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Executive Summary: Prototype Models

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: PROTOTYPE MODELS

INTRODUCTION

In the model development stage of the National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program, we prepared a set of policies and practices for the design and mobilization of community efforts including police, prosecution, judges, probation, corrections, parole, school, employment, community-based agencies, and a range of grassroots organizations. Prototype or model development is the second of four stages (Assessment, Prototype Development, Technical Assistance, and Testing) of a research and development process conducted in cooperation with the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice to create promising approaches for the reduction of the youth gang problem.

The framework for the policies and procedures recommended in each of the 12 models is based upon: 1) two types of gang problem context, chronic or emerging; 2) differential strategies of suppression and intervention, elaborated as suppression, community mobilization, social intervention, social opportunities, and organization change and development; and 3) distinctive institutional missions. Issues of prevention, although essential, are not highlighted in these documents. Our emphasis is secondary rather than primary prevention. A forthcoming paper, "Preventing Involvement in Youth Gang Crime," will more fully address these issues.

Key concepts and parameters of the models are described. A chronic gang-problem community is characterized by a persistent and often acute pattern of gang violence and gang crime, including drug trafficking, beginning before the 1980's. An emerging gang-problem community is associated with a pattern of gang crime that is less organized or violent and has developed more recently. The focus of the models is youth gang members in the adolescent or youth period of 12 to 24 years. The models are concerned with policies and programs that primarily address gang-motivated crime in terms of a juvenile and young adult commitment to gang violence, status, and turf and, secondarily, discuss evolving gang-related problems of drug trafficking and more organized crime.

We propose that the level of social opportunities accessible to a population and the degree of social disorganization present in a community largely account for its youth gang problem. Other contributing factors include institutional racism and defects of social policy. We think that the nature of a particular population's exposure to these structural conditions at the local community level determines the character and prevalence of its youth gang problem.

Each of our models addresses the youth gang problem in interactive community contextual and distinctive organizational mission terms. This becomes the basis for assessment of the youth gang problem and selection of appropriate combinations of strategies and programs to target particular categories of gang youth. In each of our models we recommend an approach that: 1) mobilizes community interest and concern with respect to the problem without exaggerating or denying its scope and seriousness, 2) develops consensus among key actors in its approach, and 3) targets both the younger and older youth gang members who may be ready to give up gang crime patterns. We cannot be sure, however, that the policies and practices proposed to reduce the youth gang crime problem are effective until they are tested.

GENERAL COMMUNITY DESIGN

Our general and specific models for youth gang suppression and intervention assume that the problem of youth gangs and related criminal behavior, including extreme violence and drug trafficking, is a function mainly of two interacting conditions -- poverty and social disorganization. Other significant or contributory factors include institutional racism, cultural misadaptation, deficiencies in social policy, and the availability of criminal opportunities. While much of the complex set of causes of the problem is generated by forces outside of gang crime communities, we propose that much can be done to reduce the problem through mobilization of a network of local organizations and citizens, along with resources at the city, state, and national levels targeted at selected aspects of the problem. While there is much that we know about the problem, we have no "sure-fire policies and programs" and our models need to be rigorously tested.

Specific policies and procedures must be designed to achieve the intermediate goals of suppression and intervention and the ultimate goal of youth gang problem reduction. Certain action areas must be addressed in implementing key operational strategies of community mobilization, opportunities provision, social intervention, suppression, and organizational change and development. The action areas are problem assessment, development of youth gang policy, managing the collaborative process, creation of program goals and objectives, relevant programming, coordination and community participation, youth accountability, staffing, training, research evaluation, and funding priorities.

Assessing the problem. The presence of a youth gang problem must be recognized before anything meaningful can be done to deal with it. Clear and specific identification of factors (immediate, manifest or underlying) that contribute to the problem is also important. All those impacted by the problem -- representatives of criminal justice and community agencies, grassroots organizations, schools, churches, local business, even current gang members --

should be included in describing the nature and causes of the problem and recommending solutions to it. In due course, consensus must be reached on the definition and basis of the youth gang problem, particularly by decisionmakers of key agencies and community organizations as well as government leaders.

Organization and Policy Development. The community must be effectively organized to target the problem. In chronic youth gang problem cities, this means the establishment of a special local council or statutory commission (possibly enabled by state law and a state planning unit) to set policy and coordinate programs resulting from such policy. The council or commission should establish special committees on law enforcement, education, employment, and rehabilitation. A full range of strategies -- prevention, intervention, and suppression -- must be planned, but they must be appropriately ordered or prioritized. In emerging problem cities, less formal or inclusive structural arrangements may be required, but special emphasis must be given to efforts by schools and youth agencies to reach out to certain high-risk youth and their families through a variety of prevention and early intervention programs.

Separately, policies of deterrence, prevention, or rehabilitation are insufficient for confronting youth gang problems. Operational strategies and how they are carried out must be systematically integrated, since the problem has different but interrelated aspects. The gang problem is organic, particularly in chronic gang problem communities. It affects different sectors of a population, such as older and younger gang members, family, victims, and innocent bystanders, in different but reciprocal and interrelated or systemic terms. It may not be realistic to deal only with preadolescents if adolescent and young adult gang members exercise great influence. It may be necessary not only to protect normal, conforming youth but to socialize disruptive gang youth.

Managing the collaborative process. The community process for dealing with the gang problem goes through various stages before sustained program development and positive impact can occur. These stages include 1) denial, initial organizing, and policymaking and 2) goal and problem displacement and sometimes community conflict. The further along community mobilization proceeds, the more likely a positive outcome. In the critical third stage, charges of ineffective programs, institutional racism, and corruption might be made. Moral leadership must arise and agency program accountability developed to make sure the right programs are developed and the right youth are targeted for suppression, opportunities, and services.

Goals and Objectives. Longer-term comprehensive strategies, including remedial education, training, and jobs as well as short-term suppression and outreach services for targeted youth must be

provided. A balance should be established between strategies that focus on individual or family change and those that emphasize system change and development or the provision of additional resources, e.g., the creation of a local youth conservation corps. Long-term sustained efforts that target the most vulnerable and hardcore gang youth are required.

Relevant programming. Rationales for services, tactics or procedures have to be systematically articulated and implemented. At present, we possess only rudimentary knowledge about programs or activities considered to be effective. The promising program approaches include: 1) targeting, arresting, and incarcerating gang leaders and repeat violent gang offenders; 2) referring fringe members and their parents to youth services for counseling and guidance; 3) providing preventive services for youth who are clearly at risk; 4) crisis intervention or mediation of gang fights; 5) patrols of community "hot spots"; 6) close supervision of gang offenders by criminal justice and community-based agencies; 7) remedial education for targeted gang youth, especially in middle school; 8) job orientation training, placement, and mentoring for older gang youth; 9) safe zones around schools; 10) vertical prosecution, close supervision, and enhanced sentences for hardcore gang youth.

Coordination and community participation. The chief proposition of the present model is that a mobilized community is the most promising way to deal with the gang problem. The development of informed, consistent relations and procedures, among and within organizations, results in greater social control and social support as well as better targeting of the problem, making its reduction more likely. Not only criminal justice agencies but community-based agencies and local grassroots organizations must be involved in policy development and program implementation. Involvement of diverse neighborhood groups in gang neighborhoods is essential to a viable approach. Local leadership must be recruited and developed if racial and class conflicts are to be avoided or minimized.

Youth accountability. Gang youth must be held accountable for their criminal acts but they also must be provided with opportunities to change or control such behavior. The less able a youth is to control his or her behavior, the more social control must be exerted to to teach the youth what is unacceptable. For some gang youth, secure confinement will be necessary; for others, graduated degrees of community-based supervision ranging from continuous "eyeball" or electronic supervision to total self-supervision will be necessary. It is also important that youth understand and believe that there will be a consequence imposed if they do not follow program rules or reasonable expectations in a particular organizational setting or social situation.

Staffing. Youth gang suppression and intervention efforts require a thorough understanding of the complexity of gang activity in the context of local community life. The policymaker, administrator, or street-level worker should avoid recognizing or using the gang or gang processes as primary instruments or mechanisms for controlling or resolving a gang problem, thereby contributing to gang cohesion and strengthening gang influence. The gang worker has to be clear and "up front" about his values and practices. He must demonstrate that gang recruitment, intergroup conflict, and other forms of criminal behavior are not acceptable and will be punished sooner or later. With those values expressed and operative, it is still possible for the agency or community worker to collaborate with gang youth, neighbors, parents, criminal justice, and community-based agency representatives to effectively deal with gang crises and control various kinds of criminal behavior. This approach recognizes the reality and the existence of youth gangs, but not their legitimacy.

Staff training. Training must focus on the development of somewhat different strategies of suppression and intervention within the context of emerging and chronic gang problems. More attention to the specifics of gang recognition and an understanding of the basis for gang dynamics is required in emerging gang problem situations. The limits of a suppression strategy alone must also be stressed. Relatively more attention to principles of cross-agency and community group collaboration is necessary in chronic problem cities, with special concern for development of remedial education, training, job development, and support for gang youth.

Research and evaluation. There is relatively little policy- or program-relevant research available to determine which strategies and practices produce a lowering of gang crime rates. We have hypothesized that an interrelated strategy based on community mobilization and the provision of social opportunities, and combined with suppression, organizational development, and social intervention, will reduce youth gang activity and violence. We have further hypothesized that a complex, innovative, and interrelated agency and grassroots approach that gives due attention to policies and practices of rehabilitation and suppression will be more effective than a agency-oriented approach that focuses either on suppression or rehabilitation (i.e., social intervention). Furthermore, we anticipate that broad-scale preventive approaches (i.e., exposing all youth in a gang neighborhood to special anti-gang programming) will be less effective than defining and targeting a high-risk youth population and applying appropriate deterrent and rehabilitative procedures.

Funding Priorities. While no clear and simple way exists to determine which policies and procedures will work, we do know something about strategies and programs that do not work. Therefore, it is incumbent on funding agencies concerned with the reduction of gang delinquency or crime to not support simple or

isolated programs of recreation, non-directive counseling, street work, or massive arrest and incarceration. Based on available research, theory, and experience, and until we know better, certain strategies and programs must be accorded the highest funding priority. Primarily, they include approaches that encourage community mobilization, i.e., the involvement of key criminal justice and community-based agencies as well as grassroots organizations, in programs that directly target gang youth.

COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION

Success in the implementation of the general model or community design for dealing with the youth gang problem depends, as we have indicated, primarily on the effectiveness of community mobilization. Community mobilization signifies a process of consciousness-raising, addressing the concerns and long-term interests of those most affected by the youth gang problem, rational identification of the dimensions of the problem, and development of the will and commitment of participants of an organized legitimate community group of agencies, organizations, and local residents to act. The process depends on cooperation and collaboration of key groups and actors as well as appropriate use of gang crises by community and agency leaders to generate pressures that can lead to changes in patterns of awareness and improved responses to the problem.

Failures or delays in community mobilization mainly occur because agencies and community organizations seek to protect or enhance their particular agency or group interests, which may or may not be directly related to the gang problem. Issues of organizational turf and interpersonal or interagency rivalry and conflict may prevent discussion of common goals and objectives and the means for collaborative endeavors. Failures of community mobilization may also occur because of insensitivity to distinctive community racial, ethnic, or class interests. The leadership of the mobilization process may insufficiently recognize and understand distinctive African-American, Latino, or Asian community concerns and interests about gangs in the particular communities.

The community mobilization process can move forward only when a group of leaders, highly committed to the resolution of the problem, develops a set of close relationships, relevant goals, and action plans based on mutual trust and common agreement on the definition of the problem and an appropriate solution. The proposed plan must be supported by key political and economic forces in the local and broader community. In addition, it must meet, at least partially, the survival and developmental needs and interests of both existing and evolving legitimate agency programs and community groups.

The essence of the community mobilization effort is to reinvigorate or reorganize community processes and structures so

that additional energies and resources will be developed, integrated, and applied to the youth gang problem. Gang youth often "fall between the cracks" of social services, social opportunity programs, and police sweeps. Individual youth and criminal group behaviors are only part of the youth gang problem; Inappropriate responses by agencies and community groups at various stages of the problem's development contribute as well.

POLICE

The fundamental purpose of law enforcement is protection of the community from those engaged in criminal activities. This is achieved primarily through a strategy of suppression, but also through preventive activities. The police need to address the youth gang problem in a fashion distinctive to emerging and chronic gang problem contexts. Police organizational arrangements to deal with the youth gang problem should vary depending on its scope and seriousness and the available departmental resources.

In communities confronted by an emerging problem, the police department should not necessarily organize a specialized gang unit, but establish a gang detail or designate one or more of its officers as gang specialists. Other possibilities include assigning a crime analysis officer to identify chronic or serious juvenile gang offenders and requiring patrol officers in areas of high gang activity to focus law enforcement activity on these youth.

In some jurisdictions, community relations, narcotics, and juvenile divisions may take on specialized gang functions. Generally, in larger communities where the gang problem is more serious and sophisticated, a specialized gang unit should be established. In some very large cities, specialized gang units may also be decentralized on an area basis. Nevertheless, a set of common definitions of the youth gang problem and options for dealing with it should characterize policy and procedures in a police jurisdiction.

Common definitions should be used as a basis for targeting selected gangs and members and for measuring the scope and seriousness of the problem on a systematic basis. A youth gang (as a segment of a street gang) should be defined as a group of people, usually 12 to 24 years of age, of variable size and organization, engaged in violent behavior, and characterized by communal or symbolic and often economic considerations, e.g., drug trafficking, burglary, robbery, and auto theft. A targeted gang member should be any youth who has a prior gang arrest, with special attention paid to leadership and hardcore or multiple-repeat and violent gang offenders. A gang incident or event should be defined as an illegal act, especially a violent act, that arises out of gang motivation, interest, or circumstances, and not necessarily because the youth is a gang member per se.

The police department, in its concern for the youth gang problem, should adopt an approach that combines suppression, consisting of the aggressive enforcement of laws, with community mobilization, involving the development of community awareness and the participation of a broad cross-section of the community to combat the problem. The development of social intervention activities, while secondary, should be pursued. Examples are referral of gang-prone juveniles to youth service agencies, counseling and guidance of such youth in collaboration with schools, and assisting community-based agencies to target gang youth for job development activity.

The functions of the police department in its mission to control and reduce gang crime include: investigation, intelligence, suppression, community relations, and training. Of special importance are: 1) investigating gang crimes to obtain information and evidence useful in the prosecution of youth involved in gang crimes; 2) maintaining standardized, updated information on gangs, gang members, and gang incidents; 3) concentrating surveillance on gang leaders and other hardcore members; 4) targeting special locations, particularly selected schools, for special patrol; 5) preventing and controlling those circumstances in which youth gang crises are likely to arise; 6) training criminal justice and community-based agency staff and local citizens in gang recognition and appropriate intervention procedures; 7) and assessing the effectiveness of police policies and procedures relative to youth gang crime.

The top administrator of the police department bears a great deal of responsibility for addressing the youth gang problem and must be involved in the determination of gang policy. He should insist on consistent and complete implementation of gang orders and procedures by his officers. He must also take community leadership in recognizing the scope of the gang problem and in helping elected leaders, agencies, and groups in the community deal with it openly and adequately. In an emerging gang problem context, he should not deny the scope of the problem to protect the "good name" of the community, but clearly call attention to incidents of gang crime. In a chronic gang problem context, he should withstand pressures to simply increase the level of suppression and support the development of a comprehensive community approach targeted at both gang-prone youth and gang members.

Finally, special training is necessary for police officers assigned to deal with gang crimes. Knowledge from many fields must be integrated into the law enforcement mission. General information is required about such topics as what causes gangs, how to identify a gang, the nature of gang crime, and what roles police should play with each type of agency or community group in addressing the problem. Also of importance is evaluation of police strategies and programs on a regular basis. Assessment should be

carried out using law enforcement outcome, internal organizational, and community relationship measures.

PROSECUTION

The prosecutor has a key responsibility to bring serious youth gang offenders to justice, to protect the community, and to serve the community's best interests. Of special importance in serious or chronic gang crime jurisdictions should be the development of a vertical gang prosecution approach in which a single prosecutor follows a particular case from start to finish. This assures that certain gang offenders or suspects will be efficiently targeted for investigation and prosecution to the fullest extent of the law. Although the prosecutor's primary focus must remain on suppression, he must also give attention to other strategies for dealing with the problem of youth gang crime. The additional attention should include community mobilization and improved coordination of agency services to gang youth.

In emerging or chronic gang problem jurisdictions, the prosecutor should concentrate on the following functions in gang cases: 1) case selection and data management; 2) collection and presentation of evidence; 3) development of appropriate testimony; 4) victim/witness protection; 5) bail and detention recommendations; 6) appropriate court disposition and sentencing decisions; and 7) interagency collaboration and community mobilization with respect to gang crime control and prevention activities.

Selection and control of serious gang cases by prosecutors immediately after police arrest is important. Close working relationships are required between prosecutors and police and probation or parole. A screening process based on specific criteria and on an adequate information system to track cases is essential. Hardcore juvenile gang offenders should be targeted, tracked from juvenile to adult court, and appropriately prosecuted.

In chronic gang problem situations, the prosecutor, usually with the aid of a special gang investigator, should collect proper evidence to develop a viable gang case. He must decide on the correct charge and, if necessary, collect additional evidence to reinforce his case. Guidelines acceptable to both prosecutor and police should be developed for case selection and the filing of charges. These policies and procedures should be made public.

The following procedures are recommended with regard to the preparation of testimony and the protection of victims and witnesses. When appropriate, pretrial testimony should be video recorded to avoid the problem of the victim or witness recanting or forgetting various aspects of his testimony at trial. A program should be developed to protect the victim or witness at his residence or to help him relocate to a safe place. The prosecutor should take

action, as necessary, through use of police surveillance to prevent intimidation of witnesses before or during the trial and inside or outside the courtroom. He should prosecute gang intimidators, particularly those already on probation or parole. Testimony by a gang member, whether a witness for the prosecution or the defense, should be carefully scrutinized for reliability. This is to counter manipulation of the justice system by gang members who may seek to avoid legal processes and settle gang conflicts on the street. The prosecutor should encourage use of "expert" witnesses, such as police, who are qualified by formal training or advanced education and not simply by experience.

The prosecutor may serve the best interests of society through various bail, trial, and sentencing procedures. For example, he can protect the community, the gang offender and the witness by convincing the court of the necessity of high bail for the adult gang offender or suspect, and detention for the juvenile gang offender, especially when there is strong evidence of the likelihood of witness intimidation or retaliatory acts of violence. Nevertheless, it is important, particularly during trial proceedings to clearly determine, based on adequate evidence, whether the suspect is indeed a gang member and whether the offense was gang-motivated. The prosecutor should be cautious when making reference to a defendant's gang membership since such reference will prejudice the jury.

If the defendant is found guilty, it may not always be in society's best interest to incarcerate him for a very long time. The prosecutor's sentencing recommendation to the court should be based on the probation officer's pre-sentence investigation and on whether strict supervision in the community, remedial education, and job placement will have longer-lasting social benefits than a prison sentence for both the community and the youthful offender.

The prosecutor, particularly in chronic problem contexts, should become a key organizer and administrator of an interagency justice system or community-wide task force established to deal swiftly and forcefully with the gang problem. He should understand the scope and seriousness of the problem in various communities in his jurisdiction. But he should also encourage the development of a variety of community-based strategies, including counseling, education, job training, youth employment, and citizen partnership in community gang prevention and control programs. Furthermore, when the gang prosecutor is called upon to formulate legislation, he should be sensitive to the need for a balanced approach in dealing with the youth gang problem.

Finally, it is essential that the gang prosecutor receive specialized gang training that provides a thorough understanding of the nature and scope of the gang problem in different types of local communities, its genesis and control, as well as the application of relevant laws and prosecutorial procedures. A

variety of experienced and knowledgeable teachers should be used, including police, academics, and community agency personnel. It is also important to systematically assess the role of specialized or vertical gang prosecution and determine whether, in the long run, it is more cost effective than regular prosecution in reducing gang crime.

JUDGES

The goals of the court should be: 1) that the youth gang member receive a fair hearing; 2) in the event a court petition is sustained, that court orders create conditions to rehabilitate the gang youth whether he is sent to a correctional institution or remains in the community; and 3) that both the community and the offender be protected from further violence and crime. Ordinarily, the court should incarcerate convicted or adjudicated serious delinquent gang youth offenders, particularly gang leaders and hardcore members who engage in such violent gang activity as drive-by shootings and significant drug traffickin'. However, peripheral or younger gang members who are adjudicated for minor gang-motivated crimes should receive short sentences, preferably supervision in the community with a community service requirement. Moreover, the judge's decision should be predicated on his understanding of the scope and seriousness of the gang problem in various communities in his court district, on whether the problem is emerging or chronic, and on the community resources available to deal with individual gang problems.

A key problem the court faces is the lack of resources to carry out its varied justice system functions. The court needs to improve its capacity to access and provide gang-related information, for example, through a computerized data system containing gang-related data. This would facilitate both judicial decision-making and the quick relay of court information, such as probation conditions, to police authorities. The courts may require additional resources to obtain more probation and special service staff to adequately supervise and assist gang youth in making social adjustments to the community. The court should also provide probation officers with "quick sanction authority" which allows them to place youth gang members in detention for short periods of time, under specific conditions.

Of special concern is the need for the juvenile court to better understand the scope and seriousness of the youth gang problem and to deal more often with juvenile gang offenders in the juvenile court rather than transferring them to adult court. The juvenile court judge should observe rigid standards when he makes a transfer decision since this decision signifies "a loss of status" for a class of youth that should be "specially protected and deemed amenable to juvenile rehabilitation."

Adult and juvenile court judges should be especially concerned about the quality of evidence brought to the court that identifies the youth as a gang member and the alleged crime as gang-motivated. The judge needs to be knowledgeable about the different levels of proof required to establish the validity of these terms and particularly careful not to accept hearsay evidence. The judge should make sure the jury understands that the gang offense charge must have clearly grown out of gang motivation or specific gang-related circumstances. The conspiratorial actions of the suspect must also be carefully assessed, even if he was not present or directly involved in the gang crime.

In the sentencing decision, the judge should consider, in addition to social and criminal history, the youth's position in the gang, his record of gang membership and criminality, the history and reputation of the gang itself, and especially the degree of the gang's activity in the particular emerging or chronic gang problem context. The judge should also understand that gang membership and the occurrence of gang offenses tend to be time-limited. Most gang youth are committed gang members for a relatively short period of time, usually between the ages of 14 and 18 years. Of primary importance in the judge's sentencing decision is the weight given to specific factors that can assist the youth in developing social competence while at the same time protecting the community from further youth gang member depredations.

If the judge places the gang youth on probation, special arrangements should exist that guarantee an appropriate level of supervision, community restitution on behalf of the victim, and the delivery of appropriate services. Regular court review, usually monthly or bimonthly, is desirable whereby juvenile gang members appear in court and their compliance with court orders is reviewed, e.g., through checks on school attendance, grades, and conduct. If the judge decides to sentence a youth gang member to a correctional institution, care must be taken to ensure that the youth is placed in a protected and secure environment that reduces gang-related opportunities and provides viable competency building activities as an alternative to the gang lifestyle. Gang youth who do not receive appropriate remedial education, vocational training, and social skill development services, whether in the institution or the community, are likely to return to gang affiliation and related criminal behavior.

Judges should also be more visible on community and interagency gang task forces. They can facilitate communication, assist in resolving differences, and provide guidance on constitutional issues with regard to measures proposed by criminal justice and community-based agencies. Judges should advocate meaningful measures for the suppression and rehabilitation of gang youth, both in the community and in the legislature. However, given the limited knowledge that many judges have about the nature, scope, and complexity of youth gang activities in their jurisdictions, it is

imperative that they undertake field observation and training, especially with respect to community programs for gang members and differential sentencing approaches.

Special legislative attention may also be required in the development of juvenile court codes and policies. It is possible that, because of the distinctive nature of the gang problem, the juvenile gang offender should comprise a special category in juvenile law such as a minor requiring close supervision. The court should also determine whether a processing decision, such as automatically waiving juvenile suspects who are gang members to adult court, is constitutional. Finally, differential sentencing decisions for gang youth of similar backgrounds should be evaluated on their effectiveness in reducing recidivism.

PROBATION

Oversized caseloads, sometimes in excess of 200 per officer, seriously limit the probation department's ability to carry out its primary goals of protecting the community and diverting gang youth from further crime. Moreover, a lack of resources has forced many probation departments to make surveillance activities of dangerous felony youth gang offenders its priority concern. This prevents the court and probation from carrying out its rehabilitative function and contributes to the neglect of less delinquent gang youth. While a few probation departments have established special units and programs to deal with gang offenders, most departments, even in chronic gang problem jurisdictions, still have no special approaches or services for gang probationers.

The objectives of probation should be: 1) to assist the court in its sentencing decision, i.e., to provide detailed information on the youth gang member, along with recommendations on possible sanctions and rehabilitative options; 2) to effectively enforce the orders of the court and the laws of the state with special regard for limiting the criminal activity of youth gang members; 3) to assist criminal justice agencies, community agencies, and grass-roots groups in coordinating information and developing efforts to control and prevent gang behavior; and 4) to broker and create special school and employment opportunities for youth gang probationers to meet their social development needs.

In both emerging and chronic gang problem areas, the probation officer should give primary consideration to the risks of controlling the behavior of the youth who remains in the community. A risk/needs assessment should be conducted for each youth gang probationer in terms of his social and, more importantly, his gang circumstances. The assessment should determine the level of supervision and the intensity of services necessary for him and his family. The range of supervisory possibilities for the youth include: regular field supervision, intensive supervision, house

arrest, curfew, electronic monitoring, and mandatory substance-abuse testing.

In emerging problem contexts, gang-affiliated probationers are likely to be in the 11-to-17-year-old age group and should probably be supervised as part of the regular juvenile probation caseload. The probation officer should use a service brokerage approach depending heavily on local community resources and assistance. A local community-based youth-serving agency or a school can be contacted to assist with these functions and activities. The probation officer should also emphasize close supervision, particularly for the leaders and relatively hardcore or committed gang youth.

The probation approach should be more complex in the chronic gang problem city. Special preventive, early intervention, and intensive supervision programs need to be established for different types of gang offenders. The probation officer should help organize and participate in programs at schools where youth who may have been arrested are beginning to experiment with gang participation. Early intervention programs should be directed at first- or second-time court-adjudicated gang offenders, mainly from 12 to 15 years of age. Again, minor gang-affiliated offenders, from 11 to 17 years of age, should probably be supervised on the regular probation caseload. An intensive probation gang program should be directed at the more serious gang offender, primarily between 15 and 24 years of age, with a history of high levels of gang-related criminality and violence. To maintain the integrity of intensive supervision, caseloads should be limited to between 30 and 40 probationers.

In addition to suppression, a variety of strategies need to be implemented by the probation department. Probation officers should provide youth gang probationers and their parents with social assistance in crisis situations, making sure that counseling services are accessible to both. Probation assistance needs to focus on task-centered objectives for the probationer such as improving school performance, procuring employment, and avoiding criminal gang situations. Also of particular importance are mobilization efforts to motivate community-based agencies and grassroots organizations to provide more attention and services to gang youths and to better coordinate interagency programs for them. New organizational arrangements may be required to carry out the above strategies, including vertical case management, flexible work shifts, contacts with probationers on the streets and in their homes, decentralized probation offices, and outreach suppression efforts such as ride-alongs with the police.

In chronic gang-problem contexts, consideration should be given to the development of a special alternative school for juveniles on probation in cooperation with the school system and a community-based youth agency. This special alternative school could serve as a base for a comprehensive case management approach

in which probationers receive intensive remedial education under close supervision. Cooperation will be necessary with agencies that provide mental health, drug treatment, parent counseling, and a variety of special apprenticeships and youth-conservation-corps - type programs. In order to minimize stigmatization, youth should be transferred back to regular school programs after 6 to 12 months.

The chief probation officer needs to pay attention to staff training, especially in emerging gang problem areas where resources are limited and special units are not likely to be established. Outside expertise should be brought in to educate personnel in such gang-relevant topics as gang member drug use and trafficking, the influence of street and prison gangs, search and seizure procedures, gang-relevant social investigation and supervision skills, effective case planning, crisis intervention and mediation skills, handling gang-related information in court, and community mobilization techniques.

Finally, probation processes and gang probation outcomes need to be evaluated. The content of probation officer case reports, especially pre-sentence investigations, should be analyzed on a regular basis. The extent to which probation officers are enforcing special conditions ordered for gang probationers should be assessed. The effectiveness of services for different types of gang youth should be evaluated. Also, long-term outcomes should be determined including recidivism rates, particularly for different types of probation and for the more serious youth gang offenders.

CORRECTIONS

As in many communities, youth gang problems have grown more serious in a variety of correctional settings, including detention centers, jails, correctional institutions, and prisons. In some institutions, gang problems are just emerging. In chronic problem settings, youth gangs are responsible for high levels of contraband activity including drug distribution; violence against staff and inmates; and the regulation of crime between the correctional setting and the community. The correctional organization is especially vulnerable to internal disruption by gang members. They make strong claims on the resources of the facility to which they are confined. Because of serious overcrowding in prisons, the lack of organizational resources, and the use of a limited number of strategies, the gang problem in the institution has intensified in recent years.

Four conflicting goals of the correctional mission as they pertain to gang member inmates must be resolved: 1) stable control of institutional operations; 2) separating gang offenders from the community; 3) care and development of the physical, social, and mental well-being of inmates during their stay in the institution;

and 4) preparation of gang inmates for non-criminal behavior upon their re-entry to the community.

Stable control of operations requires preventing and controlling youth gang violence, weakening gang organization and solidarity, reducing the ability of youth gangs to participate in crimes that transcend the boundaries of the institution into the community, and assisting gang member inmates in learning appropriate social values and behaviors as they prepare for their return to the community. Two factors are essential to achieving these goals: an accurate assessment of the gang problem in the institutional setting, particularly whether it is emerging or chronic; and the development of an intelligence system to identify ongoing gang activities. This knowledge should enhance the institution's ability to anticipate, prevent and control problems proactively rather than rely on defensive or reactive modes of suppression and intervention.

Of special importance for particular correctional programs is the development of gang policies that differentiate gang and non-gang behaviors and their seriousness. The more serious the problem, the more formal and specific the policies should be. Policies should define those gang behaviors that are inappropriate for work, educational and training programs, visitation, and communication privileges. Furthermore, policies that specify distinctions between gang and non-gang behavior must be "fair." They should meet legal requirements for non-discriminatory and humane treatment of all inmates.

A community mobilization strategy requires that a network of program relationships be established with outside organizations and groups to both support and reinforce the work of the institution as well as that of community agencies and groups in the control and rehabilitation of gang youth. The correctional institution and the community should be viewed as a contiguous environment. A key function of community networking, especially with the police, should be to share intelligence on a continuing basis about related and sometimes interdependent gang problems in the correctional facility and the community. This could include collaborative case assessment and planning by correctional and police officers. To the extent possible, inmates should participate in the legitimate development of a productive corrections environment.

The correctional authority's opportunities provision and social intervention strategies should emphasize programs and services of remedial education, training, and jobs, both during the gang member's incarceration and his transition back to the community. Differential programming for gang members will be required, depending on age, capacity, interest, and nature of commitment to gang values. Crisis intervention, counseling, values re-education, and other services should also be available to assist gang inmates with a range of personal, social, and correctional

adaptation problems including housing, medical, legal, school, and work, as well as relationships with other gang and non-gang peers.

Preventive suppression and intervention that anticipates problems should be given priority. This may include frequent and irregularly scheduled inspections of gang member living areas or cells, enhanced supervision of places with high potential for gang problems, housing gang members separately from non-gang inmates, dispersal of problem gang members among several correctional facilities, and isolating or transferring gang leaders to other facilities.

Gang suppression in correctional settings should encourage the creation of a social climate conducive to conventional behaviors, values, and patterns of thinking. The acceptance by inmates of the moral legitimacy of suppression procedures can be fostered through a comprehensive and well-articulated set of policies based on an appropriate mix of opportunities provision, organizational development, social intervention, and community mobilization strategies. In other words, measures of suppression should not only be fair but part of an overall program that contributes to normative and conventional learning by gang members.

Corrections staff should be provided with training that enables them to recognize gang patterns, and understand and develop skills in suppression and intervention methods, including how to deal with gang crises. All staff, including security, administration, treatment, and other personnel should receive gang awareness and crisis-simulated practice training. Staff also need to become knowledgeable of and sensitive to the variety of cultural differences among gang inmates. Recruitment of a racially and ethnically diverse staff is essential. Also, extensive research should be conducted into the nature of the gang problem in particular correctional institutions. Evaluation is required of different approaches and of those conditions of correctional housing, staffing, and specific programming that produce effective results in chronic and emerging gang problem contexts.

PAROLE

Parole supervision of gang youth is more complicated than supervision of non-gang youth because of the pressures of gang solidarity and coercion exerted on the youth. Paroled gang youth may come under severe pressure to become reinvolved with gangs. Youth gangs provide support for and access to criminal means which gang parolees need to survive since most are resource poor upon release from the correctional institution. The pressures to return to gang violence and criminal behavior are particularly strong in chronic gang problem communities.

Parole agencies have two interrelated responsibilities in the supervision of youth paroled from correctional institutions. The primary one is to monitor the behavior of paroled youth to ensure that they meet conditions of their parole. The other is to assist in the development of access to a set of community-based opportunities and services to meet the educational, occupational, social, and residential needs of gang parolees. The gang parolee requires a high degree of surveillance or restriction and also support, since he may naturally tend to reassociate with his criminal gang peers.

Usually, the parole agency has to depend on the assistance of a variety of community agencies and groups for education, employment, job development, as well as surveillance to carry out its suppression and intervention mission. It is important, therefore, that the parole officer establish collaborative relationships with appropriate personnel in the justice system, community-based agencies, and grassroots organizations within his particular jurisdiction. Both regular and crisis meetings with police should be required to examine the progress of gang youth and collectively deal with the gang-related problems they create.

Many communities lack the rehabilitative resources, e.g., educational, job training, and placement opportunities, mental health and drug treatment, and community residential facilities, needed by parolees. A resource provision strategy may be necessary to mitigate some of these local community resource deficits. They include provision of department funds to community agencies to establish specialized gang programming for parolees, such as residential placements and group homes; or contracting with private homes on behalf of youthful gang parolees.

A combined opportunities provision and community mobilization strategy is required to enlist community-based agencies and businesses in obtaining meaningful jobs for gang youth. Consideration should be given in chronic problem cities to the use of community agency job development resources or the creation of a job resource unit within parole, focussed on the needs of gang youth parolees. Cooperatively funded initiatives to train and employ gang parolees should also be established with certain businesses.

A combined social opportunities and social intervention strategy should make use of volunteer mentors who can assist as tutors or supportive "irritants" to remind gang youth what they are supposed to do. Neighborhood mentors can offer one-on-one technical assistance to youth. For example, through personalized involvement, they can enhance the self-esteem of parolees, and exert pressure on them to pursue learning, job training, work objectives, and parole obligations.

Nevertheless, suppression must be the key underlying strategy of the parole officer. The nature of his supervision should vary

from the least to the most restrictive depending on the level of risk the gang youth parolee represents to the safety of the community. The risk assessment will be conditioned by the orders of the parole authority including the length of time the youth is to remain in parole status and the restrictive conditions mandated. Of special utility may be gradual release programs in which furloughs are arranged under supervision of the parole officer prior to "official" release from the correctional institution. During such release, prospective parolees should be expected to locate housing, interview for jobs, and seek admission to special training and educational programs. Reorientation to family and community responsibilities should also be facilitated.

Some gang members from chronic gang problem communities may benefit by moving to communities other than their original ones. This is useful for those who wish to avoid reinvolvement in the gang or who would experience either intense pressures from their old gang peers or problems from opposing gang members. These youth require special residential placement, supervision, and support. Placement in a new community may be a problematic solution, however, if gang problems are present. In this situation, the parole officer should be prepared to help community agencies recognize the problem and react appropriately to it.

A step-down program may also be useful in providing gang parolees with supervised group home or community residential facilities and a continuum of program services and constraints, ranging from around the clock institutional to self-supervision. Initially, the program should provide participating youth with structure and controls for as much of their day as possible to prevent them from becoming reacquainted with former criminal gang associates and engaging in criminal gang activity. The program should also involve serious gang offenders in intensive socialization and skill development activities.

Training for the parole officer working with gang youth should include guidance on information gathering on gang behavior and community resources and on how to work in gang neighborhoods. Staff must learn to recognize and deal with a variety of problems, including lack of agency program resources, community agency hostility, institutional racism, and the politics of dealing with the youth gang problem. Joint training with other justice system and community-based agency personnel should be developed to foster mutual understanding and interagency relationships.

Systematic and regular evaluation of parole programs is required to determine whether gang youth continue to commit offenses, especially gang-related offenses, after release from corrections. These evaluations should be useful in identifying the successful elements of a parole program directed at gang youth. Adequate information about special gang parolee programs and their results can also be used to maintain political support and defend

gang parole programs against attack when some parolees get into serious trouble.

SCHOOLS

The school gang problem often originates in the streets. Students who are gang members bring with them destructive gang attitudes and behaviors. They claim the school as "turf"; they deface the school with graffiti; and they exert control through intimidation and assault of other students. The school, however, can also contribute to the problem. Most gang members are bored with school and feel inadequate in class, and many drop out as soon as possible. From an early age, they develop poor learning skills and experience academic and social failure at school. They have little identification with teachers or staff, whom they may distrust and dislike intensely.

The school's first step in dealing with the youth gang problem is to acknowledge it. The extent and seriousness of the problem must be openly and systematically assessed. Specific information needs to be gathered, for example: which youth and gangs are involved, where the gangs hangout (at school and elsewhere), and whether the disruptive behavior is gang-motivated. A consensus needs to be reached by school staff, parents, and community and justice system agencies as to the nature and scope of the problem. The problem can be assessed as emerging when a few youth are involved and only minor gang-related activities occur within the school or its immediately vicinity. The problem should be regarded as chronic when gang violence and gang-motivated crime are serious, sustained, and spill over into classroom activities.

While there are limits to what the schools can do about basic family and community factors that significantly contribute to the youth gang problem, there is much that schools can do in conjunction with community agencies and groups. A special school community council should be formed to focus on the problem. A team of local school administrators and agency personnel should create a pattern of coordinated security, learning opportunity, and service arrangements directed to gang members and gang-prone youth. In the chronic gang-problem community and school, a broad coalition should be formed that involves the school with criminal justice and community-based agencies, grassroots organizations, churches, businesses, and citizen groups. Hardcore gang members and those youth less significantly involved in gangs should be identified and appropriately targeted for special remedial education, support services, and supervision.

The objectives of the school's approach to the problem should be delivery of a flexible curriculum directed to gang youth who are not doing well in their classes. These youth should receive enriched programs to provided them with basic academic and work-

related problem-solving tools. Gang-prone and gang member youth should be introduced to the world of work, education, and community responsibility at an early age. For the older gang youth, job apprentice and remedial educational objectives have to be adequately linked to career development.

In their efforts to enhance the academic and vocational achievement of gang youth, teachers should not emphasize performance standards to the exclusion of the nature and quality of the learning process. Situations need to be developed in which the gang youth's achievement in class or on a work project are advertised and rewarded. The teacher's positive, personalized relationship with gang youth is important and can serve to reduce violence and disruptive acts. Support staff including social workers, coaches, tutors, psychologists, security personnel, community agency professionals, parents, and even community residents can supplement the teacher's efforts. The school principal's leadership is critical to the development of a school-community support system that combines extra social support with social controls for gang youth while protecting non-gang youth and maintaining the academic integrity of the school's program.

There are at least three components to a school's effective control or suppression strategy: 1) the development of a school gang code, with guidelines specifying an appropriate response by teachers and staff to different kinds of gang behavior, including a mechanism for dealing with serious gang delinquency; 2) the application of these rules and regulations within a context of positive relationships and open communication by school personnel with parents, community agencies, and students; and 3) a clear distinction between gang- and non-gang-related activity that does not exaggerate the scope of the problem.

The school also needs to involve parents of gang- and non-gang youth in its concerns and activities regarding the gang problem. As many parents as possible should be engaged in parent group meetings, street patrols, monitoring student activities in and out of school to detect and prevent gang activities, and assisting teachers and staff to carry out class and field trip activities. Parenting and gang-awareness classes should be developed by the school. Parents who have successfully dealt with their own gang member children may be especially useful in various gang prevention and control activities, including visiting and counseling parents whose children are currently causing gang problems in school.

The school should establish close relationships with a variety of outside organizations and agencies that have knowledge about the problem and can provide services and energies to deal with it. Police, probation, and youth agencies can provide useful information about youth gangs and how to deal with them. The school can be used as a community base or center for a whole range of protective, preventive, and remedial health; education; and training and

employment services for students and their parents, that includes focussing on the needs of gang youth. In any case, the school must exercise significant leadership and not simply act as a host to other organizations while avoiding primary responsibility for rearranging its own structure and activities to deal with the youth gang problem.

Special training opportunities should be provided to school administrators, teachers, and staff to increase their knowledge of gangs and community resources relative to the problem. Individual and group counseling skills, especially for handling gang crisis situations, should be developed. A key concern of training should be the development of ways to enhance both self-esteem and self-discipline of gang youth. Gathering and sharing information on gangs are extremely important tasks in the development of an information system to identify, track, investigate, suppress and assist gang youth. Nevertheless, records on gang youth can be abused if they serve to exclude gang youth from school, subject them to harassment, and violate their student rights and privileges. Appropriate procedures for sharing school information with other agencies should be carefully worked out.

Periodic evaluation should be conducted by school officials to determine who is being classified as a gang youth and why, what services or special treatment these students receive, and what benefits and costs result from the special programs established. Expected benefits would be improvement in academic achievement by gang and non-gang youth, reduction of gang and non-gang delinquent behavior, and success in keeping potential drop-out youth, especially gang members, in school.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

There have been no significant national policies or programs established to deal specifically with the employment problems of inner-city gang or gang-prone youth. Available reports suggest these youth have the highest rates of school failure, and the least appropriate employment skills and work attitudes. They are responsible for the highest rates of serious criminal and violent behavior. They have not only proved resistive to efforts at training and rehabilitation, but have also been consistently ignored or excluded from available special education, training, and work programs. It is possible that much street crime, including an increasing proportion of youth gang member activity, serves as a form of self-employment that fills part of the vacuum created by depression levels of unemployment and underemployment, particularly among African-American and Latino youth.

Social, economic, job development, and training programs for low-income youth, including gang youth, need to be developed and expanded. Employment, education, criminal justice, and community-

based youth agencies must become interrelated components of an approach that attempts to integrate gang youth into the mainstream of society, particularly in chronic gang problem communities. The goal of an employment program for gang youth must be the development of a series of entry-level jobs leading to career development that results in a reduction of gang crime. There are two critical points in the gang youth's development that should be addressed: 1) during the early teen years just prior to the time when he develops a serious commitment to gang life; and 2) during the late adolescent period, when the youth no longer sees benefit in hanging out with the gang and recognizes the related risks of imprisonment, injury, and death.

A new employment or related social service institution is required, especially in chronic gang-problem communities, to provide adequate links between school and jobs and to establish specific steps by which marginal youth, especially gang youth, can enter the legitimate job market. This institution should target gang youth through a program that incorporates job opportunities, social control, and support. The program would require not only job development, remedial education, social services, and supervision including the involvement of criminal justice agencies, but also monitoring by community-based groups to make sure that the youth gang member is moving toward social development and rehabilitation, and that the community remains safe and protected.

The new institution should comprise three components: 1) a program for older drop-out gang and other socially disadvantaged youth, 16 to 24 years old; 2) a program for marginal gang youth, 15 to 18 years, who are still at school; and 3) a program for hardcore gang youth, 14 to 16 years old, who are early drop-outs. Referrals would come primarily from criminal justice authorities, particularly probation and parole. The priority program in chronic gang problem communities should be targeted at the 16-to-24-year-old drop-out and include remedial education, training, job placement, or employment and career development in close cooperation with business and industry. The priority program in an emerging gang-problem community should be targeted at the marginal gang youth, 15 to 18 years old. A less complex set of component programs is required. In any case, each program should be of sufficient length and focus to meet the interests and needs of the particular category of youth.

A major concern of the new program should be the creation of a job bank. A job development specialist should be hired to obtain commitments from both private and public employers to employ graduates and others who have gone through the program. A key proposition to be tested should be that gang youth can relinquish their gang member role to become hard-working, loyal, and productive workers. A job bank should draw from a variety of occupations. Success will be largely dependent on placing the youth in the "right" job at the right point in his development of appropri-

ate work attitudes and skills. Appropriate work shift and transportation arrangements should be developed.

Work acclimation is an important consideration in preparing the gang youth for entry into a job. The gang youth may like the idea of a job but does not necessarily understand what holding a job means. The youth must learn to keep inappropriate attitudes and skills learned on the streets and in correctional institutions away from his job. He needs to develop a belief that a legitimate job can be rewarding. After the gang youth develops an interest and attitudinal readiness for a job through both observational and didactic experiences, he needs to begin to develop academic and vocational problem-solving skills. Assessment of the educational needs of each youth is important for the creation of appropriate group and individualized remedial skills programs. Each youth must also learn how to fill out application forms and how to interview properly for a job.

The youth needs to "crack the job market" and establish a work record. Many gang youth 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 may be especially important. The youth must be persuaded that a career ladder exists and that it is possible to move through a series of legitimate jobs and training experiences that will ultimately result in successful employment more rewarding than life with his gang on the streets.

A whole series of social supports and controls should be established, particularly in the chronic problem community, for the gang youth in this job career development process. 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 close supervision of the gang youth around the obstacles he faces in adaptation to the work situation. Only under the most extreme circumstances, e.g., commission of a felony offense, should the youth be considered for termination from the program.

Employment services for serious gang offenders, as part of an overall suppression and intervention program, will be very costly, particularly in terms of the variety of skilled staff and the intensity of services required. Teachers or remedial education specialists, job trainers, employment placement specialists, and advocates will need to have advanced training in their own specialty and also an ability to relate to and understand how to provide services to aggressive, easily frustrated gang youth. The roles of professionals and paraprofessionals, including those who are from the neighborhood and even former gang members, will have to be carefully developed and their interrelationships specified. Different kinds of organizations, e.g., schools, employers, criminal

justice and community-based agencies, community groups, and residents, must assume varying and complementary responsibilities depending on local community resources, the nature of the gang program, and the purpose and scope of the particular program component.

Of special importance should be a formative evaluation during the initial phase of the development of these innovative gang oriented employment programs. Evaluators must be able to assist administrators of the programs in articulating objectives and assessing the relationship of specific program activities and processes to program purposes. From the start, careful documentation should be required for organizational and interorganizational procedures, program problems and changes, and whether youth continue in their criminal gang patterns. Long-term evaluation of program processes, gang member employment patterns, and especially gang crime recidivism patterns should be considered.

COMMUNITY-BASED YOUTH AGENCY (CBYA)

An essential component of a broad-scale approach to the youth gang problem is a local community-based youth agency (CBYA) that provides a continuum of services to gang and gang-prone youth. A six-fold mission is proposed for those youth agencies intending to serve gang youth: 1) socialization, 2) education, 3) family support, 4) training and employment, 5) social control, and 6) community mobilization and agency coordination. This mission must target and serve different types of gang youth, their problem families, and their communities in different ways. This variation is largely related to degrees of poverty and social and personal disorganization, particularly as represented in emerging and chronic gang problem communities.

The CBYA program should target a different mix of youth in emerging and chronic gang problem communities. Relatively more gang-prone youth should be targeted in emerging gang communities; relatively more committed and adjudicated gang members should be targeted in chronic gang localities to reflect the wider scope and more serious nature of the problem. The CBYA needs to assist and supplement services and approaches of key institutions, e.g., family, school, employment, and criminal justice agencies. Therefore, to achieve a reduction in the gang problem, the CBYA must work directly with gang youth, assist in strengthening primary social institutions, and increase local community capacity to address its youth gang problem.

Socialization. Of primary importance in emerging gang problem contexts is the ability of the CBYA worker to reach out to those youth on the street who are not yet involved in existing agency programs. These youth often constitute a recruiting pool for gang membership. Special efforts should also be made to change the

style and content of existing programs to meet the interests and needs of newcomer ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. In the course of many of these activities, it is important for the CBYA worker not to inadvertently become a focus for organizing or cohering a loosely knit youth group into a criminal gang. The CBYA worker should be skilled in helping gang-prone or gang member youth to learn conflict resolution skills, especially those that contribute to a reduction of intergroup conflict. Team sports and social activities may be important, especially when they involve parents and local residents as role models and social control agents; but also when they facilitate relationships that allow the CBYA worker to deal with more substantial social development and control problems of gang youth.

Education. For the 12- to 16-year-old gang-prone youth, the major networking and social intervention objectives should be to assist school administrators and teachers in appropriately meeting the educational and social needs of these vulnerable yet troublesome youth. A primary task should be to help youth improve their performance at school and at the same time curb or limit their actual or potentially disruptive gang-related behavior. The CBYA worker is expected to be part of the school team as he supplements and joins with teachers in a variety of activities both within and outside the school. If older gang youth are quitting school, the CBYA agency should work directly with school administrators to establish alternative school programs and special skill and GED centers. CBYA workers should collaborate with teachers, parents, and community volunteers in teaching and supervising these youth.

Family Support. Many parents of gang youth are burdened with their own personal, social, and economic problems. These parents are often very difficult to reach and counsel effectively. A persistent long-term outreach effort by the CBYA in cooperation with other agencies must be initiated, when appropriate. The CBYA worker can aid parents of gang members by having them meet together to share problems of parenting and supervising their gang offspring. These groups can also become mutual aid or crisis intervention groups when gang conflict threatens or flares up. There will be occasions when the family is so disorganized that a gang youth must be assisted in leaving the particular family situation, at least temporarily. When this happens, the CBYA worker should work closely with the child welfare agency and the court as well as the youth and his family.

Training and Employment. The CBYA worker can assist schools, community organizations and employers in preparing youth for employment at the CBYA facility. The CBYA should help with referral and support services if programs such as introduction to the world of work and training programs already exist in the community. In some cases, the CBYA can develop small entrepreneurial operations, employing gang youth, preferably in collaboration with established businesses. Collaboration with schools in the develop-

ment of job banks and apprenticeship opportunities may also be necessary. Of special importance is focussing on those gang youth in greatest need of basic academic and vocational problem solving skills and job development services.

Social Control. The CBYA must learn to accept and take on new roles of deterrence, supervision, and suppression in dealing with gang prone and gang member youth. In this process key links with police, probation, parole, and the courts must be developed. Gang youth and their families should come to view the CBYA worker not only as a helping agent but as a possible link to authoritative or criminal justice agencies who will not hesitate to report gang-related behavior and assist with certain activities such as surveillance or patrol. The agency's supervisory or deterrent role should be based on the traditional socialization function of the CBYA to help the individual mature and develop socially within the framework of the conventional values of the neighborhood and a democratic society.

Community Mobilization and Agency Coordination. The CBYA in some communities may be ideally situated to observe and articulate the problems and needs of the community, especially its gang youth. The CBYA should then attempt to rally other agencies and community groups to action, especially if the agency has a track record of working with youth gangs and can demonstrate credibility with diverse parts of the community. It may also act as a moderating force where others might be inclined to over-react to gang youth and their crimes of violence. In emerging gang problem communities, CBYAs should attempt, particularly in conjunction with schools, to mobilize community efforts to deal with the problem. In chronic gang problem communities, the role of the CBYA should probably be more closely linked to criminal justice agencies, particularly probation.

CBYAs should be staffed by mature individuals -- professionals and neighborhood residents -- who are strongly motivated to serve and have the capacity and skills to work with gang youth as well as with a variety of community group and organizational representatives. Training efforts should focus not only on work with gang youth but on the integration of CBYA services with those of other agencies, especially criminal justice and grassroots organizations. The broad-scale approach of the CBYA to the youth gang problem should be tested in two stages: in the earlier period, to ensure that specific objectives, services, and processes are being properly developed; and in the later outcome stage, to determine whether specific strategies and programs do indeed lead to a lowering of the gang crime rate.

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS

The grassroots organization is a traditional American response to a whole range of problems that affect the local community's welfare and development. These associations or organizations are based on citizen concern and can be used not only to mobilize local energies and resources but to compel external interest and concern, usually by government, to confront local problems such as youth gang crime. In almost all cases these organizations claim to represent or closely identify with a specific population. They emphasize local citizen participation. Many kinds of grassroots organizations are present that can play a significant role in the control of youth gang crime. These organizations include: block clubs, neighborhood improvement associations, tenant organizations, parents or mother's groups, citizen patrols, local business, fraternal, and other civic organizations, churches and church sponsored groups, social agencies, political organizations and actors, and multi-functional community organizations.

Grassroots organizations in gang-problem communities should be concerned, directly or indirectly, with the gang problem which is often the tip of a more complex set of serious local community concerns. The local organization serves in various ways to connect the individual citizen, family, and even gang members with the norms, values, and resources of the larger society. The grassroots organization should pursue a variety of strategies toward stimulating and integrating citizen and community efforts to resolve the gang problem. Specifically, the key strategies should be a mix of community mobilization, organizational development, and suppression.

Community mobilization may be viewed as a strategy uniquely fitted to the interests and capacities of the grassroots organization. A key objective should be to develop clear and reliable information about the gang problem. The organization has to be aggressive in its efforts to gather data, interpret the problem, and determine what should be done. While the organization should conduct or participate in a series of community meetings to assess and plan programs to deal with the problem in collaborative inter-agency terms, it must also take proactive leadership in influencing certain key authorities to see the moral and political necessity of doing something about the problem in meaningful policy and programmatic policy terms.

While the grassroots organization may contribute to collaborative programs, it may also need to challenge public and non-profit agencies over issues of racism, agency corruption, staff incompetence, and lack of resources which can be related to failures in dealing with the gang problem. Some of the tactics of these organizations can arouse citizen and agency feelings and reactions. They may cut through citizen apathy and agency routine. Most important, they can be useful in stimulating community participation and the development of constructive policies and programs to deal with specific gang situations.

A variety of mechanisms, techniques, and direct actions are available to the grassroots organization to affect change in established organizational policy and programs, and to hold them accountable to perform mandated or agreed upon functions. The community organization should facilitate the development of interagency task forces, coordinating councils, and advisory committees containing a range of criminal justice and community-based agencies as well as citizen groups. The special mission of the grassroots organization should be to use these broader community councils to educate and persuade agencies to actively, intelligently, and beneficially deal with the problem on behalf of the local community. The grassroots organization will need to continually monitor and test the value of the impact of agency programs that result from these community-wide, interagency associations.

One important consequence of community mobilization and special local organizational arrangements to deal with the youth gang problem should be the development of local citizen leadership. A variety of organizing and management skills can be learned, i.e., how to efficiently marshal pickets or persuade local legislators to vote for or against a particular gang-related measure, how to conduct meetings or interagency negotiations, and how to develop cooperative community group and agency agreements regarding gang programs.

The neighborhood organization is in a uniquely advantageous position to mobilize formal authority and to direct local citizen or street-level controls over gang youth. Because of its contacts with official agents of control, particularly police and other justice system representatives, and its knowledge of community, the neighborhood or local grassroots organization should be especially effective in targeting and controlling particular gangs and gang youth. While local citizens should sometimes be mobilized for direct "defensive and offensive" activities against gangs, these efforts should be planned and carried out in cooperation with established or official authorities, e.g., in collaboration with the local police, probation, or community-based youth agencies. Efforts by local parents, residents, and former gang youth, collectively or individually, to persuade and counsel gang youth to cease their violent activities should also be useful.

The needs for training of staff and volunteers in grassroots gang-related projects can be extensive depending on the particular tasks required. Special workshop and short-term training conferences should be directed at such issues as the genesis of specific community gang problems and the extent to which particular community conditions contribute to the problem. Techniques for working with gang youth and their parents, and community agencies dealing with various aspects of the problem should be addressed.

A variety of ways exist to determine the effectiveness of grassroots projects dealing with the youth gang problem. These include assessment of the number of people who participate in such projects and to what extent community actions are associated with a decline or change in the character of the problem. A full-scale evaluation of the grassroots organization's contribution to gang crime control is probably not possible without a variety of community comparisons and careful research controls. Valuable insights for planning future local community gang control programs can be obtained, however, through adequate documentation of organizing efforts and their possible association with a reduction in gang crime. The measurement of the community's capacity to mobilize itself and build a mechanism for doing something about the problem over time should be regarded as a primary research consideration.