging gang problem communities.

Access to social opportunities and the development of meaningful legitimate work careers may be relatively more limited in chronic than emerging gang problem cities. The formality, complexity, and lack of integration between institutions such as school and work may be greater in those cities where the gang problem is more serious. In large chronic gang problem cities, a relatively greater infusion of social resources targeted to gang youth and improved interagency linkages and community participation will probably be required. Because the gang tradition is more advanced and gangs are relatively better organized, criminal justice agencies will also have to play a key role in any campaign or program to deal with the gang problem.

In emerging gang cities the gang problem is less serious. Relatively fewer adults and older youth will probably be involved. The influence of adult criminal structures will be less pronounced. More resources, relative to the level of need will probably be available. It is likely that an adequate legitimate social infra-structure will exist that can be quickly mobilized. A critical issue will probably be the integration of the new immigrant or expanding low income population into existing local institutions such as schools, employment, and youth agencies. While the community may be undergoing considerable change, it is usually smaller and more cohesive than the chronic problem city. Youth and their families are not so institutionalized in their social and economic isolation. A major campaign to better integrate educational, employment, economic, and social resources to include gang youth in existing programs may be a key part of the answer to an emerging gang problem. The development of a major new employment program to integrate gang youth into mainstream society may not be as urgently required.

Goals and Strategies

Social, economic, job development and training programs for low income and socially marginal youth, including gang youth, need to be developed and expanded. Such programs as Job Corps, Urban Employment Programs, Civilian Conservation Corps, Job Start, the proposed National Youth Corps, court based employment programs, and other community-based work projects, as well as JTPA training funds, targeted job tax credits, and business benefit programs need to focus more on gang youth. Such youth should be provided with inter-connected programs of job development, job preparation, job placement, job support, social services, and special supervision. Employment, education, criminal justice, and community-based youth agencies must become interrelated components of an approach which attempts to integrate gang youth into the mainstream of society, particularly in chronic problem contexts.

The goal of an employment program for gang youth must be the development of a series of entry level jobs that provide adult status, adequate income, and good interpersonal relations skills. This should lead to a reduction in gang crime. A basic assumption of such a program is that a meaningful and satisfying program of remedial education, vocational training, and step-wise employment coupled with support and supervision can provide an alternative to the gang lifestyle.

There are two critical points in the gang youth's development that should be addressed in a model gang employment program: 1) during the early teen years just prior to the time when serious commitment to gang life generally occurs; and 2) during the late adolescent period, when he no longer sees a benefit to hanging out with gang peers and recognizes the risk of long-term imprisonment, injury and death. A key question for social policy is what set of arrangements is necessary for the transition of the gang member to legitimate employment and away from criminal gang status.

A new social institution is required because of the failure in many communities in recent years to provide adequate links between school and job or to establish a set of specific steps by which marginal youth, especially gang youth can enter the legitimate job market. This institution should address the general problem of unemployment for low income youth but also target gang youth through a specific program which incorporates job opportunities, social control, and support. The targeted program would require not only job development, remedial education, social services, and supervision including the involvement of criminal justice agencies, but also monitoring by community-based groups to make sure that the youth gang member is moving towards social development and rehabilitation and the community remains protected and safe. The target population for such a program should be youth aged 14 through 24 years old. Youth in this age range are prone to become or are gang members. Also, the gang problem in its leadership, severe crime, and most

disruptive community, family, and personal character is reflected in this group.

Younger youth should be served mainly through regular or alternative community-based educational programs, and exposed to a range of limited work experiences integrated into a remedial education curriculum, as appropriate. Those under 18 years will have more limited employment opportunities due to labor legislation which restricts working hours and prohibits minors from working with heavy machinery or under hazardous working conditions. Fewer jobs generally are available to this age category in the present job market, anyway.

Furthermore, focus must be on the development of a meaningful, legitimate, educational and problem solving capacity for these youth in an increasingly complex world of work. While fringe and non-hard core gang members would probably be more acceptable to employers than gang members with felony convictions, it is imperative that the full range of gang youth, including leaders and hard core members be admitted to, if not targeted for, various programs of job training and employment opportunities in the public and private sectors. The primary sources of referral to programs for older or hard core younger youth should be the justice system, particularly police, probation and parole. For most younger youth, the primary sources of referral should be school programs, community-based agencies, and juvenile divisions of police departments.

Employment Program Functions and Issues

The level of training and employment opportunities may differ for gang youth in chronic and emerging problem cities. Relatively more unskilled and semi-skilled jobs may be available in smaller communities or cities where the gang problem is emerging. It may be easier for youth to connect up with available jobs in these smaller communities. The world of work and the street corner may be less separated. Consequently, an elaborate employment program geared to the needs of gang youth may not be needed in the smaller emerging gang problem cities, since the availability of jobs and access to them through informal or formal means is likely to be better.

On the other hand, the problem of the development of jobs, training, and access to jobs in chronic gang problem cities is likely to be of such severity that a special employment institution will be required. The strategies and objectives for the development of this new employment institution are identified as follows: organizational development; job bank; work acclimation; job placement and employment; support services; system development; and evaluation.

Organizational Development

Special programs of job development for gang youth do not exist, except in very fragmented or potential forms. However, community-based agencies, private industry councils, schools, parole, probation, and even day treatment or sheltered workshop programs for drug or alcohol abuse, can be expanded to provide the elements of a gang job development program, especially in chronic problem cities. Various demonstration or experimental programs should be established and tested to determine which arrangements are most effective. Significant federal funding to develop and evaluate these programs will probably be required.

The principal purpose of the special program would be developing the employability of gang and gang prone youth. A variety of specialized personnel would be required to carry out program functions, including job development specialists, teachers, trainers, support service workers, outreach workers or advocates, and community organizers or coordinators. Each of these functions should be closely related to the other.

The instructor's or trainer's primary task would be to introduce youth to the world of work. His method of instruction would not be to formally lecture or demonstrate but to make work assignments, provide feedback to youth on their performance, and essentially act in a work supervisory capacity. A variety of incentives would be built into the program. These would include not only modest training stipends (and adequate starting wages for those at work) and the development of positive, well supervised relationships by staff with youth, but the threat of consequences for violation of court orders. The youth must come to understand that after each step of training, skill development, and improved performance, there would be an increased "pay off."

Three major component programs should be developed. Each should address the special needs of different groups of socially disadvantaged youth, particularly gang member and gang prone youth. These three component should consist of: 1) a program for older drop out youth 16 to 24; 2) a program for marginal youth 15 to 18 still at school; and 3) a program for hard core 14 to 16 year old early drop-outs. Referrals would come primarily from criminal justice authorities, particularly probation and parole. Police, school disciplinary and community-based agencies referrals would also be appropriate. The programs would be coordinated but each would have its distinctive purpose and set of agency and work place relationships. The priority program would be for drop outs 16 to 24 and include remedial education, training, job placement or employment, and career development in close cooperation with business and industry. The program for 15 to 18 year olds still at school would emphasize pre-apprenticeship training and remedial education at the work place and school. The program for 14 to 16 year olds, most of whom would be known to the court, should emphasize remedial education, work readiness training, and part time work.

Each program and program segment should be of sufficient length to meet the interests and needs of the particular category of youth, in relation to work and training requirements. Representatives from the world of work would be involved in the planning, development, and staffing of each of the segments as appropriate. Support services could be provided for up to two years, particularly for youth whose training and job development experience are interrupted by correctional school or prison experiences. In other words, youth who complete various segments of the program would be tracked and followed up for an extended period of time.

Job Bank

The quality of job opportunities available through the job bank is crucial to the success of a youth gang employment program. Positions and places of work which provide for useful learning and skill development, career potential, job satisfaction, and especially a context of support relationships by supervisory personnel and peers are most likely to be successful. Low paying, initial jobs may be appropriate if other personal and social factors induce youth to stay on the job, particularly those which provide positive beginning work experience as part of a job sequence or progression. Of special value for gang youth with limited experience are jobs, e.g., mail room worker, which provide information and contacts about other employment.

A job bank should be developed by a specialist or expert in the field who knows how to obtain commitments from both private and public employers to accept applicants who successfully complete the special education and training program. The job development specialist must establish strong alliances with private businesses, government agencies and not-for-profit organizations and convince them of the special employment potential and needs of youth gang members. Youth who give up their gang member role can become hard working, loyal and productive workers. Knowledge of specific employer needs and employer recruitment practices is a must for the specialist.

The specialist must be able to gain commitments from employers to hire some of the program's graduates and even non-graduates who may not yet be fully qualified. Many employers are willing to take some risks and support a special jobs program. Certain employers will be willing to engage in cooperative agreements to subsidize pre-employment and training programs with a guarantee of employment for those youth who successfully complete the agency's program. Trade and business associations and labor unions are also resources which may provide names of potential employers and assist with the program.

A job bank should draw from a variety of occupations, e.g., manufacturing, commerce, transportation, clerical, human services, health, communications, and recreation. Job longevity is preferred but may not be critically important, at least from

the youth's perspective. Success is largely dependent on fitting the person to the "right job". Bad job fits, due not only to inability or lack of motivation of the youth, but also to lack of multiple job opportunities from which to choose, are likely to lead to high turnover rates. Varied work shifts may also prove beneficial. For example, many youth gang members, motivated to leave the gang, prefer late shifts to avoid gang entanglements in the evening and early morning hours. Location of potential jobs is another important factor in building a job bank. Some gang members are in areas with good access to public transportation to employers. Other youth are in neighborhoods that are relatively isolated and do not have convenient transportation to employers located either in the central city or the suburbs. Consequently, a major responsibility of the youth gang employment project will be to develop special transportation arrangements with business contractors or public authorities.

At all times, the job specialist should attend to concerns of the employer for productivity. The specialist must demonstrate that in due course the investment of the employer in the gang youth training and employment experience will not result in lower productivity, and that gang youth can forego their prior street patterns and become skilled and stable workers.

Work Acclimation

The most important consideration for the gang youth's entry into a job is work acclimation. Experience in the specifics of testing, assessment, completion of application forms, and knowledge of organizational procedures are of secondary importance. The gang youth may like the idea of a job and especially collecting a paycheck, but often he does not understand what holding a job entails. He may have grown up in a neighborhood environment where few people have legitimate jobs. No one in his household may be a work role model. The trainer must instruct the youth how to feel, think, and act as a worker. The youth must be exposed in some significant simulated fashion to the experience of employment before entry into the actual world of work.

Of special importance is simulating conditions of job related interpersonal relations -- those which are appropriate and inappropriate -- in the work place. The youth must not take inappropriate attitudes and skills learned on the streets, correctional institutions or prison to his job. He must learn how not to intimidate his co-workers or challenge his supervisor for control or authority. The youth must become aware of his street behavior and learn to control it. Role playing can be helpful in these situations so he can learn through simulated experience what new roles are required and how it feels to perform in these roles.

In the course of attitude training, the youth needs to develop a belief that a legitimate job can be rewarding; that it provides opportunities to acquire skills, status, and pay; and

that he can learn from and enjoy relationships with people around him. The youth must learn to be hopeful and positive about the world around him and realize that there is a sequence of job experiences that can provide him with increased satisfaction. The training must attempt to counter the bleak, if not fatalistic, attitudes that many gang youth have developed about their prospects.

Interest in and understanding of the world of work by the gang youth can also be developed through a series of direct observational and didactic experiences. Visits by the youth to different work sites, which permit observation of workers at their jobs and communication with employers, foremen, and workers, can demonstrate the meaning of specific work settings and job tasks, and what is required of them. The youth needs to understand the realistic constraints of the work place, for example, the mundane nature of certain idealized jobs such as computer operators. The youth must begin to assess the skills and attitudes necessary to prepare for the specific jobs he would like to hold. He also needs to realize that he must improve reading, math and writing skills for many jobs.

The gang youth is ready for certain types of pre-work training and education after he has developed an interest and attitudinal readiness to undertake a job. He needs to develop academic and procedural skills in preparation for job entry. A first phase of this more formal or traditional aspect of training is testing to assess his academic and skill needs and potential for specific types of employment. These include basic math and English achievement and occupational interest evaluations. Youth gang members must also be examined for potential learning problems which would interfere with training and future employment success. Assessment of the educational needs of each youth enrolled in the project is especially important to develop appropriate group and individualized remedial programs necessary for career development. Small classes and special tutorials should be arranged at convenient times and locations to begin to address the literacy demands he will encounter in most job situations.

A second phase of pre-employment training is practice in the procedures a job candidate follows to obtain employment. Each youth must learn to fill out job application forms using actual samples. He must be taught how to interview properly for employment. This includes correct dress, proper personal hygiene, coaching in speech, and appropriate behavior expected at the interview. Further attitude training may also be required for youth gang members in how to relate to authority figures and peers who may also be gang or former gang members from the same or different neighborhoods.

Job Placement and Employment

After the gang youth begins to experience certain significant aspects of the world of work, he needs to seek out

and procure placement in an entry level position. He must obtain some work experience in order to better understand what it means to work. He needs to "crack the job market", establish a work record and obtain references for further career development purposes. It may not be possible for many of these youth to hold a first or even a series of initial jobs for very long. However, some job experience is required before the youth seeks another job or enters a more formal vocational training program.

Many youths in their first legitimate job experience create problems, are fired, or quit at the slightest pretext. It is at this time that follow-up and supportive services become particularly important. The youth must be persuaded that a career ladder exists, that it is possible to move through a series of legitimate jobs and training experiences and that ultimately successful employment will come and be more rewarding than life with his gang on the streets. The youth has to receive special kinds of interpersonal support and constraint to counter the youth's resentment and not always accurate belief that he has suffered a cut in wages, that life on the street was more exciting, that he now has to take orders.

A major objective of the orientation should be to welcome the youth, explain employer policies and employee benefits, describe how the youth's job fits into the finished product or service, and to introduce him to co-workers. These acts should demonstrate to the youth that the employing organization has a personal interest in him. The job specialist should orient and assist the company to understand the gang youth's special needs for acceptance, status, and respect.

Supervisors and staff personnel (human resources or industrial relations) also need some guidance by the employment specialist in holding youth gang members accountable as employees. These personnel need to know how to communicate with the youth gang member in regard to furthering his educational and skill development, setting clear and fair limits on the youth's behavior, handling conflicts and gang related problems (e.g., use of gang signs, graffiti on the walls) and obtaining assistance if a problem occurs.

The first four to six weeks on the job is a critical period for the employer to determine whether or not to continue employing the youth. The decision has to be made based on the youth's demonstrated ability and productivity. For the youth, if the employer is satisfied, the decision to stay on the job may be more complicated. He may not be making enough money. The youth's street survival and hustling talents may come to the fore. He may decide to quit the job and find another which pays more. It is also possible that at this point the youth is ready to seriously undertake vocational training. He may be a little clearer as to where his interest lie and what he wants to do. The employment case manager can play a special guidance role at this time.

Support Services

A whole series of support services must be built into the program which directly and indirectly affects the gang youth in his social and job development. The employer and supervisory personnel should be oriented to the needs of the youth. Mentors, whether volunteer or paid, family, close friends and neighbors should be involved in the training and work support process. Probation and parole officers should be continually engaged in this developmental process, especially around obstacles or problems concerning adaptation to employment. Special academic support and vocational training classes should be accessible to the youth and perhaps even to family members as well, to the extent that resources permit. The case manager worker or advocate will have to make special arrangements, perhaps in conjunction with, or to supplement the efforts of the probation or parole officer to deal with the youth's drug abuse, health impairment, housing, marital relations, public aid, and legal problems.

The employing organization ideally should appoint or identify a mentor for each youth in the program. Mentors could be a senior level worker on the job who could further assist and sustain the development of the youth as an employee, a community volunteer, or even a paid para-professional. Probably the most effective mentor or support worker -- or as one observer has termed the role, "ass-kicker" -- is a relative, friend, or neighbor with strong interest in and influence over the youth; this is preferably someone who himself has had successful work experience. This person's primary role is to advise the youth, provide him with "strokes" for staying on the job, and "kick his ass when he goofs".

Family and close friends could be invited to special orientation sessions at the agency or project facility to enlist their cooperation in encouraging the youth to successfully follow through on his job and training commitments. Crisis intervention workers could also be contacted periodically to ascertain whether the youth has returned to street contacts with his former gang associates. In other words, a community support and constraint system utilizing periodic visits by justice system and/or other community-based agency personnel should be established to bring both inducement and pressure to bear on the youth to take on a legitimate adult role.

Many youth will require continued instruction in remedial English and math once on the job. The youth gang employment program should continue this responsibility either at its facility or in coordination with an outside educational service, i.e., public school, community college or even private tutor. Testing should continue to determine placement in appropriate level courses or tutoring modules for each participant. Strong emphasis should be placed on directing the youth at various points to continue education part-time or even vocational

training full time, particularly if it is linked to his career objectives.

The youth's progress in school, at work, and in various social adjustment areas should be monitored and tracked by the youth advocate. This will include recording attendance, tardiness, reprimands, productivity, career development, participation in education and training programs or involvement in criminal or gang-related activities. Monitoring can be carried out through on-going contacts with the youth, employer (supervisor and mentor), family members and friends, police, probation and parole departments, and community-based agencies.

If a serious work problem or crisis occurs, the case manager should convene a meeting including the youth, supervisor, mentor, family member, probation, parole officer, or youth agency gang crisis representative, as appropriate. At the meeting the problem should be defined and addressed. The youth would be required to take an active role in the problem solving process. Specific objectives or expectations would be set for his performance, and resources identified to assist him. Every effort should be made to handle the problem in a positive manner. Only under the most extreme circumstances, e.g., commission of a felony offense, should the youth be considered for termination from the program.

Finally, we observe that not all special employment programs must engage in an elaborate and expensive support or social and academic development process. Much will depend not only on the distinctive needs of each youth but on the age of the youth, the particular program component, and accessible resources already available. The more committed the youth is to gang life, the more problematic his experience at school and at work is expected to be. It is highly likely that a less complex support system will be required for gang members or prone youth in emerging gang problem contexts.

System Development

A special system is required to deal with the training and employment needs and problems of gang, gang prone, and other socially deviant youth in disadvantaged communities. Such a system is important to complement and better integrate the existing fragmented system of education, training, and employment for non-college bound youth. Basic changes are required in our educational and employment systems that poorly serve the needs of low income youth in general. The current proposed model targets mainly gang youth and could be modified or scaled down where a more adequate system of education, training, and employment opportunities are available. Such an effective basic system would not only obviate the need for a special employment program for gang youth but would reduce the scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem, itself. Other countries "operate comprehensive labor market systems which combine training and labor market information, job search and income maintenance for

the unemployed. We do not" (Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce 1990).

Given current inadequate or failed systems of education, training, and employment which affect gang youth; the issue of system development should be addressed at three levels: 1) the special employment program or project directed to gang youth; 2) the interagency and community; and 3) the larger institutional or policy level. Problems of system development will probably be less serious in emerging gang problem communities, where elements of strong community structure may exist and relatively meaningful educational and employment opportunities are present.

A special training and employment program directed to gang youth faces a major dilemma in balancing accountability to funding sources and adequately targeting hard core gang youth. Most employment programs directed to serving inner city youth ultimately capitulate to the requirements of a funding agency, usually a public source, to show results in terms of numbers of youth trained and employed over a given period of time. In the proposed employment model, performance accountability is certainly required but consideration of the primary purpose of the program -- to serve hard core gang youth and thereby reduce crime in the community -- is also important.

The program should not equally serve all types of youth at risk. While it must develop an appropriate balance of service to more or less troublesome youth, due regard must be demonstrated for priority service to hard core youth -- those most responsible for serious gang crime. Standards of success will vary with the nature of the program component and type of youth served. Allocation of staff resources will have to vary among the particular program components. Service to serious gang offenders, as part of an overall suppression and intervention program, will be very costly, particularly in terms of variety and skill of staff and the intensity of service required. Teachers or remedial education specialists, trainers, employment specialists and advocates will require a high level of skill in their specialty as well as ability to relate, understand and provide appropriate service to aggressive gang youth. The roles of professionals and paraprofessionals, including those who are from the neighborhood or even former gang members, will have to be carefully developed and their interrelationship specified. The patterns probably will vary according to the purposes and scope of each of the component programs.

At the interorganizational or community level, the scope of involvement of different organizations will have to be carefully articulated. Different kinds of organizations, e.g., schools, employers, criminal justice agencies, community-based agencies, community groups and residents must take varying and complementary responsibilities depending on local community resources, the nature of the gang program, and the purpose and scope of the particular program component. A greater range of organizations, with increased responsibility by criminal justice agencies and employers will obviously be required in the priority

program component serving drop out older hard core youth, particularly in chronic problem communities.

Role definitions and the way each organization links up with the other needs to be worked out. Formal contracts or agreements should be required in certain cases. Guidelines of service and patterns of cooperation have to be agreed upon and make sense in terms of particular organizational interests and mission as well as the common program purpose of increasing the employability of the youth served. Appropriate interorganizational structure and procedures need to be developed.

An advisory or executive policy board structure must also be developed to provide for interagency coordination and community participation in decision making. The board should advise on policy, assist in the development of resources and serve as a means of integrating a range of appropriate programs and resources on behalf of gang youth. Leading members of the larger community and funding sources should be represented on the board along with representatives of employers, schools, training institutions, police, probation, parole, community-based youth organizations, neighborhood organizations, parents of program youth and even former gang members.

Of special interest will be the development of productive involvement by local neighborhood representatives or the families of gang youth and representatives of correctional institutions, including parole officers, particularly in chronic gang problem cities. Grassroots organization representatives can perform several key functions. These entail: 1) sensitizing professionals from the various established agencies to the complexity and intransigence of the problem, along with giving them advice on how to deal with gang youth; 2) holding agencies accountable for the services they develop and the decisions they make; and 3) mobilizing citizens to form support groups for gang youth in the program and to exercise more effective social control on gang youth who "backslide" from program participation.

The inclusion of correctional or parole personnel reflects the fact that most gang youth return quickly to the community. Therefore, the correctional setting must be viewed as an extension of local community. Indeed what occurs in the correctional institution may directly affect what takes place in the community. Planning must take into consideration the lack of meaningful training and educational resources in the correctional institution which interferes with or delays adequate preparation for the gang youth's effective employment adaptation in the community. Parole must compensate for this deficiency to the extent possible.

Finally, we believe that a special employment program or project must also advocate for basic changes in federal and state policy and legislation which directly or indirectly impact programs to meet the needs of inner city and disadvantaged youth. Vocational education programs, for example, must do a far better job in preparing non-college bound youth for the world of work. Better linkage between high schools and employment is necessary.

Exit points should be provided to youth who cannot make use of the regular school curricula. Entry points into vocational training, apprenticeships, and jobs should also be developed. Youth who do not proceed to college should be prepared "professionally" for skilled work careers in the complex technological world of the future.

Inner city youth require the same or an equivalent pattern of linkages to meaningful career work opportunities that suburban, mainly white, youth have available to them through school counselors, family and community contacts. Each youth in every high school must be reasonably assured a job or training when he leaves school. He must also receive adequate preparation for these non-academic career routes. Appropriate school and community resources and mechanisms must be developed to make these arrangements possible.

Evaluation

Of special importance should be a process or formative evaluation of the initial phase of the development of the gang employment program. Evaluators must be able to assist administrators of the program to articulate objectives and assess the relationship of specific program activities and processes to program purposes. Special attention should be given to problems of "skimming" or inappropriate targeting of youth who do not need the services of the program. A careful accounting procedure must be developed to determine what type of youth are in the component programs, what training they receive, what jobs they take, and for how long. In due course a more sophisticated outcome evaluation must be planned with special attention to school, work, social, and recidivism measures. From the start of the project, careful documentation will be required of organizational and interorganizational procedures, program problems and changes, and continued gang activity by the participants. Long-term development and evaluation of program processes and youth gang member outcomes should also be considered.

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