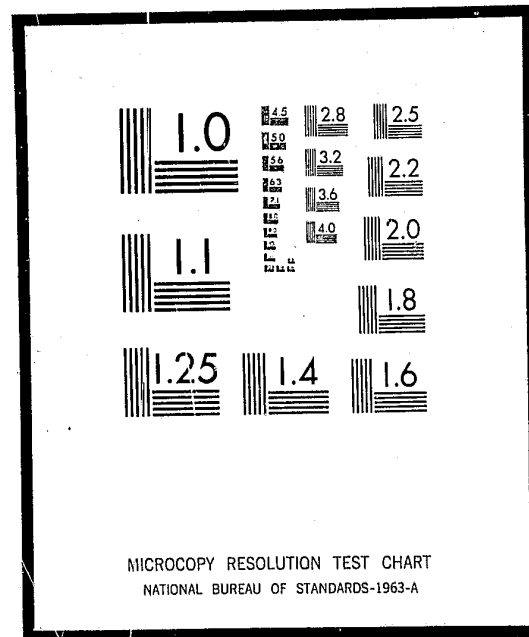


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## THE GANG PROBLEM IN PHILADELPHIA

Proposals for Improving the Programs  
of Gang-Control Agencies

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THE WILLIAM PENN FOUNDATION

The analysis and recommendations herein  
are not necessarily those of the Foundation.

Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division)  
in association with the Bureau of Municipal Research  
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## PREFACE

Juvenile gang violence has been a critical problem in Philadelphia for a number of years, despite increasing efforts of both public and private agencies to stem the violence. Gang-related homicides, shootings, and stabbings have been in the 200 to 300 range annually for the past several years. Many of these have been "sneak attacks" by several gang members upon actual or imagined opponents. The local press carries the toll of young victims cut down in the streets.

In reviewing the problem in 1973, the Pennsylvania Economy League noted that very little systematic information was available on the scope and programs of the gang control efforts.

Therefore, the Pennsylvania Economy League sought, and obtained, a modest grant from the William Penn Foundation to help finance a study of the gang control agencies in Philadelphia. The purpose was threefold:

1. To provide the community with a description of the agencies engaged in gang control--including their organization, program, financing, goals, and data regarding the effectiveness of their efforts.
2. To report on experience of other cities.
3. To develop conclusions and recommendations on how Philadelphia's gang control efforts could be improved.

We hope that our study will contribute to public understanding and point the way to more effective use of community resources.

### Outline of Study

The study encompasses the following five chapters:

Chapter I reviews the available information on the number of gangs, their membership, and gang violence as related to other measures of crime in Philadelphia.

Chapter II describes City government agencies dealing with the gang problem.

Chapter III describes four nongovernmental agencies which have programs directed at the gang problem.

Chapter IV reviews the experience of other large cities.

Chapter V contains conclusions and recommendations.

Immediately following the table of contents, a Report in Brief gives a comparatively quick view of the material in the study.

Sources of Information

This study deals mainly with gang control agencies, not with gangs. Information is based primarily on interviews with staff members of the agencies engaged in control of gang violence and on reports, documents, and applications prepared by or for such agencies. These sources were supplemented by material from studies published by scholars in the fields of juvenile delinquency and crime.

It was beyond the scope of this study to make a first-hand examination of Philadelphia gangs themselves--their numbers, organization, and membership. For such information, it was necessary to rely on data developed by agencies dealing with gangs and on the limited number of scholarly studies made of Philadelphia gangs. The news media proved a valuable source of information on the subject, giving extended coverage in recent years to many aspects of Philadelphia juvenile gangs.

Acknowledgments

We are indebted to the William Penn Foundation for its encouragement and support of this project. However, the analysis and recommendations of the report are not necessarily those of the Foundation.

We gratefully acknowledge the cooperation extended by the staff members of the agencies described in this report, as well as the consultation provided by staff members of many other state, city, and private agencies deeply concerned with the problem. A special thanks is also due our correspondents in other cities who answered our questionnaires and telephone calls required to obtain the information for Chapter IV.

Staff principal for this study was Senior Research Associate Edgar Rosenthal, assisted by Research Assistant Michael Levy. Research Associate Marjorie Jacob, and Librarian Ellen Brennan also participated.

June 1974

Edwin Rothman  
Director

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SCOPE OF THE GANG PROBLEM (Chapter I, pp. 1-19)

According to a national authority on juvenile delinquency (Malcolm W. Klein), the term "gang" refers to a group of adolescents who are perceived as a distinct group by others in the neighborhood; recognize themselves as a distinct group; and are involved in delinquent incidents which have called forth the consistent attention of neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement agencies.

In Philadelphia, gang members generally do not use the term "gang." Instead, a youth says he is a member of or belongs to a "corner." Most gangs take their name from an intersection of streets. Most claim jurisdiction over an area known as their "turf." A gang generally claims that its turf is off limits to members of rival gangs, or sometimes to nongang members. The claimed turfs vary in size from one or two blocks to areas of 50 or more blocks.

The Juvenile Aid Division (JAD) of the Police Department applies the term "gang" to groups organized to protect their turf through violence. Other groups are designated as "corner groups" by the JAD.

How Many Are There?

The Police Department "monitored" (patrolled the areas of) 190 gangs in Fiscal 1972 and an estimated 231 gangs in Fiscal 1973. The JAD identified 4,700 members in the 88 active gangs it recognized in 1973, and estimated that total membership was in the range of 5,000 to 8,000. Others estimate that total membership in gangs and corner groups is as high as 15,000.

The largest number of gangs is in North Philadelphia (about a third of the total), followed by West Philadelphia and South Philadelphia. Membership in a gang ranges from 50 to more than 500.

Ages of gang members range from 8 to 22, with a few older members. Half the gang members are reported to be under 18. A number of female groups exist, either independently or as auxiliaries of male gangs. More than 80% of the gang members are reported to be black; a handful of gangs, racially integrated.

Gangs tend to be formally structured with the assignment of specific leadership roles. Each of the age groups within a gang often has its own leader or leaders. The common term for a gang leader in Philadelphia is "runner"--the person who runs the gang. Others titles are "war lord" and "checkholder."

Gang Violence and Other Crime

The greatest amount of detail has been compiled on gang-related killings. The toll of such persons has risen from four in 1963 to 41 in 1973.

The number of gangs involved in gang homicides as victims or assailants is usually somewhat larger than the total number of homicides. For example, in 1973, 47 gangs were involved: 10 as both victims and assailants, 21 as assailants only, and 16 as victims only.

Since 1963, more than half the gang killings have occurred in North Philadelphia. A majority of the victims of gang killings have been gang members. The remainder include bystanders, victims of mistaken identity, or unaffiliated youth living in the neighborhood.

According to available, but incomplete, statistics, the combined number of reported homicides, shootings, and stabbings almost doubled from 106 in 1967 to 198 in 1968, and remained around the 200 level through 1970. In 1971, the number increased by more than 50% to 319. In 1972, the number dropped by 23% from 319 to 247. In 1973, the number increased to 292 (an 18% increase). (table on p. 12)

The number of rumbles (fights between groups of gang members) declined sharply in 1970 to 15 (from the prior year's 40) and remained at a relatively low level in 1971, 1972, and 1973.

Gang-related homicides as a percentage of total homicides increased from 2.4% in 1962 to 17% in 1969; they equalled about 10% of total homicides in 1970, 1971, and 1972.

Total juvenile (under age 18) arrests increased from about 9,000 in 1962 to nearly 14,000 in 1972. The latter figure was a drop of 19% from about 17,000 arrests in 1971.

The trend in number of cases disposed of by the Juvenile Court tends to parallel the trend in juvenile arrests. In 1972, 9% of Philadelphia male youth ages 14-15, and 14% of male youth ages 16-17, appeared before the Juvenile Court. These percentages are much higher than the figures of a decade or two earlier. (table on p. 19)

#### PHILADELPHIA GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS (Chapter II, pp. 21-68)

The City government has three organizations dealing with the control of gangs: Office of the Managing Director; Youth Conservation Services, a division of the Department of Public Welfare; and Juvenile Aid Division of the Police Department. A fourth agency in the picture is the Juvenile Court.

The Youth Conservation Services Division (YCS) of the Department of Public Welfare was established in 1959. It is concerned with the prevention, control, and reduction of juvenile delinquency.

#### History of City's Role in Area Youth Work (pp. 22-23)

In 1960, the Department of Public Welfare joined with other City agencies in developing a report on gang activity. Out of this came the recommendation that municipal government should be responsible for services to hostile gangs. For 1961, the City appropriated \$40,000 to the Department of Public Welfare to purchase the services of gang workers (area youth workers) from the Crime Prevention Association, a private organization. The Youth Conservation Services were responsible for monitoring the contract. In 1962, the Area Youth Work Unit became operational, charged with supervising the contract.

The area youth program of direct service to gangs had been begun by the Crime Prevention Association in Philadelphia in 1945. Some of the city's settlement houses also developed area youth work programs. Until 1961, the programs were financed entirely from private funds. The Crime Prevention Association continued to provide the bulk of area youth work in Philadelphia until November 1967, when its program was transferred to the City. The City's takeover of the program was based upon a recommendation of Dr. Irving A. Spergel, a sociologist from the University of Chicago.

In November 1967, the City's Area Youth Work Unit began providing direct service to gangs. The unit also continued to be responsible for the planning, coordination, and fact-finding functions begun in 1962.

In the six years (1967-73) that the City had responsibility for direct services to gangs, the size of the staff was greatly increased, largely with the aid of special state and federal funding. Initially, about 70 positions were authorized. Grants provided the means to expand the staff to about 230 at the end of 1971 and remain at that level through the first half of 1973. In the second half of 1973, the former Area Youth Work staff was split into two units: the Individual Services Unit and the Community Services Unit.

#### Program of Area Youth Work (pp. 24-27)

In the U.S., the practice of area youth work dates back to the 1930's. At that time, persons working with youth in several cities became concerned about the groups which were not attracted to the programs offered in centers and settlement houses. Youth workers began to leave the buildings and centers and go out into the streets where the delinquency-prone groups "hung out."

Irving Spergel identifies three approaches to area youth work, each with somewhat different staff requirements: treatment approach, area approach, and balanced approach (a combination of group work with individualized counseling added).

Between 1967 and the second half of 1973, the YCS assigned its staff members as group leaders to gang members. In the new programs started in the second half of 1973, staff members will still be serving "in the street" or community, but with different program emphases and objectives.

Until the second half of 1973, the program of the Philadelphia YCS had mainly the attributes of the area approach, with the exception that few of Philadelphia's gang workers are trained in social work; the majority did not have college degrees.

Although the official working hours were 2 pm to 10 pm, administrators report that workers, particularly those who live in proximity to their neighborhoods, were often available at other hours.

Up to 250 different groups were given coverage, by the assignment of a youth worker, in a given year.

#### Funding and Staffing (pp. 27-34)

Total appropriations to the Area Youth Work Unit increased from the \$560,000 annual level in 1968-69 to \$2.5 million in Fiscal 1973. Starting with Fiscal 1971, special funds consisting mainly of federal moneys, mostly channeled through the state, were made available. By Fiscal 1973, four additional sources were available: (1) U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; (2) U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), with the approval of the state Governor's Justice Commission; (3) Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare; and (4) Model Cities.

Youth Services Workers and Area Youth Workers were recruited through the civil service system and selected on the basis of tests administered by the City's Personnel Department. The indigenous workers (neighborhood workers) employed in the demonstration project were hired without the use of civil service examinations. In general, during their tours of duty, workers were on their own.

#### Performance Data and Evaluation (pp. 36-40)

Complete information is not available as to the extent that the YCS made internal analysis and evaluation of data regarding gang-related offenses during the years that the YCS provided direct service to gangs.

The statistics on citywide gang incidents, as collected by the YCS, showed annual increase (except in 1970) in homicides, shootings, and stabbings from 1967 to 1971.

Data prepared by the Department of Public Welfare indicated that the increase was often accounted for by groups which were not served

by youth workers. The conclusion reached by the YCS was that coverage of additional groups was required to decrease gang violence. The increase in reported offenses (other than homicides) after service was begun may have been caused by better reporting of incidents rather than an actual increase in incidents.

#### Present Functions of Youth Conservation Services (pp. 41-57)

YCS has a total funded staff for Fiscal 1974 of about 300 persons, and a budget of about \$4.8 million.

#### Community Services and Individual Services

Operational goals have been set for the youth admitted to the Individual Youth Services program as follows: (1) a 20% increase in school attendance for truants; (2) for out-of-school youth, placing 15% in permanent employment, 15% in work training programs, and 5% back in school.

The program of the Community Services unit continues some aspects of the former Area Youth Work program. However, the worker is assigned to geographic areas encompassing several gangs rather than to individual gangs. He is to provide his services to all youth in the area, not just gang members. Goals are stated as follows: (1) a 10% reduction in juvenile arrests in the police districts served by the program; (2) a 5% reduction in reported major gang-related offenses in the districts.

#### Youth Referral Program

The Youth Referral Program is a volunteer home visiting service for youths who have had minor contact with the police. It is designed to assist youths from 7 to 17 years of age. Volunteers are organized in Parent-Youth Aid Committees which operate in 17 of 22 police districts in Philadelphia. Committees meet once a month except in summer.

#### Neighborhood Youth Corps (pp. 54-56)

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, administered by a division of Youth Conservation Services, is intended to operate as an element of YCS's efforts to prevent juvenile delinquency. The program's purpose is to obtain full-time employment for 16 and 17 year old high school drop-outs who are economically and culturally deprived. Elements of the program include work experience, skills training, education, casework counseling, and job placement. In Fiscal 1974, the program provides for about 320 enrollees at a given time.

Gang Control Unit, Juvenile Aid Division, Police Department (pp. 57-60)

Law enforcement with respect to juvenile gangs is a responsibility of all elements of the Police Department. In addition, the Juvenile Aid Division (JAD) specializes in juvenile delinquency. The JAD has maintained a gang control unit since 1954.

Headed by a Police Inspector, the JAD has about 280 officers, including about 60 policewomen. Officers are chosen for their interest and competence in dealing with youth. Among the functions of the JAD are (1) investigating all police cases, other than homicide, involving juveniles under age 18 as well as some cases of adults who have committed offenses against children, (2) inspecting places where youth congregate, (3) patrolling areas with high juvenile delinquency rates, and (4) monitoring gang activity.

While any police officer may apprehend and hold a juvenile, only a member of the JAD may make a formal arrest. The JAD officer determines whether the juvenile should be arrested or treated as a "remedial." The remedial process is a non-arrest program where a juvenile is released to his parent's custody.

The estimated budget (including employee benefits) for the JAD is about \$4.7 million in Fiscal 1974 (out of a total Police Department budget of \$165 million). The manpower (90 police) assigned to the gang control unit constitute about 33% of total JAD personnel. Estimated cost of the gang control unit for Fiscal 1974 is about \$1.4 million. The JAD is financed entirely from the City's General Fund.

Four platoons work three overlapping shifts, covering the hours from 10 in the morning to 2 am the following day.

The Police Department monitored (patrolled) some 230 gangs in Fiscal 1973. It is most concerned, however, with groups organized to protect an area through violence. Using this criterion, the JAD recognized 88 active gangs in July 1973.

The Gang Control Unit's major responsibility is the prevention of hostile gang activity. Gang control officers monitor sports and recreational facilities and other known areas of gang activity. Areas around secondary schools with many gang members are also visited. Gang control officers also investigate crimes which appear to be gang-related, and they help supply intelligence data on gangs and their membership for Police Department records. The Police Department maintains detailed records on gangs, gang members, and gang activities.

In an experimental program started in June 1973, 20 gang control officers were assigned to work with several gangs in West and South-

west Philadelphia. In addition to patrolling, the officers talk with hostile youths about their interests and problems. The program was later expanded to include three gangs in the North Central area of Philadelphia.

Prior to 1974, the Police Department kept a separate manual record of gang-related offenses. Starting in January 1974, additional codes were added for machine tabulation of major gang-related incidents.

In the pilot program area, the JAD used statistics on offenses to measure the effectiveness of the pilot program. Available data covering the first 30 weeks of the program indicate a 45% reduction in gang-related offenses.

The general patrol and monitoring activities of the police unit do not lend themselves readily to statistical evaluation. Since the JAD is not the only agency trying to stem gang violence, comprehensive evaluation of police programs would have to consider the impact of changes in programs carried out by social agencies in the same area.

Juvenile Branch of the Family Court (pp. 61-67)

The Juvenile Branch is a component of the Family Court Division of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas. The Juvenile Branch has jurisdiction over all court cases involving delinquency of persons under age 18, with the exception of homicide cases (which follow the usual procedures for adult criminals).

Cases of gang members follow the same listing procedures as other cases of delinquency. Upon arrest, the youth is taken to the Youth Study Center, a detention facility under direction of a Board of Managers appointed by the court.

In 1972, almost 16,000 cases of alleged delinquency were disposed of by the Juvenile Branch. Some 10,000 were dismissed, discharged, or adjusted. Almost 4,000 were placed (or continued) on probation. More than 1,000 were committed to institutions. The remainder received other disposition. (table on p. 63)

The Juvenile Branch staffing ratio provides 50 or less cases per probation officer, down from 106 in 1971. A rehabilitation plan must be prepared for each youth on probation. For a gang member, the plan involves the condition that the youth no longer participate in gang activities. Probation officers are assigned to one of seven districts into which the city is divided. In 1973, there were 140-150 probation officers assigned to the seven districts.

The Family Court has several new federally funded programs to expand and intensify services to juveniles. All apply to gang members as well as other delinquents.

#### EFFORTS OF NONGOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES (Chapter III, pp. 69-86)

Gang-control efforts of nongovernmental agencies and organizations fall into two categories: (1) those with youth-development programs, serving youth in general, but also intended to prevent or reduce delinquency among gang members; and (2) those with programs aimed directly at stemming gang violence.

Among organizations in the first category are recreation centers, boys' and girls' clubs, settlement houses, YMCAs, and youth programs of churches.

This report focuses on organizations with programs aimed directly at stemming gang violence. Programs include operation of centers particularly appealing to gang members, serving as a resource to prevent gang hostilities, and organizing concerned members of the community. The report describes four such organizations.

#### Safe Streets, Inc. (pp. 69-74)

Safe Streets, a private, nonprofit organization, was founded by a group of citizens in 1969 under the leadership of Philadelphia's District Attorney. Safe Streets operates two centers--one in West Philadelphia and one in North Philadelphia--offering a program to reduce gang problems in its service area.

The centers are converted store-front dwellings open from 9 am to 10 pm Monday through Friday and 9 to 5 on Saturday. There are about 30 members on the staff; most staff members are former gang members.

The Safe Streets program has a short-run goal of stemming violence through direct services to gangs, and a long-run goal of treating causes of juvenile violence.

Safe Streets is primarily funded from grants of federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) moneys, on the basis of applications approved by the Pennsylvania Governor's Justice Commission. For the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1974, grants and matching funds total \$322,000.

Formal evaluation reports are now a required element for projects financed by the Governor's Justice Commission with LEAA funds.

#### Neighborhood Youth Resources Center (pp. 74-79)

The Neighborhood Youth Resources Center provides a program for youth in an area of North Philadelphia. The center began operation in July 1971. The Crime Prevention Association, a nonprofit private agency, operates the center under contract with Model Cities, a component of Philadelphia City government.

NYRC offers its services to virtually all target area youth in contact with police, but accepts only those most seriously in need. The program of the center has six elements: counseling and referral, gang work, employment, tutoring, cultural and recreational activities, and legal and probation services.

NYRC has about 20 staff members, in addition to office/secretarial staff; 15 of them live in the Model Cities part of North Philadelphia.

NYRC has established a unique method of coordinating with agencies in the juvenile justice system by its staffing arrangements. The court liaison officer is also a probation officer of the Family Division of the Common Pleas Court; the services of two area youth workers are purchased from Youth Conservation Services; an attorney is assigned by the Defenders Association of Philadelphia.

NYRC is financed by Model Cities from funds received from federal government agencies. Under contracts between Model Cities and the Crime Prevention Association, funding amounts to \$173,000 for calendar year 1974.

A 1973 evaluation report showed that juvenile arrests in the target area declined from 563 in 1970 to 168 in 1973 (second year of the center).

#### The House of Umoja (pp. 80-82)

Founded in 1968 by Founder-Director Falaka Fattah, the House of Umoja is a youth-serving agency concerned with the problems facing black youth, including truancy, gang involvements, unemployment, and limited recreational opportunities. It is located in the Overbrook section of West Philadelphia.

The House of Umoja operates on the philosophy of the "extended family," with directors as the governing force of the House and the inhabitants of the various dwellings viewed as the kinship group. The primary goal of the House is to attract problem youth, particularly gang members, into its programs and establish the first Black Boys' Town in America, which will generate resources, skills, and the social organization to resolve the problems faced by black youth. At a given time, about 100 black youths



participate in programs operated by the House. These include Residential, Day, and Watusi Programs.

The other programs are provision of emergency temporary residence for youth in need of shelter, and serving as a distribution center for the donated food program carried out by the Cardinal's Commission on Human Relations.

In direct work with gangs, the staff has become familiar with the gangs in the area of West Philadelphia north of Market Street. Staff have responded to calls from residents about potential gang hostilities. The staff tries to organize meetings between gang leaders to devise ways to resolve them. A number of peace conferences have been held. The Director was instrumental in organizing a citywide peace conference among gangs at the beginning of 1974.

The House of Umoja received its first governmental funding in December 1972 through a contract with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. Under a contract for \$126,000, the House of Umoja provides food, clothing, shelter, tutoring, and counseling to 15 youths from the department's Philadelphia Detention Center. The contract was extended for a second year in December 1973.

There are 10 paid staff members.

There have been no formal evaluations of the two-pronged efforts of the House to stem gang warfare--the programs at the House or the conciliation and peace treaty programs carried out elsewhere. No data are available on the effectiveness of the program to stem gang warfare, since the staff has not maintained formal statistics relative to incidents of gang warfare.

#### Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth (pp. 83-86)

The Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth (PCSY), Network, and the North Central Youth Academy are three related organizations with the aim of reducing the level of juvenile crime, and particularly gang violence. The headquarters of the three organizations is Columbia Avenue in North Central Philadelphia. PCSY was set up in 1972; Network and the North Central Youth Academy in 1973.

The program has been evolving as additional components were added to the original PCSY operation. One approach is to work directly with gang runners, or leaders, of about 25 gangs. PCSY has assisted the youths by obtaining job referrals, school transfers, legal service, and better housing. PCSY has initiated peace treaties between rival gangs in North Philadelphia and tries to mediate conflicts to avert violence. Another program is to keep informed on the gang situation and on City and State efforts to curb gang violence.

PCSY established Network, a telephone "hot line" service, to head off gang violence. In the first two months of operation, Network received about 40 calls for service. Callers included community residents, gang members, and their families.

The North Central Youth Academy was started in late 1973. It includes "outreach," counseling, and vocational training. The grant application anticipates that 500 youth will be served.

PCSY has an eight-member board of directors; Network has a 12-member board. The Youth Academy is directed by the PCSY board of directors; in addition, the academy has a separate advisory board.

In June 1973, the Urban Coalition provided one-year funding of \$64,000 for both the PCSY and Network operations. For the seven months ending June 30, 1974, the Youth Academy received \$144,000.

#### GANG PROBLEMS IN OTHER CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES (Chapter IV, pp. 87-98)

Many other large cities in the U.S. have had special programs aimed at gang members in the past quarter century.

#### History of Gang Control Programs

Observations of juvenile gangs in American cities go back to the 19th century. Such gangs appeared in the poorer sections, often areas settled by recent immigrants. In the early years, stemming of criminal activity of youth gangs was the responsibility of regular units of the police departments. No social agencies dealt with gang problems.

Around the turn of the century, programs of social work with deprived neighborhoods were begun in many cities. Social agencies opened settlement houses and centers to provide recreation and social services to both youth and adults. Initially, these did not have any special programs for youthful gang members. Area youth work, or street gang work, was begun as a result of the realization that many of the most deprived and delinquency-prone youths did not join the programs of the settlement houses and centers. The program of street work was started in the 1930's by the Chicago Area Project.

A survey by Saul Bernstein in 1964 found social service programs dealing with gang violence in Philadelphia and eight other large cities.

### Evaluation of Programs

That programs of social work with gangs spread from Chicago to other cities would indicate that they succeeded in stemming delinquency among gang members. However, the success or failure of most programs is unclear. While descriptions of many programs were published, few contained comprehensive evaluations of their effectiveness.

Malcolm Klein, in his Street Gangs and Street Workers (1971) concluded his review of gang prevention programs around the nation as follows:

"Although most gang prevention programs remain unevaluated in a proper fashion, it is highly significant that the evaluation programs have proven only slightly successful, ineffective, or even contributory to gang delinquency."

### Direct Funding of Gang Activities

In addition to area youth work with gangs, another approach was tried in the 1960's. This was to finance constructive activities of gangs. The theory was that the gangs were the true leaders in the ghetto, and that the desirable strategy was to help the gangs undertake constructive activities, such as economic enterprises and training programs. Funding was obtained from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) "war on poverty," and from private foundations.

### Situation in Major Cities in 1973 (p. 92)

Responses from seven cities with population of under one million indicated that they did not have youth gang problems. The cities were: Boston, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Miami, Phoenix, St. Louis, and Wilmington, Delaware.

Reports from New York and Los Angeles indicate that there was a considerable problem of gang violence in the early 1960's, but that the problem appeared to diminish in the latter half of the 1960's, only to reemerge in the past two years. Some believe that gang activity did not decrease but that the media paid less attention.

New York has about 325 gangs with an estimated membership of 8,000 to 20,000 youth. Chicago has about 220 gangs with a membership of 10,000, and Los Angeles has 150 gangs with a membership of 10,000.

The Youth Services Agency (YSA), the New York City agency dealing with gangs, reported that "today's gangs are involved in a greater amount of violence and crime, and homicides committed by youth have risen sharply.

On the other hand, many gangs are community minded and politically oriented." The YSA employs some 250 youth workers to work with individual gang groups in the street; the program is the traditional area youth work. Another aspect is an emergency team to prevent acceleration of conflict situations. The Police Department also has a major role in gang control.

In Chicago, the head of the police gang squad was quoted as saying that "certain segments of the youth gang population are attempting to step in" to the old crime syndicate which has withdrawn from black areas in Chicago. "They are demanding protection money from the dealers--or taking over distribution of narcotics directly." Another report says the Chicago gangs have evolved into sophisticated, underworld organizations. Gang leaders are much older, some in their late 20's, and are more concerned with organized crime than with killing each other. Extorting businessmen has become popular.

The Chicago city government does not have any special programs dealing with gangs. Special gang work has been carried out by nongovernmental agencies, including the YMCA, Boys Clubs, and the Chicago Area Project. The Chicago Police Department has a gang intelligence unit of about 125 men; the department has arrested and obtained convictions against the core leadership of some gangs.

In Los Angeles gangs are generally organized along ethnic lines. The only public agency which has special programs for gang members is the city Department of Recreation and Parks. There are about 40 Youth Street Counselors, with the traditional functions of area youth workers. The city Police Department has a Gang Activities Section in the Investigative Support Division, staffed by some 11 officers. The section gathers information on gang operations to keep field commanders informed.

Detroit had a gang problem in the early 1960's but most of the gangs appear to have gone out of existence, with only two gangs being recognized by the police in 1973. Observers do not know of any public or private programs which helped in the demise of youth gangs in Detroit. The city has the highest homicide rate of any large city in the U.S.; apparently the killings are not done on a gang-related basis.)

Houston reportedly has no gang problem.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS (Chapter V, pp. 99-112)

One of the purposes of the Economy League study was to analyze the results of the gang control programs. Included was a review of the evaluation procedures established by the agencies dealing with the problem.

A major deficiency is the lack of comprehensive data on the incidence of gang warfare other than homicide. For every gang killing, there are numerous shootings, knifings, and beatings that do not result in death, although many cause permanent injuries.

The Economy League concludes that, on the basis of available data, no precise evaluation can be made of the effectiveness of the programs of the various agencies attempting to stem gang violence. Recorded incidents of homicide, shooting, and stabbing have remained at a high level since 1968. Would the number have been higher if the agencies had not been there? If they had different programs? There is no way to answer these "iffy" questions.

Little is really known about the causes of destructive gang behavior. The concentration of gangs in the poorer sections of the city suggests that poverty, broken homes, an educational system which is unappealing to many youths, and difficulty in obtaining jobs are all important factors. Thus, special gang programs, however well structured, can hope for only limited success as long as there is no solution to the basic ills which plague many neighborhoods.

Nevertheless, the Economy League believes that programs dealing with the gang problem may have some short-term impact, and offers the following recommendations.

Experimentation and Data Collection

Recommendation No. 1: So that the community can derive full benefit from future expenditures for gang control, all programs seeking to reduce gang violence--whether by regular social service or through special efforts--should be considered experimental.

Recommendation No. 2: Programs should have as their objective to divert gangs from destructive activities and to facilitate involving gang youth in regular community and social service programs. The design of the programs should include clear statements of objectives, criteria for evaluating the major purpose of crime reduction, and methods for carrying out the evaluation.

Recommendation No. 3: A coordinated system of data collection and dissemination on incidents of gang violence should be established. The Department of Public Welfare and the Police Department should take the lead, but all other agencies should have an opportunity to provide input. The purpose would be to develop a comprehensive and reliable body of statistics relating to gang violence in Philadelphia. Such statistics would be the basis for all program evaluations.

Elements of Program

Recommendation No. 4: Philadelphia's youth programs which seek, among other objectives, to eliminate destructive gang behavior should provide for street workers who will "hang and rap"--talk with gang members. The street workers should generally be assigned to geographic areas, and not to individual gangs; each worker should deal with several gangs. Each agency which has street workers should devise effective means for improving their activities and holding them accountable for their time.

Recommendation No. 5: Experiments with crisis "teams" involving various components--such as youth workers, probation officers, juvenile aid officers, clergy, and representatives of community groups--should be undertaken in some areas as a means toward more effective crisis intervention.

Recommendation No. 6: In developing youth programs, effort should be made to ensure that the groups are neither dominated by nor identified with particular gangs. However, gang members should not be excluded from group activities. In fact, they should be encouraged to participate, but as individuals.

Recommendation No. 7: An experiment should be undertaken to concentrate on gang leadership in a target area, including the following steps:

- a. Have the JAD, YCS, and street workers of other agencies prepare a list of core membership of each violent gang in the area.
- b. Classify leadership roles of core members of the gang.
- c. Classify as to school or employment status and needs.
- d. Formulate and apply intervention strategy for each of the key leaders of the gang using all the resources available, e.g.:
  - School and employment counseling
  - Family counseling
  - Job training
- e. Have the police notify the following of any arrests of core members: YCS, Juvenile Court Probation, District Attorney, JAD. These agencies should jointly formulate a recommended disposition, for consideration by the court.
- f. Have YCS, JAD, and street workers of other agencies continue to monitor the gangs and record periodic (monthly) changes in lists of core members.

SCOPE OF THE GANG PROBLEM IN PHILADELPHIACoordination of Services

Recommendation No. 8: Existing publicly funded delinquency prevention agencies should define mutually exclusive geographic or functional areas in which to provide services for which they can be held accountable. As a means of coordinating different functions of several agencies in the same geographic area, the arrangements among the Neighborhood Youth Resources Center, Youth Conservation Services, and Juvenile Court Probation provide a model.

Recommendation No. 9: The agencies should formulate joint plans for cooperation in (a) training and development of youth workers, (b) collecting and distributing of data on gangs, gang membership, and gang-related incidents, and (c) sharing evaluations of different techniques.

Recommendation No. 10: Additional youth service centers, providing a range of services, should be established on an experimental basis in neighborhoods not now served. One possibility is to establish one or more centers under the auspices of the Youth Conservation Services. Such a center would be the focus of YCS services--area youth work, individual services, family casework--in a target area, and also would bring under one umbrella the services of court probation, school attendance, and other youth development programs.

Role of the Courts

Recommendation No. 11: The sentencing and commitment policies of the courts and penal institutions should be harmonized with the community's desire for protection against gang violence, as follows:

- a. The courts should develop and publish data on the rate of recidivism related to alternative dispositions of the court.
- b. At the time of the disposition of gang-related delinquency charges, Youth Conservation Services should present to the court any data it has regarding the role of the youth in the gang structure.
- c. The court administrator should sponsor a conference of community representatives to determine whether there is a community consensus regarding sentencing policies for juveniles adjudged delinquent because of gang activities.\*

\* See Chapter V of this report for a discussion of the conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter I of this report provides background for the description and organization of gang control agencies in later chapters. Included in Chapter I are definitions of gangs, material on the characteristics and membership of gangs, and data on gang-related offenses as part of the total crime picture in Philadelphia.

## WHAT IS A GANG?

Many of Philadelphia's youths, like youths elsewhere, associate in groups which have favorite places for meeting or "hanging out." When should such a group be called a "gang"?

According to a national authority on juvenile delinquency, Malcolm Klein, the term "gang" refers to a group of youths (adolescents) who have the following three characteristics:

- a. are perceived as a distinct group by others in the neighborhood;
- b. recognize themselves as a distinct group; and
- c. are involved in delinquent incidents which have called forth the consistent attention of neighborhood residents and/or law enforcement agencies.<sup>1</sup>

This definition appears to conform to general usage, which restricts the term "gang" to those groups involved in delinquent acts. However, some youth-serving agencies (e.g., Youth Conservation Services, the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare) use the term "gang" to refer to both delinquent and non-delinquent groups; the term "hostile gang" is applied to groups engaged in illegal activities.

Classification of Youth Groups

In the early 1960's the City's Youth Conservation Services (YCS), in consultation with other agencies, developed a method of classification of "area youth groups" on the basis of their threat to the community.<sup>2</sup> The three classes are:

- I Most Serious Threats
- II Medium Threats
- III Least Dangerous Threats

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm W. Klein, Street Gangs and Street Workers (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Hostile groups were called to the attention of the Youth Conservation Services by complaints from neighborhood residents, social agencies, or other governmental agencies.

A number of criteria were used to distinguish the three types of hostile groups. Briefly, the Type I groups have the most cohesion and exhibit group delinquent behavior; the Type III groups have little cohesion and no group contacts with the police; Type II groups are intermediate. Only the Type I groups would be classified as gangs in all cases; according to the usage noted above, some Type II groups might be classified as gangs. As noted later in this chapter, Youth Conservation Services used this classification in maintaining its records on hostile youth groups in Philadelphia until the second part of 1973.

#### Gang Member Terminology

In Philadelphia, gang members generally do not use the term "gang." The general term is "corner"; a youth says he is a member of or belongs to a corner. Most Philadelphia gangs take their name from an intersection, such as 50-Woodland or 21-Norris.

A characteristic of most Philadelphia gangs is that they claim jurisdiction over a given area, known as their "turf." A gang generally claims that its turf is "off limits" to members of rival gangs, or sometimes to nongang members.

The dimensions of the claimed turfs vary from a low of one or two blocks in areas where there are many groups in close proximity to areas of 50 or more blocks.

#### JAD Definition

The Juvenile Aid Division (JAD) of the Philadelphia Police Department applies the term "gang" in a more restrictive sense to groups organized to protect their "turf" through violence. Thus, the group must be structured with organized leadership, and must be aggressive and violent in an attempt to control an area of the city as its own turf.

The JAD definition does not apply to youth groups which engage in other illegal activities, but do not protect a turf. Groups which have come to the attention of the police, but have not used violence to protect a turf against other gangs, are designated as "corner groups" by the JAD.

#### NUMBER OF GANGS AND GANG MEMBERSHIP IN PHILADELPHIA

The number of groups which merit the designation "gang" changes from time to time, as additional groups engage in violence or formerly violent groups become inactive. It appears that some groups with a given name, but changing membership, have persisted over many years; other groups appear for a short time and then fade away.

Data on gangs have been gathered by the YCS and the JAD.

#### YCS Data

Until the middle of 1973, one of the responsibilities of the Youth Conservation Services (YCS) in the City's Department of Public Welfare was to maintain listings of "hostile youth groups" in Philadelphia, by geographic location.

Between 1964 and 1973, the YCS annual listings of hostile youth groups contained designations of 240 to 270 groups.<sup>1</sup> Of these, about 90 to 110 were "Type I" groups--active group or the most serious threats. The remainder were Type II or Type III groups.

At the end of 1972, the YCS reported the following number of groups:

87 active groups
60 sporadically active groups
93 corner lounging groups
<u>240</u>

With a reorganization in mid-1973 (Chapter II), the YCS no longer maintains listings of hostile groups.

#### JAD Data

The Juvenile Aid Division (JAD) of the Police Department maintains comprehensive data--mostly in computer file--on groups and gang membership in Philadelphia. It is now the only City agency maintaining such data.

While the JAD maintains information on many youth groups, the JAD limits the designation "gang" to groups which defend their turf by violence. This is determined by a group member being approached for a violent act of gang warfare.

The number of gangs identified by the JAD has risen with the increase of incidents of gang warfare (discussed later in this chapter). In 1962, the JAD identified 27 gangs; the number increased to 65 by 1967. The number identified between 1967 and 1972 was

1967..... 65	1970..... 93
1968..... 69	1971..... 105
1969..... 77	1972..... 105

<sup>1</sup> For example, the 1964 annual report noted that "the Unit has been able to isolate, identify and classify 273 hostile youth groups. . . of which 28 are girls' groups."

In 1973, the JAD identified 88 gangs, a reduction of 17 from the level of the prior two years. Additionally, the JAD identified many other "corner groups" or gangs, which did not appear to protect their turf by violence. The Fiscal Year 1974 budget "output" statement shows that the Police Department "monitored" 190 gangs in Fiscal 1972 and an estimated 231 gangs in Fiscal 1973.<sup>1</sup>

Some gangs are reported to have "branches," at some distance from their main turf. Branches are formed by gang members who have moved to a new neighborhood. These "branches" may be counted either as separate gangs, or as parts of the parent gang.

A large gang may be a conglomeration of a number of "corners," each with its own name and leadership. For example, the "Valley" gang in North Philadelphia is composed of at least six corners or gangs. The general practice appears to be to count such conglomerations as one gang rather than as a number of individual gangs.

As noted earlier, each of Philadelphia's gangs has a "turf" or area which it claims as its own. Most of the gang members live within the turf; however, some do not. The main reason is that a gang member may retain his gang affiliation even after his family has moved out of the area.

Geographic Distribution

The largest number of gangs is in North Central Philadelphia, as shown by the following approximate distribution of 135 male gangs served by the YCS in December 1972.

West	37
South	27
North Central	45
North West	18
Remainder	8

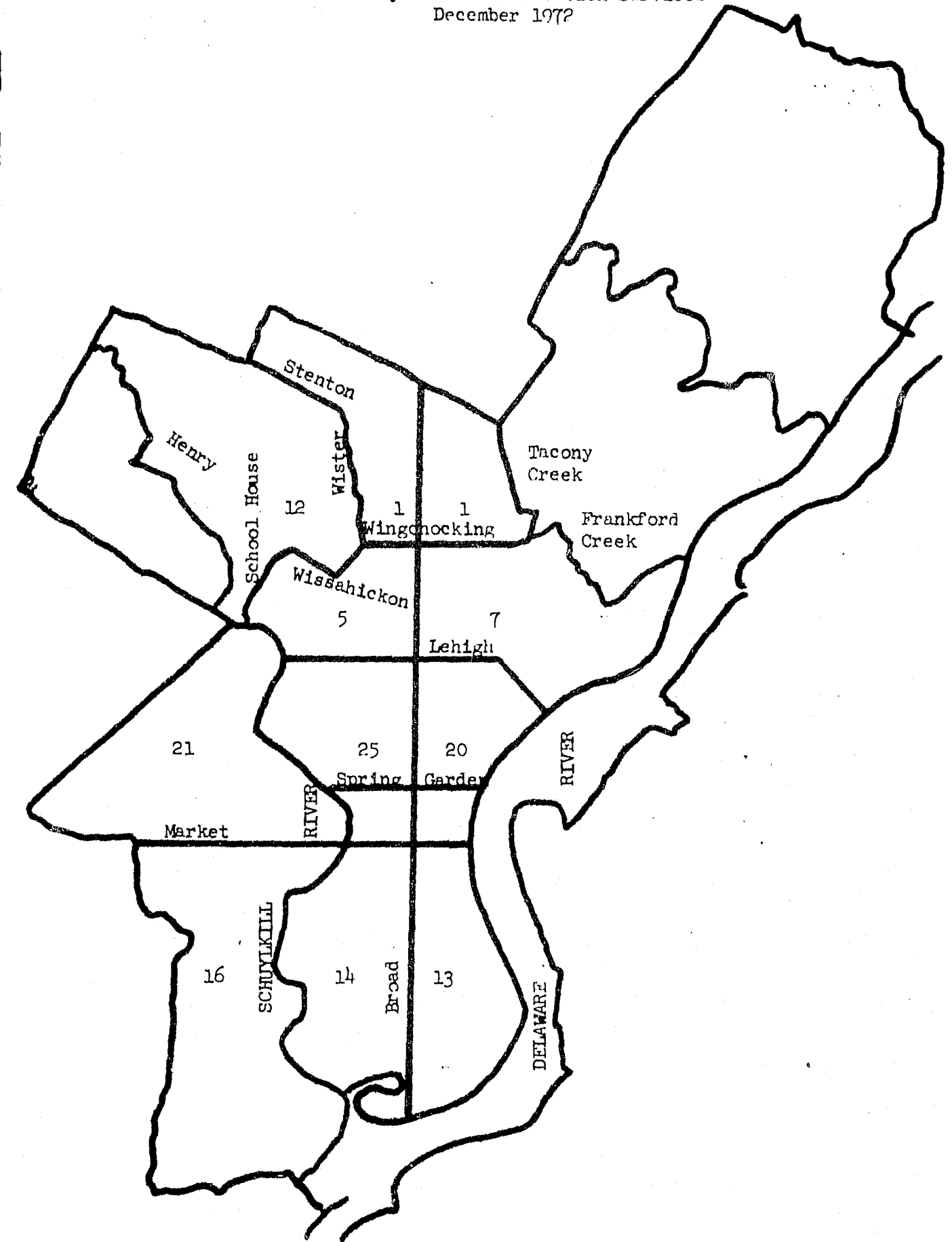
The data are shown in Figure I.

Number of Gang Members

Since gangs do not have "card-carrying" membership, it is impossible to have a precise count of membership. Youths show different degrees of commitment to the gangs. Some participate in activities of the "corner" most of the time; others will "rally" with their corner only when they feel their neighborhood is threatened.

<sup>1</sup> City of Philadelphia, Supporting Detail for Fiscal 1974 Operating Budget, p. 68-13.

Figure I  
Number and Location of Male Gangs in the City of Philadelphia  
Served by Youth Conservation Services  
December 1972



Observers agree that in Philadelphia, as elsewhere in the nation,<sup>1</sup> the membership of a gang is divided between the "core group" and the "fringe group." The membership of the core group includes the leaders and the most active members of the gangs.

Information from the YCS indicates that the core groups of Philadelphia gangs generally are in the range of 20 to 40 members, with an average of 30. The fringe groups--the less active or occasional members of gangs--are less readily counted; persons working with gangs indicate that the fringe groups range in size from 20 to 500 members, making total gang membership in the range of 50 to more than 500.

The JAD identified 4,700 members in the 88 gangs it recognized in 1973, and estimated that total membership was in the range of 5,000 to 8,000.

The total number of gang members identified by the JAD has not changed greatly in the past six years, as indicated below:<sup>2</sup>

	No. of Gangs	No. of Members
1967	65	4,635
1970	93	5,308
1973	88	4,707

#### Age, Sex, and Race Distribution

Ages of gang members range from 8 to 22, with a few older members, according to Police Department and YCS data. Half the gang members are 18 and over, and half are under 18; about 20% are 16 or 17, according to the YCS in a December 1972 statement.

Gang membership is not all male, according to the YCS data. A number of female groups exist, either independently or as "auxiliaries" of male gangs. The YCS had youth workers assigned to some 40 female groups in 1973. None of these were classified as Type I gangs. Also, a number of the gangs have female members as participants in some of their gang fights. However, the JAD has not identified any female groups meeting its definition of gangs.

Most--more than 90%--of the gangs and gang members are reported to be black. A handful of groups are reported to be racially integrated.

<sup>1</sup> See Klein, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Source: Data in files of the Governor's Justice Commission.

#### Gang Membership As Percent of Age Group

It is possible to make only rough estimates of the percent of the total male youths in their teens who are gang members.

By projecting the 1970 census distribution, it is estimated that Philadelphia's male youth were distributed by age approximately as follows in 1973:

	Black (Thousands)	White (Thousands)	Total (Thousands)
Age 10	7.6	10.0	17.6
11	7.2	10.0	17.2
12	7.6	10.4	18.0
13	7.9	10.6	18.5
14	7.4	10.2	17.6
15	7.6	10.1	17.7
16	7.5	10.3	17.8
17	7.2	10.3	17.5
18	7.0	10.2	17.2
19	6.6	9.8	16.4
Total-10-19	73.6	101.9	175.5

Citywide, total gang membership of 5,000 to 10,000 constitutes about 4% of total males in the 10 to 19 age group. As noted above, about 90% of the gang members are black; 4,500 to 9,000 gang members would equal 6% to 12% of the group. These are citywide ratios. The percentages are considerably higher in some parts of the city than in others, but no data have been developed on this point.

#### Structure of Gangs

Youth groups which merit the designation of "gangs" tend to be formally structured with the assignment of specific leadership roles. Each of the age groups within a gang often has its own leader or leaders. The common term for a gang leader in Philadelphia is "runner"--the person who runs the gang. Other titles found in Philadelphia gangs are "war lord," who has a special role in gang fights and "checkholder," who generally is an older gang member with some leadership role.

Gangs are often divided into several age groups, with distinctive titles for each age group. For example,

Pee Wees and Squidgets	under 13
Midgets	14 and 15
Juniors	16 and 17
Seniors	18 and 19
Old Head	20 and over

It is reported that the different age groupings and their titles are not hard-and-fast and that they vary around the city. For example, some observers note that the term "old head" is applied to those over 18 in some gangs.

GANG VIOLENCE AS RELATED TO OTHER  
MEASURES OF CRIME IN PHILADELPHIA

Sources of Data

This section reviews available data relating to the measurement of gang violence compared to measurement of all crime in Philadelphia. The primary published sources on crime in Philadelphia are the statistical reports of the Police Department. These include statistics on offenses known to the police, and on arrests and other police contacts. Arrest data are classified by age of offender, as well as by offense. Another published source relating to juvenile offenders is the statistical report of the Juvenile Branch of the Family Court. This report includes comprehensive data on juveniles (persons under age 18) who have contact with the court.

The Police Department also keeps, as a special category of offenses known to the police, an unpublished record of gang-related offenses, which are crimes of violence arising out of conflicts between gangs. Gang-related offenses include killings, shootings, stabbings, other assaults, rape, and gang fights. The Police Department designates an offense as "gang-related" or "possibly gang-related" based on characteristics of the victim or the alleged offender (if apprehended), and on reports of bystanders and other circumstances of the offense. In many cases, it is evident that the act of violence arose out of a gang conflict; in others, the circumstances are such that only a full investigation could determine whether the act involved personal animosity or gang conflict. Weekly summaries of these reports are distributed to various agencies, including the Department of Public Welfare's Youth Conservation Services (YCS).

Other sources of information on gang violence are the "incident reports" prepared by the area youth workers in the YCS (described in Chapter II). Incidents include all "law-violating behavior" involving the gang. The department instructs the worker to fill out a report "on all incidents known to you and/or the police." Unpublished tabulations of such incident reports are prepared by the department; however, a distinct limitation of the data is that the number of incidents reported is a measure both of the actual number of incidents and the diligence and number of the workers.

The YCS prepares bimonthly compilations and annual statistical summaries of "major gang incidents," based on Police Department data and YCS incident reports.

It should be noted that the YCS data vary somewhat from those of the Police Department.

Gang Killings

The greatest amount of detail has been compiled on gang-related killings. Since 1962 Philadelphia police have reported on gang-related homicides known to the police. The record for 1962-1973 is shown below.<sup>1</sup>

1962	.....	3
1963	.....	4
1964	.....	4
1965	.....	13
1966	.....	14
1967	.....	12
1968	.....	30
1969	.....	45
1970	.....	35
1971	.....	43
1972	.....	38
1973	.....	41

As noted previously, there may be some question about the designation of a particular homicide as "gang related." Therefore, the figures are not precise. But they do indicate a marked increase in 1965 over the level of the prior years; maintenance of the 1965 level through 1967; and then in 1968 an upswing to a new high level. Between 1969 and 1973 annual gang killings remained in the range of 35 to 45.

Geographic Distribution. Since 1963, more than half the gang killings have occurred in North Philadelphia; in recent years, West Philadelphia has accounted for a substantial number, with the remainder occurring in South Philadelphia and Northwest Philadelphia. The following is the record for 1971-1973.

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
North	25	20	16
West	8	11	16
South	3	1	6
Northwest	7	6	3
	<u>43</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>41</u>

Gang-Affiliation of Victims. Over the years, a majority of the victims of gang killings have been gang members, according to police reports. Data are not available as to what proportion of the victims were "core"

<sup>1</sup> Source: Youth Conservation Services.



members as compared to fringe members. The remainder of the victims include bystanders, victims of mistaken identity, or unaffiliated youth living in the neighborhood.

The following are police statistics on the gang affiliations of victims of gang violence between 1968 and 1973 (figures vary slightly from figures on gang killings shown on page 9):

Year	Gang Members	Former Gang Members	Innocent Victims	Total
1968	20	0	10	30
1969	27	0	14	41
1970	24	2	4	30
1971	32	0	11	43
1972	31	0	9	40
1973	34	0	7	41

Number of Gangs Involved. The number of gangs involved in gang homicides as victims or assailants is usually somewhat larger than the total number of homicides. For example, in 1973, 47 gangs were involved: 10 as both victims and assailants, 21 as assailants only, and 16 as victims only.

Age of Assailants. The ages of defendants in gang-related homicide cases was distributed as follows for 1971 to 1973, according to data in the files of the Youth Conservation Services (based on police reports):

Age	1971		1972		1973	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
12 - 13	1	0.8	2	2.0	2	2.8
14 - 15	24	19.8	23	22.8	8	11.1
16 - 17	61	50.4	45	44.6	28	38.9
Subtotal	86	71.1	70	69.3	38	52.8
18 - 19	25	20.7	22	21.8	25	34.7
20 - 21	5	4.1	5	5.0	7	9.7
22 and over	5	4.1	4	4.0	2	2.8
Total	121	100.0	101	100.0	72	100.0

In both 1971 and 1972, about 70% of the defendants were age 17 or under; in 1973, 53% were age 17 or under. The data indicate that the average age of assailants is increasing; however, further detailed analysis would be required to determine whether other factors are involved. It is notable that the average number of defendants per homicide decreased substantially in this period; in 1972 there were 101 defendants in 40 homicide cases; in 1973 there were 72 defendants in 41 homicide cases.

### Other Major Incidents

The youth Conservation Services has tabulated major gang-related incidents in the following categories:

- homicides
- shootings (other than homicides)
- stabblings (other than homicides)
- rapes
- rumbles (fights between large numbers of gang members)
- fights (fights between individual gang members, resulting in severe injuries)

They are shown in Table I-1 for the years 1963-1973. The homicide data are those classified as gang-related by the Philadelphia Police Department; the other categories include those reported by the Police Department as well as those reported in incident reports filed by the youth workers. Unfortunately, the tabulations do not show the source of the information.

Data as to homicides and shootings resulting in severe injuries are considered to be highly reliable; data on stabblings somewhat less so; data on rumbles, rapes, and fights among individuals are admittedly incomplete.

It is to be noted that the combined number of reported homicides, shootings, and stabblings almost doubled from 106 in 1967 to 198 in 1968, and remained around the 200 level through 1970.

In 1971, the number of reported incidents increased by more than 50% to 319. However, it must be stressed that the figures for shootings and stabblings were derived from both police reports and additional incident reports prepared by youth workers assigned to gangs. As discussed in Chapter II, the number of youth workers increased greatly in 1971. It is possible that part of the reported increase in offenses of shootings and stabblings may be a consequence of better reporting rather than an increase in incidents themselves.

In 1972, the number of reported incidents dropped by 23%, from 319 to 247 (the number of youth workers remained at the 1972 level). In 1973, the number of incidents increased to 292 (an 18% increase).

Another point to be noted is that the number of rumbles (fights between groups of gang members) declined sharply in 1970 to 15 (from the prior year's 40) and remained at a relatively low level in 1971, 1972, and 1973. While the figures on rumbles are admittedly incomplete, the reported decline in rumbles accords with the impressions of youth workers and with reports on incidents. A reading of the reports on gang-related homicides, shootings, and stabblings in the past two years indicates that very few incidents result from confrontations between large groups of gang members; most are the results of attack by small groups of gang members on individuals or other small groups. In many cases of shootings, the assailants were riding in automobiles.

Table I-1

Youth Conservation Services Tabulation Of  
Major Incidents Of Gang Warfare In Philadelphia  
1963-1973

	<u>Homicides</u>	<u>Shootings</u>	<u>Stabbings</u>	<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>Rapes</u>	<u>Rumbles</u>	<u>Fights*</u>
1963	4	13	10	27	0	46	7
1964	4	33	18	55	1	37	18
1965	13	42	51	106	4	35	124
1966	14	21	50	85	0	25	13
1967	12	37	57	106	0	31	12
1968	30	106	62	198	21	22	5
1969	45	117	64	226	3	40	4
1970	35	102	66	203	0	15	2
1971	43	164	112	319	2	12	11
1972	38	127	82	247	0	14	2
1973	41	159	92	292	0	7	8

\* The column headed "fights" was redesignated as "beatings" in 1973.

Source: Department of Public Welfare, Youth Conservation Services.

It must be reiterated that because of possible vagaries in reporting of incidents (other than homicide), there is a question as to the utility of the available figures as year-to-year measures of the level of gang violence.

Data on Crime in Philadelphia

The annual statistical reports of the Police Department include a tabulation of offenses known to the police. The record for major crimes for the period 1962 to 1972 is in Table I-2.

Total major offenses known to police more than doubled, rising from 27,362 in 1962 to 58,584 in 1972. The year-to-year picture is variable. The number of offenses rose gradually between 1962 and 1968; increased at an accelerated rate to a peak in 1971; and then decreased by 4.7% in 1972.

Homicide is one crime considered to be reported most fully to the police. Between 1962 and 1972, homicides increased from 124 to 413. As with overall crimes, homicides reached a peak in 1971 (435) and declined slightly in 1972 (413).

Gang-related homicides as a percentage of total homicides increased from 2.4% in 1962 to 17% in 1969; they equalled about 10% of total homicides in 1970, 1971, and 1972.

Juvenile Arrests

Except for gang-related homicides--almost all of which are cleared by arrest<sup>1</sup>--there are no data on the ages of persons committing offenses known to the police. Data on arrests for other offenses are broken down by age group. Of course, arrest statistics reflect both variations in crime and in police activity, in undeterminable proportions.

Annual statistical reports of the Police Department divide arrests between juveniles (under 18) and adults (18 and over). Data on arrests for 1962 to 1972 are shown in Table I-3. Total juvenile arrests (under age 18) increased from 9,385 in 1962 to 13,994 in 1972. The latter figure was a drop of 19% from 17,268 arrests in 1971. Juvenile arrests for both major and minor crimes dropped sharply in 1972.

Adult arrests dropped by 6.5%. Unfortunately, there is no age breakdown of adult arrests to indicate how many are in the 18 to 21 age group which includes many gang members.

The record of juvenile arrests for specific offenses is shown in Table I-4. Among the seven major crimes, the largest drop (32%) was in aggravated assault.<sup>2</sup> Arrests for homicide, rape, and robbery were little changed from the prior year.

<sup>1</sup> The head of the Police Department's homicide unit has stated "to my knowledge, there's never been an unsolved gang slaying."--Philadelphia Daily News, January 2, 1974.

<sup>2</sup> Assault with a deadly weapon or resulting in serious injury.

Table I-2

## OFFENSES KNOWN TO PHILADELPHIA POLICE, 1962-1972

Year	Homicides		Total Major Crimes*		Total Minor Crimes**	
	Total	Gang Related	Number	Annual Percent Increase	Number	Annual Percent Increase
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1962	124	3	27,362	-	146,809	-
1963	125	4	29,427	+7.5	145,051	-1.2
1964	188	4	32,114	+9.1	152,549	+5.2
1965	205	13	33,113	+3.1	169,800	+11.3
1966	178	14	31,004	-6.4	182,481	+7.5
1967	234	12	30,371	-2.0	179,052	-1.9
1968	262	30	33,439	+10.1	180,281	+0.7
1969	271	45	37,060	+10.8	187,401	+3.9
1970	352	35	45,734	+21.2	186,612	-0.4
1971	435	43	61,340	+34.1	202,961	+8.8
1972	413	38	58,584	-4.5	193,172	-4.5

\* Major crimes comprise homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over \$50, and auto theft.

\*\* Minor crimes comprise all offenses not included in major crimes.

Source: All but column 2: Annual Statistical Report of Police Department. Column 2: Youth Conservation Services (see text).

Table I-3

## Arrests And Other Philadelphia Police Contacts With Juveniles, 1962-1972

Year	Adult Arrests	Juvenile Arrests			Other Police Contacts With Juveniles		
		Total Number	%Change	For Major Crime	For Homicide	Juvenile "Remedials"*	Juvenile Curfew Violations
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1962	97,346	9,385	-	5,020	52	18,168	13,563
1963	83,853	10,478	+11.6	5,480	34	17,236	10,219
1964	83,403	11,706	+11.7	5,876	49	16,161	11,908
1965	N.A.	11,102	-5.2	5,738	N.A.	14,907	12,244
1966	81,668	10,950	-1.4	5,516	48	13,851	14,758
1967	85,628	11,492	+4.9	6,486	63	11,751	17,157
1968	83,201	14,487	+26.1	8,416	59	11,127	14,791
1969	85,555	14,377	-0.8	8,366	146	8,792	15,655
1970	85,206	16,346	+13.7	9,180	145	9,912	13,009
1971	93,354	17,268	+5.6	9,347	129	17,487	15,538
1972	87,285	13,994	-19.0	7,661	127	16,541	37,587

\* A "remedial" is a police apprehension of a juvenile whereby the juvenile is released by the Juvenile Aid Division officer without a formal arrest being made.

Source: Annual Statistical Reports of the Police Department.

Table I-4

Comparison Of Juvenile Arrests In Philadelphia  
By Offense, 1966, 1970-1972

	1966	1970	1971	1972	Percentage Change 1972 Compared to 1971
<u>Major Crimes</u>					
<u>Crimes against the Person</u>					
Homicide	48	145	129	127	-1.6
Rape	121	118	179	182	+1.7
Aggravated Assault*	710	944	1,101	744	-32.4
Total	879	1,207	1,409	1,053	-25.3
<u>Crimes against Property</u>					
Robbery	538	1,541	1,518	1,546	+1.8
Burglary	1,539	2,542	2,508	2,010	-19.9
Larceny Over \$50	1,553	2,057	2,452	1,945	-20.7
Auto Theft	1,002	1,832	1,457	1,105	-24.2
Total Major Crimes	5,511	9,179	9,344	7,659	-18.0
<u>Minor Crimes</u>					
Other Assaults	933	1,214	1,039	618	-40.5
Vandalism	432	668	1,170	746	-36.2
Weapons	342	722	759	751	-1.1
Disorderly Conduct	1,265	1,062	1,353	1,150	-15.0
Narcotics	65	857	644	490	-23.9
All Others	2,397	2,644	2,919	2,578	-11.7
Total Minor Crimes	5,434	7,167	7,884	6,333	-19.7

\* An aggravated assault is an assault with a deadly weapon or one resulting in serious injury.

Source: Annual Statistical Reports of the Police Department.

It is notable that 1972's drop in arrests for major crimes--19% drop for juveniles and 10% drop for adults--was much greater than the 4.5% drop in major offenses known to the police (Table I-5). This illustrates that arrest trend data may be of limited significance as indicators of crime trend.

Police apprehensions which do not result in arrests are called "remedials," as explained more fully in the section on the Juvenile Aid Division (Chapter II). The number of remedials in 1962 (18,168) was higher than in both 1971 (17,487) and 1972 (16,541).

Juvenile Court Cases

The record of cases handled by the Juvenile Branch of the Family Court provides another measure of juvenile crime in Philadelphia. Data for the period 1962 to 1972 is shown in Table I-6.

The total number of charges of delinquency disposed of increased from 12,057 in 1962 to a peak of 19,310 in 1971, and then dropped to 15,667 in 1972.

It is apparent that the trend in number of cases disposed of by the Juvenile Court tends to parallel the trend in juvenile arrests.

The statistical reports of the Juvenile Court show ratios relating the total number of resident children in cases disposed of (regardless of type of disposition) to the child population in the age group 7 to 17 (the juvenile court age group).

A summary of the figures is shown in Table I-6.

In 1972, 8.9% of Philadelphia male youth ages 14-15, and 14.2% of male youth ages 16-17, appeared before the Juvenile Court.

These percentages represent decreases compared to 1971, but are much higher than the figures for a decade or two earlier, as indicated for 1950 and 1960 in the table.

Table I-5

## Major Criminal Offenses Known To Police, And Arrests For Major Crimes, By Offense, 1971 And 1972

Major Crimes	Offenses Known to Police		Adult Arrests		Juvenile Arrests	
	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972
Homicide	435	413	446	394	129	127
Rape	546	588	304	362	179	182
Robbery	9,243	9,710	2,154	2,274	1,518	1,546
Agg. Assault	4,970	4,603	2,110	1,873	1,101	744
Burglary	20,914	21,184	3,358	3,047	2,508	2,010
Larceny over \$50	7,387	6,048	5,017	4,306	2,452	1,945
Auto Theft	17,845	16,040	1,930	1,513	1,457	1,105
Total	61,340	58,586	15,319	13,769	9,344	7,659

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Source: Annual Statistical Reports of Police Department.

Table I-6

Number Of Children In Cases Disposed Of By Juvenile Court  
As A Percentage Of Child Population, Selected Years,  
1950-1972

	Ages 7-13	Males	Females	Total
1950		1.6%	0.2%	0.9%
1960		1.6	0.3	0.9
1965		1.3	0.3	0.8
1969		1.8	0.4	1.1
1971		1.9	0.4	1.2
1972		1.6	0.3	0.9
<u>Ages 14-15</u>				
1950		5.1	1.3	3.2
1960		7.0	2.4	4.7
1965		6.8	2.2	4.5
1969		8.9	2.3	5.7
1971		10.7	2.3	6.5
1972		8.9	2.1	5.5
<u>Ages 16-17</u>				
1950		5.5	0.9	3.2
1960		7.7	1.7	4.7
1965		8.5	1.6	5.1
1969		12.1	1.8	7.1
1971		14.5	2.1	8.4
1972		14.2	1.8	7.8

Source: Annual Reports of the Family Court Division, Court of  
Common Pleas of Philadelphia (prior to 1968, County Court  
of Philadelphia).

PHILADELPHIA GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS

The City government has the following organizations dealing with the control of gangs:

...The office of the gang control program coordinator is located in the Office of the Managing Director. Two special assistants to the Managing Director individually go into gang areas in attempts to control violence. They speak on gang problems in schools and at community meetings. They try to develop proposals for more effective programs.

--Youth Conservation Services, a division of the Department of Public Welfare, used to operate an area youth work program dealing entirely with the gang problem. The program as it existed between 1967 and 1973 is described below.

Youth Conservation Services now states that all of its units deal with juvenile delinquency in general, rather than gangs as such. The current program is described later in the chapter.

--The Juvenile Aid Division of the Police Department has a gang control unit, which is described in this chapter.

Another governmental agency in the picture is the Juvenile Court--officially, the Juvenile Branch of the Family Court Division of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia. While the court has no special programs for gangs as such, it plays an important part in gang control since all gang members under age 18 who are arrested appear before it (with the exception of those charged with homicide). This chapter briefly describes the Juvenile Branch of the Family Court.

AREA YOUTH WORK PROGRAM OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, 1967 TO 1973

The "area youth work program" was a component of Youth Conservation Services from 1967 until the end of the summer of 1973, when a reorganization shifted most of the staff into modified programs. The area youth work program as it existed between 1967 and 1973 is described below.

The Youth Conservation Services Division of the Department of Public Welfare was established in 1959. It is concerned with the prevention, control, and reduction of juvenile delinquency.

Youth Conservation Services (YCS) now has four units: Personal Services (formerly Field Operations Service), Neighborhood Youth Corp, Individual Services, and Community Services. The latter two units were formed out of the Area Youth Work Unit in the Fall of 1973. The present functions of the four units are described later.

The Area Youth Work Unit provided direct services to gangs and their members. In addition, when it was established in 1962, it listed the following responsibilities:

- (1) coordinate services and plan with youth-serving agencies on problems relating to hostile youth groups;
- (2) serve as consultant to community groups and agencies;
- (3) make assessments of unmet needs in area youth work;
- (4) stimulate research and initiate demonstration projects;
- (5) assemble information on hostile groups, their membership, geographic area, and services that groups are receiving.

#### History of City's Role in Area Youth Work

In 1960, the Department of Public Welfare joined with other City agencies in developing a report on gang activity. Out of this report came the recommendation that municipal government should be responsible for services to hostile gangs.

For 1961, the City appropriated \$40,000 to the Department of Public Welfare to "purchase the services" of gang workers (area youth workers) from the Crime Prevention Association, a private organization.

The Youth Conservation Services were responsible for monitoring the contract. In 1962, the Area Youth Work Unit became operational, charged with supervising the contract, as well as carrying out the five other responsibilities of the Area Youth Work Unit noted above.

The area youth work program (to be described later) of direct service to gangs had been initiated by the Crime Prevention Association in Philadelphia in 1945. Some of the city's settlement houses also developed area youth work programs. Until 1961, the programs were financed entirely from private funds. (The Department of Recreation assigned five staff members to the Crime Prevention Association to serve as area youth workers in the 1950's. These workers were withdrawn in 1959.)

With increased financial support from the Department of Public Welfare, the Crime Prevention Association continued to provide the bulk of area youth work in Philadelphia until November 1967, when its program was transferred to the City.

The City's takeover of the program was based upon a recommendation of Dr. Irving A. Spergel, a sociologist from the University of Chicago. Dr. Spergel had been engaged by the Health and Welfare Council to study the gang problem and make suggestions as to its administration. He recommended that administration and coordination of the program of area youth work be vested in a single City agency.

Regarding area youth work, Dr. Spergel concluded:

Area Youth Work is but one key element in a long and complex program of prevention, treatment and control of juvenile delinquency. The value of Area Youth Work is not only in the control offered on serious aggressive behavior, but simultaneously on the bridging of the conventional adult world with all its resources, knowledge and attitudes. In other words, the interlocking objectives of control and service (particularly assisting youths with jobs, training, personal and family problems) are inseparable. The Area Youth Work program should be accepted as valid, pending further research and experimentation, and extended throughout the City as need arises. There is sufficient demonstration of the value and effectiveness of the approach to warrant continued and enlarged community support and financing.<sup>1</sup>

In November 1967, the City's Area Youth Work Unit began providing direct service to gangs. The unit also continued to be responsible for the planning, coordination, and fact-finding functions initiated in 1962.

#### Expansion of Gang Worker Staff

In the six years that the City had responsibility for direct services to gangs, the size of the staff was greatly increased, largely with the aid of special state and federal funding. Initially, about 70 positions were authorized, with 39 filled by the end of 1968 and 55 filled at the end of 1969.

As noted earlier in this report (Chapter I), the number of gang-related homicides reached new highs in 1968 and 1969. In response, the City sought funding for additional staff so that workers could be assigned to more hostile gangs.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Finn Hornum, Evaluator, "Area Youth Work Demonstration Project Involving Indigenous Personnel," June 30, 1973. (Mimeographed report, in files of YCS)

Two grants received in 1970 permitted expansion of the staff to about 120 by the end of 1970; additional grants provided the means to expand the staff to about 230 at the end of 1971 and remain at that level through 1972 and the first half of 1973.

In the second half of 1973, the former Area Youth Work staff was split into two units: the Individual Services Unit with about 160 filled positions and the Community Services Unit with about 50 positions.

More information on the funding and staffing of the Area Youth Work program is provided later.

#### Program of Area Youth Work

Between 1967 and the second half of 1973, the YCS assigned its staff members (known as area youth workers, street corner workers, detached street workers, or gang workers) in the capacity of group leaders to gang members "with the purpose of enabling the youths to become responsive to socially accepted standards of behavior."

In the new program started in the second half of 1973, staff members will still be serving "in the street" or community, but with different program emphases and objectives than in the former, more traditional, Area Youth Work program.

In the United States, the practice of "area youth work" dates back to the 1930's. At that time, in several cities, persons working with youth became concerned about the groups which were not attracted to the programs offered in centers and settlement houses. Accordingly, youth workers began to leave their buildings and centers and go out into the streets where the delinquency-prone groups "hung out." As noted earlier, this approach was initiated in Philadelphia in 1945 by the Crime Prevention Association.

Irving Spergel, in his book (1966) on working with gangs,<sup>1</sup> identifies three approaches to area youth work, each with somewhat different staff requirements.

Treatment approach: This is a highly individualized group approach where the worker attempts to establish a "therapeutically sensitive" relationship with each individual. Groups contain eight or nine youths. Case workers also work closely with the parents of the youths. The staff consists of trained social workers.

<sup>1</sup> Street Gang Work: Theory and Practice (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1966), pp. 50-53.

Area approach: This is based on the theory that delinquent behavior is an outgrowth of a limited opportunity structure. The worker tries to engage gang members in constructive activities, such as recreational program, social clubs, and work programs. Community involvement is also an important aspect of this approach. Youth can begin to feel that the community is concerned about their welfare (and at the same time educate the community on the gang situation). Spergel suggests that staff have as a minimum educational requirement, a bachelor's degree, preferably in social sciences or education, with some experience; however, this is not necessary.

Balanced approach: This approach is a combination of group work with individualized counseling added. It aims to build the confidence and self-reliance of the gang members for them to leave the gang for more socially accepted activities. The worker is required to have skill in diagnosing and treating individual and group problems.

#### Program 1967-1973

Until June 30, 1973, the program of the Philadelphia YCS had mainly the attributes of the area approach, with the exception that very few of Philadelphia's gang workers are trained in social work; the majority in fact, did not have college degrees.

It is beyond the scope of this report to describe in detail the activity that area youth workers were expected to carry out, in the former program. The following brief summary of key elements is abstracted from an orientation document prepared by the Youth Conservation Services.

- a. the worker is assigned to a particular group of youths in a specific area.
- b. he makes an assessment of the area and its resources.
- c. he explains to neighborhood adults his purposes.
- d. the worker "hangs out" in the gang area, and makes initial contact.
- e. the members of the gang test his sincerity, determination, and skills.
- f. the members accept the worker and seek his help in meeting their interests.
- g. the worker helps the gang members with their problems or in developing constructive interests. He makes appropriate referrals and gives guidance and support as needed.



With the group's support, the worker tries to enlist the participation of parents, other adults, and neighborhood agencies and services in helping the group make a socially acceptable adjustment.

- h. as they begin to change, the groups look for programs that they can substitute for anti-social behavior.

Among activities of youth workers were:

- "rapping" on subjects of general interest;
- intervening in crisis situations;
- individual counseling and referral of youth to supportive services and training and employment opportunities;
- helping plan or direct group projects, such as recreational and social activities;
- meeting with community organizations.

No study was made of the use of the worker's time in Philadelphia's program. It is the impression of the supervisors of the program that the workers spent the most time in "rapping."

Next in order of time spent was developing or coordinating recreational activities. In this phase of their activity, the workers were handicapped in that the YCS budget did not provide funds for sports equipment nor transportation or other program activities. It was not until 1973 that funds for this purpose were included in the budget.

Workers on occasion assisted the groups with fund-raising efforts for program activities. Also, private industry in Philadelphia made contributions to help finance special programs.

The YCS administrators report that, starting in 1972, additional emphasis was placed on the function of providing individual counseling and making referrals for youth.

The youth workers were required to fill out monthly reports giving statistical information on their activities, including:

- number of meetings
- formal and informal contacts with individuals, groups, and agencies
- referrals of youths to supportive services
- projects or programs undertaken

Summarized reports for the area youth work program were prepared periodically.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, the 1971-72 annual report indicates there were 1,129 referrals to other agencies, 450 trainee placements, and 550 placements.

The immediate purpose of the program was to stop gang violence.

Supervisors indicate that workers spent considerable time intervening in potential crisis situations. However, no statistics on this phase of their activity were gathered. They would try to arbitrate disputes and persuade the gangs to settle their differences without violence. For example, many times at the dismissal of "tension" junior or senior high schools in gang areas, youth workers would be assigned to help prevent confrontation between members of rival gangs. (Members of the gang control unit of the Police Department would also be present in cases of potential violence, as described later in the chapter.)

Although the official working hours were 2 p.m. to 10 p.m., administrators of the program report that workers, particularly those who lived in proximity to their neighborhoods, were often available at other hours. From time to time, off-duty workers, when informed of planned gang fights, took steps to try to prevent the fight. Possible measures would range from talking with the members of one or both gangs, arranging meetings between the leaders of the gangs and, at last resort, informing the police of an impending fray.

#### Groups Covered

The YCS reported on (a) the total number of groups covered sometime during the year and (b) those groups given sustained coverage, as follows:

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Total Number Covered</u>	<u>Sustained Coverage</u>
1968-69	47	36
1969-70	57	48
1970-71	110	90
1971-72	250	190
1972-73	225	190

It is notable that up to 250 different groups were given coverage--by the assignment of a youth worker--in a given year.

The geographic distribution may be gauged from the distribution of the groups to which workers were assigned in December 1972:

North Central	51
West	50
Northwest	39
South	34
	<u>174</u>

Of the total groups provided coverage, about 20% were female groups--many of them listed as auxiliaries of male groups with the same designation.

Funding and Staffing

Funding and staffing of the Area Youth Work Unit from 1968 to Fiscal 1973<sup>1</sup> are summarized in Table II-1.

Total appropriations increased from the \$560,000 annual level in 1968-69 (18-month budget) to \$2.9 million in Fiscal 1972, with a reduction to \$2.5 million in Fiscal 1973.

Until Fiscal 1971 (which started on July 1, 1970), the program was financed entirely from the City's General Fund. This included a state grant for crime prevention of \$112,500 annually.

Starting with Fiscal 1971, special funds--consisting mainly of federal moneys, mostly channeled through the state--were made available. By Fiscal 1973, four additional sources were available, as follows:

(1) In May 1970, the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare approved a grant for a three-year "demonstration project," designed to test whether indigenous workers, without a high school or college education, could effectively reduce hostile gang activity. Annual funding for the project amounted to a \$180,000 federal contribution and a \$20,000 "in kind" contribution by the City. The project ended June 30, 1973.

(2) In September 1970, additional funding began with grants from the U.S. Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), with the approval of the state Governor's Justice Commission.

(3) In August 1971, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare made available federal funds under the Social Security Act, Title IV, to "purchase the service" of gang workers from the Area Youth Work Unit.

(4) In the summer of 1971, a small grant from Model Cities was initiated, used to deploy two area youth workers at the Model Cities Neighborhood Youth Resources Center, in North Philadelphia. (See Chapter III.)

In Fiscal Year 1973, the Area Youth Work Program received total funds of about \$2.5 million and had expenditures (obligations) of about \$2.2 million as follows:

Source	Amount (000's)	
	Approp. <sup>2</sup>	Obligation
City of Philadelphia General Fund--		
Department Appropriation	\$ 524 <sup>2</sup>	\$ 514 <sup>2</sup>
Fringe Benefits	131 <sup>2</sup>	128 <sup>2</sup>
Subtotal	<u>656</u>	<u>642</u>

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia's fiscal year coincided with the calendar year until 1968. There was an 18-month interim period from January 1, 1968 to June 30, 1969. Starting with July 1, 1969, the fiscal year extends from July 1 to June 30.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated at 52% of the Youth Conservation Services total General Fund Budget (including fringe benefits of 26% of personal services). A financing element for the General Fund budget of the YCS is a \$112,500 state grant.

Source (con't)	Amount (000's)	
	Approp.	Obligation
Special Grants:		
Law Enforcement Assistance Adm..	321	307
"Purchase of Service" under U.S. Social Security Act, Title IV-A, through Pa. Department of Public Welfare	1,298	1,083
"Demonstration Program" grant from U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare	180	164
Model Cities Purchase of Service Grant	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>
Total	\$2,471	\$2,202

Number of Positions

Funded positions for the Area Youth Work Unit increased from less than 60 in 1968-69 to 260 in Fiscal 1972 and were reduced slightly to 253 in Fiscal 1973. (Table II-1) This includes youth workers, their supervisors, and administrative and clerical personnel, divided as follows at the end of 1972 (filled positions):

Youth workers:	180
Supervisors:	19
Admin. and Clerical:	<u>34</u>
	233

Position Classes and Their Qualifications

Between 1967 and 1970, all the persons functioning as youth workers were in three civil service classifications of "area youth worker I," "area youth worker II," or "area youth worker trainee." Each of these classes had a minimum educational requirement of bachelor's degree or equivalent.

In conjunction with the start of the "Demonstration Project," in 1970, the YCS set up a class of "neighborhood youth worker" that did not have any educational qualifications. These workers were not chosen through the civil service system.

Later in 1970, a new civil service category of "youth service worker" was established, with an educational requirement of the equivalent of high school graduation.

The five job categories of youth workers and their requirements are shown in Table II-2.

Table II-1

Funding and Staffing of the Area Youth Work Unit  
Fiscal 1968-69 to Fiscal 1973

Year	Source	Funding (Thousands)		Positions (Full-Time)			
		Appropriation	Expenditures	Area Youth Work Unit		Youth Workers	
				Funded	Filled Mid Year	Funded	Filled Mid Year
1968-69	General Fund*	852	NA	57	39	49	29
FY-1970	General Fund*	481	NA	60	55	52	44
FY-1971	General Fund*	650	575	61	47	43	31
	Demonstration Grant	180	164	22	22	15	15
	LEAA Grant	399	399	56	53	47	46
	Total	1,229	1,138	139	122	105	92
FY-1972	General Fund*	661	NA	47	47	33	33
	Demonstration Grant	180	180	22	21	15	15
	LEAA Grant	493	492	56	51	47	42
	Purchase of Serv..	1,593	1,517	135	103	112	89
	Model Cities	20(est)	NA	2	2	2	2
	Total	2,947	NA	260	224	209	181
FY-1973	General Fund*	656	642	44	43	31	30
	Demonstration Grant	180	164	22	22	15	15
	LEAA Grant	321	307	53	47	44	41
	Purchase of Serv..	1,298	1,083	132	119	108	99
	Model Cities	16	6	2	2	2	2
Total	2,471	2,202	253	233	200	187	

\*Note: The funding figures include employee benefits. For the General Fund, these benefits were estimated by the PEL; for other sources, the departmental financial figures show employee benefits.

Table II-2

"Youth Worker" Position Classes and their Qualifications

The classification of "youth workers" and their qualifications as established in Civil service specification are listed below:

Positions	Educations	Experience
Youth Service Worker	Equivalent of a 12th grade education	None
Area Youth Worker Trainee	Bachelor's Degree	None
Area Youth Worker I	Bachelor's Degree	One year providing services to gangs, or instructing and leading groups of juveniles, or equivalent combination of acceptable experience.
Area Youth Worker II	Bachelor's degree in either social work, psychology, sociology, or group counseling	Two years' experience working with hostile gangs, or any equivalent combination of acceptable training and experience with a bachelor's degree as minimum educational requirement.
Neighborhood Youth Worker	No educational or experience requirements	

After 1970, the great majority of filled positions were held by youth service workers or neighborhood youth workers. For example, at the end of 1972 authorizations were:

Youth Services Worker and Neighborhood Worker	115	64%
Area Youth Worker I, II, and Trainee	65	36%
Total	180	100%

While the educational and experience qualifications differed, the assignments and responsibilities of the workers were the same, regardless of classification. Namely, an individual worker was assigned to one gang, and given full responsibility for developing and carrying out programs and activities.

Positions could be filled by workers of either sex; about 20% of the workers were female and 80% male.

With very few exceptions female workers were assigned to female groups only.

There was substantial turnover of personnel in the early years of the program.

#### Recruitment and Selection

Youth Service Workers and Area Youth Workers were recruited through the civil service system and selected on the basis of tests administered by the City's Personnel Department.

The "indigenous workers" ("neighborhood worker") employed in the Demonstration Project (1970-1973) were hired without the use of civil service examinations. They were required to be residents of the area served by the program, and they were selected after personal interviews and review of their experience and recommendations.

#### In-Service Training

Under the former program, the Youth Conservation Services had a 10-day orientation period for new workers. The orientation program included an overview of the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare, a history of Youth Conservation Services, and an introduction to the problems and responsibilities of area youth work.

Some of the aspects of area youth work that were discussed are listed below:

- role and function of an area youth worker
- goals and expectations of workers
- problems experienced by workers
- gang members' problems relating to workers
- record keeping

A major emphasis in the orientation program was inter- and intra-agency relations. Representatives from the Recreation and Police Departments discussed programs and resources available and how their efforts could best be coordinated with those of the Area Youth Work Unit. The gang worker also received information on all the resources within his own agency, the Department of Public Welfare.

Once the worker was assigned to a gang, he received no further formal inservice training. Weekly meetings held with the supervisor were used for training purpose and the worker also participated in periodic discussion groups where information was exchanged concerning problems and experiences working with gangs.

The main office of Youth Conservation Services is on the 8th floor of City Hall Annex. All workers are attached to one of four districts located in South Philadelphia, North Central Philadelphia, Northwest Philadelphia, and West Philadelphia.

The boundaries and staff (filled positions) of the four areas as of the end of 1972 were as follows:

<u>Area Office</u>	<u>Boundaries</u>	<u>Staff</u>
South	Market St. south to the Navy Yard and from river to river	47
North Central	Spring Garden St. north to Lehigh Ave. and from river to river	74
Northwest	North to Lehigh Ave.	51
West	West of the Schuylkill River	53
		225

#### Supervision of Workers

Under the former program each district was headed by a district supervisor (civil service title Supervisor II). The districts were divided into subdistricts--in some cases with boundaries to coincide with police districts, each with its own supervisor (civil service title supervisor I). Ten to 15 workers reported to their district headquarters at the start of each workday (2 pm) and made written reports describing their activity in the prior day and their plans for the current day. According to their instructions, if any gang fights occurred in the prior day, they were also to file incident reports. Through review of the reports, the supervisor had an opportunity to make suggestions to his workers. However, because of the large number of workers to be supervised, daily conferences were not possible.

In the field, the workers generally did not have any fixed center of operations in their areas. Often, in order to observe the workers in action, the supervisors made appointments with their workers to meet at a given time and place in their areas.

In general, during their tours of duty, the workers were on their own.

#### Relationship With Other Agencies

##### Agencies Dealing With Juvenile Delinquency

Police Department. The Area Youth Work Unit central office maintained "daily contact with Juvenile Aid Division Gang Control. This communication allows for sharing and exchanging of essential information, the follow-through on reported incidents and the initiation of the appropriate services need indicates."

Individual gang workers and their supervisors held monthly meetings with Juvenile Aid officers and Police District Commanders in their geographic areas. The purpose was to discuss deployment of personnel and to exchange information on the gangs in the area.

Informal contacts between the police and youth workers depended on the individuals involved. Viewpoints vary as to the appropriate role of the youth worker in informing the police regarding impending illegal activities.

On the one hand, there is the view that the worker reporting potentially dangerous activity to the police takes the gang "off the hook" in avoiding an activity without losing face. Therefore, the worker's presence may be a deterrent to violence, because the gang members realize that they can be identified by the worker if violence breaks out.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, a YCS document states that a gang worker "is not a law enforcement officer or an informer. He cannot function as a 'stool pigeon' less he jeopardize his relationship and possibly his life."

Juvenile Court. The Area Youth Work Unit did not have any regular formal meetings with either staff or judges of the Juvenile Court.

Youth workers, on occasion, accompanied gang members, who were arrested, to court hearings.

Occasionally, Juvenile Court probation officers conferred with a youth worker in making a probation plan for a gang member; however, this was not done routinely. Nor did the workers serve as informants for the probation officer.

<sup>1</sup> Evaluation Report. Intensive Area Youth Worker Project, July 1972.

Other Agencies Providing Direct Service to Gangs. A number of private agencies work with gang youth, as described in Chapter III, including Safe Streets, Inc., the House of Umoja, Philadelphia Committee For Services to Youth, and Model Cities Neighborhood Youth Resources Center.

The relationship between YCS and the latter center was unique: the two gang workers of the Neighborhood Youth Resources Center were city workers assigned to the center (and funded by a grant from the Model Cities agency to the Department of Public Welfare). The staffing arrangement helped in coordination of services of the YCS program and the center program.

The YCS did not have formal relationships with other agencies after 1969. The establishment of such relationships, if any, to bring about coordination was the responsibility of the individual worker and his supervisor.

Up until 1969 regular coordination section meetings were held with Police, Board of Education, or agencies and community groups. There were as many as 200 people at one meeting. Also a one-day institute was held at Drexel University annually for all youth service agencies. The Department of Public Welfare gave its annual report which included Youth Conservation Services' connection with gangs.

##### Schools

Youth workers were kept informed about the gang situation in the schools by periodic meetings with principals, home and school coordinators, and attendance officers from schools to which they were assigned. Workers were asked for advice about handling gang problems within the classrooms, while school personnel kept workers informed on the gang situation inside the schools.

##### Recreation and Social Agencies

YCS does not have any centers of its own as a base for recreation or social facilities. Thus, the youth worker, to carry out group programs requiring facilities, had to arrange to use the facilities of the Department of Recreation, the schools, or private agencies or groups.

In attempting to help youth with problems of employment, training, education, or health, the youth workers made referrals to other public or private agencies, or to other divisions of the YCS. The workers were given instructions as to resources available generally, and each of the district offices maintained listings of community resources which could be contacted for service. Each youth worker was a "generalist" who was expected to be able to make referrals for all kinds of individual problems.

In its orientation program, the YCS stressed the importance of utilizing community services and supportive services. The workers were instructed to record all contacts with community services and agencies, and to include such contacts in monthly reports.

## Performance Data and Evaluation

According to many documents of the YCS, the purpose of the direct services to gang oriented youth was to "eliminate the hostile activities of gang youth, the shootings, stabbings, rapes, robberies and other forms of violent behavior which result in homicides, serious physical injuries, and destruction or damage to property." Certain definite achievements could be expected if the job is done right. "The street-corner gang worker approach, if used effectively with the several groups in a fighting network, can substantially diminish gang fighting."<sup>1</sup>

### Data on Gang Hostilities

Data on gang hostilities are a necessity to determine whether or not the program was achieving its goals.

YCS had two major sources of data: (1) weekly reports from the Police Department on gang-related stabbings, shootings, and homicide and (2) incident reports which the youth workers were instructed to fill out (as noted earlier).

YCS maintained a card-file on gang-related hostilities, and prepared bimonthly summaries for each of the four areas of the city served by the youth workers. Mimeographed copies of the summaries were distributed to community groups, school representatives, and others. YCS also prepared an annual compilation of data on gang-related homicides.

### Internal Evaluation Procedures

Complete information is not available as to the extent that the YCS made internal analysis and evaluation of data regarding gang-related offenses during the five and one-half years that the YCS provided direct service to gangs. It is reported that a regular procedure was to have quarterly reviews of such data, not only with the senior staff, but also with a community coordinating committee in each of the four districts. Such committees included representatives of the Police Department, schools, other social agencies, and YCS staff.

There was no evaluation specialist on the YCS staff.

The YCS senior staff also undertook quarterly evaluations of each worker and his progress with the group to which he was assigned.

<sup>1</sup> Presentation before City Council by Joseph S. Wnukowski, Commissioner of Public Welfare, December 22, 1972. Similar wording is found in many of the reports and grant applications prepared by YCS.

During most of the period that the area-youth work unit provided direct service to gangs, it operated on the premise that the concept of assigning one worker to a gang was an effective approach. The premise was buttressed by the 1964 study by Dr. Spergel (quoted earlier) which was cited in many of the YCS documents of this period. It may be recalled that Dr. Spergel concluded that "the Area Youth Work approach should be accepted as valid, pending further research and experimentation, and extended throughout the city as need arises."

As to "further research," at no time in this period did the YCS publish a formal analysis of the experience of the City's area youth work program. (A segment--the Demonstration Program--was formally evaluated by a consultant as of June 30, 1973, as described later.)

The statistics on citywide gang incidents--as collected by the YCS--showed annual increase (except in 1970) in homicides, shootings, and stabbings from 1967 to 1971 (as shown in Chapter I) and summarized below:

1967	.....	106
1968	.....	198
1969	.....	226
1970	.....	203
1971	.....	319

The YCS analyzed these incidents from time to time to determine whether the incidents involved groups to which their workers were assigned. Data prepared for the annual reports of the department indicated that the increase was often accounted for by groups which were not served by youth workers. The findings from annual reports are summarized below:

1968-69 "Of the 36 groups that have been given daily service, only five have been involved in shootings, stabbings and rumbles. Forty-seven groups that have not been under service have been responsible for 53 homicides, 183 shootings, 93 stabbings, 3 rapes and 55 rumbles."

1969-70 "Among the 20 most hostile gangs that were provided group leadership beginning in 1970, a 15% to 20% drop in major crimes took place."

1970-71 "An approximate 32% decrease in major gang incidents was experienced during the year 1970-71 among the gangs receiving group services."

1971-72 "Among the 100 most hostile groups that were provided group leadership beginning in 1971, a 15% drop in major crimes took place."

No formal reports were made public in this period regarding these evaluations. Moreover, the annual reports, while prepared, were not published by the department after the report for 1969-70 was published.

The conclusion reached by the YCS--up to 1972 in any event--was that coverage of additional groups was required to decrease gang violence. As noted earlier, outside funding permitted large increases in the number of covered groups from about 50 in 1969 to 90 in 1970 to some 180 to 200 in 1971 and 1972. Even with 180 groups covered, YCS listed some 60 uncovered hostile groups at the end of 1972.

Evaluation Reports

Only one of the YCS grants--that for the "demonstration project"--required the preparation of a formal evaluation report. The report is reviewed in a later section.

LEAA Grant

The LEAA funds were granted by the Governor's Justice Commission. During this period, formal evaluations by an outside agency were not required. In 1972, the evaluation staff of the Governor's Justice Commission developed data regarding offenses committed by 38 groups to whom youth workers, financed from the LEAA Grant, were assigned. Comparing the 16 months before service with the 16 months (September 1970 to December 1971) after service was initiated, the evaluators found:

	<u>Before Service</u>	<u>During Service</u>
Homicides	12	8
Shootings	22	61
Stabbings	22	40
Rapes	2	4
Rumbles	5	9
Fights	1	1
	<u>64</u>	<u>123</u>

The evaluator noted that the increase in reported offenses (other than homicide) after service was initiated may have been caused by better reporting of incidents rather than an actual increase in incidents.

Certainly, the results for offenses other than homicide appeared negative.

The YCS staff prepared a similar comparison of 1971 and 1972 data for its 1973 grant renewal application. YCS reported the following for groups covered by workers financed by the LEAA grant:

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Homicides	6	9
Shootings	51	12
Stabbings	38	17
Rapes	0	0
Rumbles	5	5
Fights	8	0
	<u>108</u>	<u>43</u>

Except for homicides, there was a sharp reduction in reported offenses.

Demonstration Grant Evaluation

The grants for the Demonstration Project required the department to prepare a formal evaluation report. The department contracted with an outside evaluator who consulted on data collection procedures and prepared a final report when the grant terminated June 30, 1973. The evaluator was Professor Finn Hornum of La Salle College.

The "Demonstration Project" was initiated in May 1970 with the major purpose of determining whether indigenous workers, with appropriate professional supervision and training, could service hostile youth groups as effectively as regular, academically-trained workers. When the project was undertaken, a college degree was the minimum requirement for a youth worker in the YCS. However (without waiting for the outcome of the three-year demonstration project), the YCS established a new category of youth workers not requiring a college degree. Therefore, for most of the period that the demonstration project operated, academic degrees were not required either for the indigenous workers or the regular workers.

The conclusion of the evaluation is summarized as follows:

Using the reduction of gang-related incidents as a criterion for effectiveness of service, the evaluation determined that a substantial reduction in these incidents has in fact occurred during the two-year period of observation and that the indigenous workers had been more successful in reducing the level of violence manifested in hostile youth group behavior than the regular workers.

To substantiate the conclusion, the evaluation reported the following statistics on gang related incidents in calendar years 1971 and 1972.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Incidents</u>		
	<u>Experimental Group</u> (17 gangs served by indigenous gang workers)	<u>Control Group</u> (150 other gangs served by remainder of staff)	<u>Together</u>
1971	102	457	559
1972	4	192	196
Total	<u>106</u>	<u>649</u>	<u>755</u>

If the data on gang incidents are complete and accurate for the two years, they would indicate that the YCS program was remarkably successful in reducing the number of gang-related offenses. However, we have no way to evaluate the completeness or accuracy of the reported data. Neither the evaluator nor the department has available the working papers used in preparing the above statistical summary. The report does not break down the incidents by type of offense.

Without the working papers giving more details on the types of incidents, it is not possible to assess the comprehensiveness or accuracy of the statistics in the evaluation report.

However, available data, cited in Chapter I, do indicate a drop in gang violence in 1972 as compared to 1971.

- a. Citywide statistics on homicide, stabbings, and shootings, as reported by the YCS, showed a 23% drop from 319 in 1971 to 247 in 1972.
- b. The number of juvenile arrests for major crimes decreased 18% in 1972. There was a 32% decrease in arrests for "aggravated assault."
- c. The number of groups designated as fighting gangs by the JAD decreased from 105 to 88 (early 1973).

#### Termination of the Area Youth Work Unit

It appears that the area youth work unit was doomed to termination despite the apparent improvement in 1972 results compared to the prior year. One reason was that the major funding agencies--the State Department of Welfare (Title IV-A funds) and the Governor's Justice Commission (LEAA funds) were dissatisfied with the results of the program and were demanding changes as a condition for refunding.

The funding agencies--and the City too--had come to the conclusion that the assignment of youth workers to individual gangs had shortcomings as gang cohesion was increased by the identification of "gang control workers" with specific gangs. Also, groups which did not have assigned gang workers "acted out" in order to justify having a worker of their own. But the assignment of additional workers was held to be impractical, even counterproductive.

Another reason for the termination of the program was a change in the federal guidelines covering the use of Title IV-A funds. As noted earlier, such funds for the purchase of service grant provided more than half the budget of the area youth work program. Under the new guidelines, services purchased with Title IV-A funds had to be used only for families on public assistance (90% of recipients of service) or for former or potential public assistance recipients (10% of recipients of service). Thus, the program had to be completely restructured to meet the guidelines, as discussed in the following section.

#### PRESENT FUNCTIONS OF THE YOUTH CONSERVATION SERVICES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

Youth Conservation Services in the Department of Public Welfare offers programs through four units: Community Services, Personal Services, Individual Youth Services, and Neighborhood Youth Corps. According to the department, "these programs are designed to give specialized help to problematic youth, their parents and their communities in a stabilized effort to reduce and prevent juvenile delinquency."

Youth Conservation Services has a total funded staff for Fiscal 1974 of about 300 persons, and a budget of about \$4.9 million (including employee benefits).

Staffing and budgets of the four units are as follows:

	<u>Funded Positions</u>	<u>Budget (millions)</u>
1. Community Services	47	.8
2. Individual Services	<u>173</u> 220	<u>2.2</u> \$3.0
3. Neighborhood Youth Corps	34	\$1.2
4. Personal Services and Central Administration	<u>44</u> 298	<u>\$.7</u> \$4.9

While all units are concerned with the prevention of juvenile delinquency, none of them deal with gang members as such, in the manner of the former "area youth work" unit, described earlier. The staff of the former area youth work unit was divided into the newly created Community Services and Individual Services units. Personal Services, formerly called "Field Operations," is a professional counseling service for individual delinquents and their families.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, established in 1965, administers the program funded by the United States Department of Labor whereby high school dropouts ages 16 to 17 are offered training, education, and counseling together with employment opportunities.

#### Community Services and Individual Services

Under the new approach started in the Fall of 1973, some of the former functions of the area youth work program were divided into two parts. The Individual Youth Services unit was to carry out the individual counseling and referral functions, while the Community Services unit was to



carry out the group programming, community organization, and crisis intervention aspects. However, a major difference from the former program is that the target of the services is no longer gangs or gang members, but youth in general, particularly youth with problems. (But YCS reports that the large majority served are gang members.) Also, one of the two programs (Individual Services) is limited to youth under 19. There was no age limit in the prior program.

#### Program of Individual Youth Services

The largest part (150 members) of the Area Youth Work unit staff became part of the Individual Youth Services unit, established in the Fall of 1973 in response to the new federal guidelines governing funds under "purchase of service" grant program. The funds are provided under the Social Security Act, Title IV-A, on a matching 75% federal--25% local basis. Services are "purchased" basically for families on public assistance; thus at least 90% of the individuals receiving services under the new program must belong to families on assistance. The other 10% must be either former recipients or potential recipients (members of families just above the public assistance income limits).

It is estimated that there are 80,000 youths on public assistance in the age range 10 to 18. The new program focuses on curbing drop-out and truancy rates, finding employment, and improving the health of 4,200 young people in that age range--or about 5% of the total.

Services are provided by youth workers formed into 28 teams, composed of a leader (either a social worker or an area youth worker) and four team members (youth services workers and/or youth services aides.) The number of teams working out of each of the four district offices is as follows: 10 teams in North Central Philadelphia, eight teams in West Philadelphia, five teams each in Northwest and South Philadelphia.

In addition to teams, each office has three specialists, responsible for informing team members about resources within the community in the area of education, health, and employment.

Each team is expected to have an ongoing caseload of 100 to 150 youths. The teams will prepare plans for each youth, based on his needs for education, training, health, or employment. In developing the plans, members of the teams make family visits. However, if more intensive counseling is required, the case would be referred to YCS's Personal Services unit (described later in this chapter.)

For the 90% of the youth who must be on public assistance, the County Board of Assistance (a unit of the state Department of Public Welfare) must certify that the youth is on public assistance before service can be started.

There is no requirement in the contract that emphasis be placed on gang members in choosing the 4,200 youths to be served. However, the YCS staff indicates that, initially at least, many of the names of youth to be served were obtained from the rosters of gang membership formerly maintained by YCS.

For in-school youth, the program assists with the truancy problem. Contacts were made with school counselors and attendance officers to indicate that the program was available to truants in families of public assistance. Also, police "Juvenile Contact Reports" for truancy are routed to the Individual Services Unit.

The unit is developing approaches to help reduce truancy. These include: working with the family to increase motivation for attendance; accompanying a youth to sessions with the school counselor and assisting in evaluating the curriculum alternatives to match the youth's interests to available courses; and expressing a friendly, continual interest in the youth's school problems.

Names of out-of-school youth to be served were initially obtained from gang rosters. Later, referrals were received from other units of YCS as well as other social agencies. Among the services that the unit can provide is to enroll some of the youth in training opportunities to the extent available (e.g., Neighborhood Youth Corps), or in tutorial and remedial programs. For others, the unit tries to find permanent employment.

Goals. Operational goals have been established for the youth admitted to the program, as follows:

- a. a 20% increase in school attendance for truants;
- b. for out of school youth, placing 15% in permanent employment, 15% in work training programs, and 5% back to school.

The program is intended to reduce juvenile delinquency. In this respect, a goal is a 5% decrease in juvenile arrests in those police districts which are within the geographical areas of the new program.

The base period for the comparisons is January-March 1974. By that time, the YCS expects to have a complete roster of the youths to be served. For in-school youth, data would be included as to truancy in the base period; for others, employment or training status. Comparisons would then be made each quarter with the base period.

Arrests statistics would be provided by the Police Department for each quarter.

## Program of Community Services

The program of the Community Services unit continues some of the aspects of the former Area Youth Work program. However, a major change is that the worker is assigned not to individual gangs, but to geographic areas encompassing several gangs. Moreover, he is to provide his services to all youth in the area, not just gang members.

There are some 60 workers in the program, compared to the 200 workers in the former Area Youth Work program.

Each area has an average of three to four gangs in it.

The workers would still be expected to obtain information on the gangs in their areas and to meet with gangs or gang members on the street. Hopefully, they would be able to establish rapport with each of the gangs in their area. Among the functions of the workers with gang members would be:

- a. to mediate gang conflicts or otherwise try to avert gang violence;
- b. to let gang members know of recreational and cultural opportunities available to youth in the area, such as free tickets to sporting events, and persuade the gang members to take advantage of the opportunities;
- c. to assist gang members in utilizing recreation facilities.

Another important aspect of their work is to refer individual gang members--needing educational, employment, or health service--to the programs of the Individual Services unit or to Personal Services.

The workers of the Community Services unit are to continue to maintain incident reports on gang violence. Maintenance of such records is considered essential for the role of averting violence; for example, to provide information helpful to prevent violent retaliation for a gang incident.

The workers are directed to maintain frequent informal contacts with the police regarding gang incidents, and to attend Police Community Relations workshops.

The official City statement on the new approach stresses "community activities."

One program element is to encourage community groups (e.g., churches, civic associations) to take responsibility for youth development programs such as recreational and social programs. Community Service workers will

provide assistance of the following type:

- a. help notify youth of the program;
- b. participate in supervising the program, particularly the activity of hostile youth;
- c. in case of citywide sports leagues, the Community Services workers will provide uniforms and equipment for teams sponsored by community groups;
- d. pay part of the cost of admissions, for example, to skating rinks or bowling alleys.

Community Service workers will provide supervision to ensure the participation of "hostile" youth (youth with records of delinquency) who might otherwise not be admitted to the program.

Community Services is in charge of organizing citywide sports activity for each season of the year; for example, baseball in the summer and football in the fall. The program is carried out at public facilities, such as recreation centers.

The program is not intended to compete with the regular program of the Department of Recreation. It is aimed at involving youth who would normally not participate in regular Department of Recreation programs, because either they were excluded for past records of poor behavior or they were not interested. Nevertheless, the YCS stresses that the programs are intended for all youth in the areas they serve, not just gang members or delinquent youth.

Perhaps one distinction between the YCS program and the Recreation Department program is that the YCS has an "outreach" staff which encourages the youth on the street to join in. In contrast, the Recreation Department provides services to the youth that come to its facilities.

Goals. The purpose of the Community Services program is to reduce delinquency. The program is apparently based on the assumption that the constructive use of leisure time will divert many youth from criminal activity, as well as developing habits of self-discipline and sportsmanship. Also, the youth worker would play a constructive role as counselor and friend, available to the youth on the street in a time of crisis.

Goals as to delinquency reduction are stated as follows in the grant application for Fiscal 1974:

- a. A 10% reduction in juvenile arrests in the police districts served by the program.
- b. A 5% reduction in reported major gang-related offenses in the districts.

Operational goals have also been established.

A major goal is to have community groups take responsibility for youth development activities open to all youth in an area, both gang members and other youth. One measure of accomplishment will be the number of community groups participating in new youth development activities.

Other measures would be the number of youth participating in projects, both those initiated by the community groups and those developed by the YCS staff. A record would also be kept of incidents of violence which took place during project activities; the goal is to provide sufficient supervision so that no incidents occur.

Many of the youth served in the group projects will have individual problems amenable to treatment; the number of youth referred to the Individual Services unit will provide a measure of the alertness of YCS staff in this program.

#### Funding and Staff

Funding and staff for Fiscal 1974 are summarized in Table II-3.

#### Community Services

The Community Services unit is financed out of two grants from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), totalling \$541,000, and a \$252,000 contractual services item in the City's general fund, plus some \$50,000 augmentations from other General Fund moneys.

Authorized staff is about 50 civil service staff, plus 20 persons hired under contract for one year, for a total staff of 70. Of these, 60 are youth workers in various classifications, and the remainder supervisory and administrative personnel.

#### Individual Services

The major source of funds of Individual Services is the "Purchase of Service" grant of \$1.5 million under Title IV-A of the U.S. Social Security Act. The purchase of service grant is made through the State Department of Welfare. This is augmented by General Fund moneys of about \$600,000.

Individual Services has an authorized civil service staff of about 173--130 youth workers and the remainder supervisory and administrative personnel.

The great majority of the youth workers in both services are in the "youth service worker" class which has a high school diploma (or equivalent) as a minimum educational requirement (See Table II-2). The minority of workers are in the "area youth worker" categories, having a bachelor's degree as minimum educational requirement.

Table II-3

### Funding and Staffing of the Community Services and Individual Services Units of Youth Conservation Services Fiscal 1974

Source of funds:	Appropriation 000's	Funded Positions
General Fund		
Departmental appropriation	\$ 746	
Employee benefits (estimated)	124	
	<u>870</u> a	63 b
LEAA Grants		
Intensive	271 c	26
Youth development	<u>271</u> c	<u>21</u>
	542	47
Purchase of service grant	1,515	140
Model Cities	<u>23</u>	<u>2</u>
	\$2,950	252

#### Notes:

- a. About 7% of the General Fund appropriation (including fringe benefits) is derived from a state grant.
- b. Includes 41 regular positions and 22 "contractual service" positions.
- c. Each of the LEAA grants comprises \$250,000 federal moneys and \$21,000 of state moneys designated as "state buy-in."

### Training

A training unit was established in the summer of 1973. Its initial task was to conduct training sessions for the staffs assigned to the Individual Services unit. Two-hour training sessions were held twice weekly during August-October 1973 on the new approach to services for the individual.

Subsequently, the training unit developed and held weekly training sessions with the team leaders of Individual Youth Services, providing basic instruction in casework and in leadership techniques.

The unit helps develop the agenda for monthly training sessions for the whole staff.

### Field Offices and Supervision

Staff of both services share field offices in North Central, North West, South, and West Philadelphia.

Community Services workers are mainly on their own during their tours of duty. At the start of each tour (2 pm), the workers report to their field offices and prepare agendas, indicating what they will do and where they will be. This gives an opportunity to the supervisors to contact them or observe them in the field. Since Individual Services workers are part of four-man teams, supervision is by the team leaders, as well as by area supervisors.

### Relationship With Other Agencies

Agencies in Criminal Justice System. The Director of Community Services maintains liaison with the Juvenile Aid Division of the Police Department (this was formerly maintained by the head of the Area Youth Work unit).

Other Agencies with Youth Development Programs. Obviously, to carry out its mission, the Individual Services unit has to maintain close relationships with the schools, employment and training agencies, and health agencies. As noted earlier, a specialist in each office in the fields of education, employment, and health has primary responsibility for establishing necessary relationships.

Community Services staff do not have direct contacts with such agencies in general, but direct a youth needing services to the Individual Services unit for appropriate referral.

A number of private agencies which have gang-control components are discussed in Chapter III. There appears to be very little formal coordination between these agencies and either Community Services or Individual

Services, with one exception. The notable exception is that the two area youth workers on the staff of the Model Cities Neighborhood Youth Resources Center are City employees, and on the YCS payroll.

### Procedure for Evaluation

#### Individual Services

Under purchase of service grant from the State Department of Public Welfare for the Individual Services unit, the YCS is required to prepare quarterly statistical reports on progress made on its goals. An evaluator has been added to the staff. The program is also monitored by the staff of the contracting agency, the State Department of Public Welfare. As noted earlier, goals have been established as follows:

1. for youth in school, a 20% increase in school attendance;
2. for out-of-school youth, placement of 15% in permanent employment, 15% in work-study programs, and return 5% to school;
3. for all youth in the program, a 5% decrease in juvenile arrests in those police districts which are within the geographical areas of the new program.

It is notable that statistics on juvenile arrests for all offenders, rather than data on gang-related offenses, will be among the measures used.

#### Community Services

The Governor's Justice Commission established a new policy in Fiscal 1974 requiring formal external evaluations to be made for major projects funded by LEAA grants. Such evaluations will be prepared by outside evaluators, at the end of the funding period. About two thirds of the funds for the Community Services unit are provided by LEAA grants. The outside evaluation will be prepared by a group from Lincoln University, with the report submitted to the Governor's Justice Commission.

As noted earlier, the projects financed from the LEAA grant are intended to achieve the following goals:

1. 5% reduction in gang-related major crimes;
2. 10% reduction in juvenile arrests in areas served by the Community Services worker;
3. improve delivery of youth services in the effected area;
4. develop viable alternatives to divert youth not involved in serious crimes from the criminal justice system.

It may be noted that the goal of the Community Services Unit is a 10% reduction in arrests; in comparison, the Individual Services Unit aims at a 5% reduction in arrests. It is not clear what the base period for the statistics would be.

Since the two units are working in the same geographical areas, it will be impossible to distinguish the relative impact of either unit on incidence of arrests.

#### Personal Services Unit and Youth Referral Unit

Personal Services is an intensive professional counseling service for delinquent youth and their families; the Youth Referral Unit coordinates a volunteer visiting program to families of youth who have been apprehended (but not arrested) by the police.<sup>1</sup> The two together receive referral slips for all cases of youth arrested or apprehended by the police--the youth referral program for "remedial cases," or non-arrest cases, and the professional counseling service for arrest cases that are discharged or "adjusted" at the Juvenile Court, described later.

#### Personal Services

The casework arm of Youth Conservation Services was designated the "Field Operations" unit when it was established in 1959. At that time, it was the only unit of Youth Conservation Services with programs in the field; since then, other units (such as the Community Services Unit) were established, also providing services in the field. Recently, it was given a new designation as the "Personal Services Unit."

Organization. The Director supervises six regional offices, located in areas with high delinquency rates. In most cases, the offices are shared with the Community Services and the Individual Services Units. Each area office is headed by a supervisor. The Director is also in charge of the youth referral program (to be described later) and of "Project Human Renewal," a generalized counseling program in North Philadelphia.

Staffing. Personal Services has an authorized staff of 40; 34 positions were filled on January 1, 1974. There are six supervisors, and a social work trainee.

The social workers are required to have either a master's degree in social work or to have completed a certificate program with a major in social work. The trainees are required to have a bachelor's degree and to be enrolled in part-time social work courses.

<sup>1</sup> As of the end of March 1974, ADAPT, a drug program, was receiving its drug offenses directly from the Police Department.

Financing. The program is financed entirely out of the City's General Fund budget. It is an element of the budget for Youth Conservation Services. Approximate allocation to the Personal Services Unit was \$600,000 in Fiscal Year 1974.

Program. The Unit provides casework (intensive counseling) to families with delinquent youths.

The Juvenile Aid Division of the Police Department sends referral slips to the unit for all juveniles apprehended by the police.

As noted later in this chapter, police apprehensions are divided between "remedials" and arrests. The referral slips show the current reason for apprehension by the police, as well as all prior police contacts. A youth arrested by the JAD is taken to the Youth Study Center, as described later. At the center, his case may be "adjusted" by the intake interviewer (and the case discharged) or the case held for court. If the youth is held for court, the case is investigated by probation officers on the staff of the court. However, the JAD referral slip, which is sent to the Personal Services Unit, does not show what the disposition of the case is at the Youth Study Center.

The staff of the Personal Services Unit separate the arrest cases from the "remedial" cases. The latter are sent to the staff of the Youth Referral Program.

Personal Services central staff reviews the arrest cases, sorts out the minor offenses, and distributes the remainder to the six area offices, where cases are assigned by the supervisors to the caseworkers.

The annual number of referral slips prepared by the JAD is very large. For example, in 1972, there were 14,000 arrests and 16,500 remedial contacts--a total of 30,000 recorded police contacts with juveniles--or about 80 contacts each day.

Per working day (250 days a year), about 55 arrest slips and 65 remedial slips were sent to the Personal Services Unit in 1972.

With its small staff, the Personal Services Unit has to give priority to more serious or repeat offenders. In addition to cases referred by the police, some cases are referred by schools, other social agencies, and other units of the YSC.

In 1972-73, the unit opened 293 new cases and terminated 394. The 300 new cases opened may be compared to the 14,000 arrest slips received by the unit.

The unit offers what it terms "aggressive casework to families." The caseworkers go uninvited to the homes, and are concerned with all members of the family, not just the delinquent youth.

The number of cases per caseworker is on the order of 35-45. With a staff of about 20 caseworkers, the overall caseload at a given time is about 700. Caseworkers make frequent visits to each home, as well as making other contacts and referrals as needed.

Under the 1973 reorganization, the caseworkers of the Personal Services Unit also provide their professional expertise in assisting the members of the Individual Services Unit with their new functions. Such assistance is given at regular staff training sessions and informally at other occasions.

Personal Services caseworkers refer cases to the Individual Services Unit if assistance is needed in the areas of education, employment, or health. By the same token, Individual Services workers refer families to the caseworkers if professional casework seems to be needed.

Performance Data and Evaluation. Personal Services maintains statistical data on the number of families counseled and on the number of individuals in the families. Case reports are prepared on each of the families.

However, no formal studies have been prepared testing the effectiveness of the program in reducing or preventing delinquency. No comparisons have been published on the delinquency and crime rates of members of counseled families as compared to families with similar characteristics, but which have not received counseling.

Personal Services provides counseling for families which include gang members. Again, no data are available on the effectiveness of the program for such families.

#### Youth Referral Program

The Youth Referral Program is a volunteer home visiting service for youths who have had minor contact with the police. The program was established in 1944 by the Crime Prevention Association in cooperation with the Juvenile Aid Division of the Police Department. In 1959, the Youth Conservation Services Division of the Welfare Department was created and assumed the responsibility for the Youth Referral Program, co-sponsored by the Juvenile Aid Division. The Youth Referral Program is now part of the Personal Services Unit of Youth Conservation Services.

#### Program

The Youth Referral Program is designed to assist youth from 7 to 17 years of age, who have been involved in minor delinquent activities, by sending a volunteer<sup>1</sup> to the home to talk to the youth and his/her family.

<sup>1</sup> While most of the home visitors are volunteers with respect to the program, many are employees of social agencies and are paid for their time by their employers.

The volunteer attempts to help the individual refrain from becoming involved in delinquent activity in the future, by pointing out available community resources, such as school counselors, Boy and Girl Scout Troops, boys' clubs, recreation and church facilities which provide constructive alternatives for youth. If more intensive casework is necessary, the youth and his/her family are referred to caseworkers in the Personal Services Unit.

Volunteers are organized in Parent-Youth Aid Committees which operate in 17 of 22 police districts in Philadelphia. Committees meet once a month (except in summer). Almost all committee meetings are held between 9 and 5 on weekdays. In addition to volunteers, each meeting is attended by Youth Conservation staff representatives and a Police Community Relation Officer. Membership of volunteer committees includes clergymen, teachers, school counselors, community workers, recreation leaders, businessmen, members of religious groups, and representatives of civic, community, and welfare organizations. Each committee has its own chairman, co-chairman, secretary, and sometimes sub-committees. In 1972-73, committee membership totalled about 400.

Other volunteer committees have been formed to assist delinquent youth. Teacher Sodality Committees were organized in 1960 and deal exclusively with delinquent Catholic female youths. At present there are 11 Teacher Sodality Committees serving citywide. In the past, delinquent Catholic male youths were referred to St. Vincent De Paul Society Committees, which are now inoperative. These youths are now referred to the Parent-Youth Aid Committees.

All youth referrals to the Youth Referral Program are "remedial" (non-arrest) cases from the Juvenile Aid Division of the Police Department. The referral slips are separated geographically by Youth Conservation Services staff and brought to the monthly committee meeting, where the selection of home visits and follow-up reports are made. Referrals involving Catholic females are filtered out and sent to a representative of the Teacher Sodality Committees.

It is estimated by Youth Conservation Services staff that 50% percent of youths referred to the Youth Referral Program are visited at home by a volunteer. Volunteers can be expected to make no more than four visits per month. If no volunteer is available to visit a youth's home on three separate occasions, the referral slip is sent to Personal Services.

The Youth Referral Program operates nine months out of the year. During the months of June, July, and August the program is inoperative.

#### Staffing

Youth Conservation Services staff authorized for the Youth Referral Program includes a supervisor and two social workers. The staff receives the reports from the police, distributes them to the committees, and files reports on completed visits.

The staff also recruits members for the committees, and instructs them on their functions.

The supervisor conducts a "chairman's seminar" each September for committee chairmen. Also, the staff holds one or two training sessions each year for each committee. Moreover, new members of committees are given informal instruction at their first meeting, prior to going on their home visits.

#### Performance Data and Evaluation

The staff maintains data on the number of cases referred to committees and the number of home visits made.

Formal Evaluation. No formal evaluations of the effectiveness of the program have been undertaken.

The record of visits for two recent years was:

1970-71 1,325 children

1972-73 990

The number of visits made may be compared to the 16,500 remedial police cases in 1972.

#### Neighborhood Youth Corps

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, administered by a division of Youth Conservation Services, is intended to operate as an element of YCS's efforts to prevent juvenile delinquency. The program's immediate purpose is to obtain full-time employment for 16 and 17 year old high school dropouts who are economically and culturally deprived.

#### Program

The program has been operated under annual contracts with the United States Department of Labor since 1965. Elements of the program include work experience, skills training, education, casework counseling, and job placement.

In the 1974 Fiscal Year, the program provides for about 320 enrollees at a given time. Each month, about 60 youths enter the program and 60 youths leave for permanent employment, further schooling, or other reasons. In total, about 800 youths would be enrolled during the year. In the Fiscal Year 1973, 1,050 youths were enrolled in the program. Of these, 30% were either on probation or had had contacts with the police at some prior time.

The work experience component involves 10 hours of work experience weekly in government or nonprofit organizations.

Some of the enrollees receive skills training in clerical, nurses aide, child care, or mechanical skills fields.

Some of the enrollees spent 15 hours weekly in the education component, which prepared for the "GED" examination of high school equivalency. Other youth receive remedial education.

The social work staff provides individual and group counseling for the enrollees, and also makes referrals to other social or health agencies.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is designed for a maximum of two years, or until such time as a youth either acquires skills required for full-time employment or enters advanced education or training.

#### Funding and Staff

Funding is 90% federal and 10% "in kind" contribution from the City's General Fund. Federal funds for Fiscal 1974 are \$1.2 million.

About two-thirds of the funds are for payment of compensation to the enrollees, who are paid at the rate of \$1.60 per hour for their time spent in remedial education, training, counseling, and work experience components.

Authorized staff of 34 includes about 10 administrative and clerical personnel, with the remainder in such job classes as work and training coordinator, job developer, and social worker.

#### Relations With Other Agencies

The Neighborhood Youth Corps receives referrals from other units of the YCS, as well as from other youth development agencies.

As noted above, the Corps relies on other governmental agencies as well as nonprofit organizations for the slots of the work experience component.

#### Performance Statistics and Evaluation

The Corps maintains records on the activity of the youths after they leave the corps--the number placed in full time jobs, or directed to full-time school or skills training.

The Corps also records any police contacts of its enrollees. For example, in 1973, less than 1% of the enrollees became involved with the law.

However, the Corps has not made any formal studies comparing the delinquency record of enrollees in the program with that of other youths of similar characteristics not enrolled. Nor have long-term studies been made of the delinquency records of youths before, during, and after their enrollment in the corps.

GANG CONTROL UNIT -- JUVENILE AID DIVISION  
OF THE PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Law enforcement with respect to juvenile gangs is a responsibility of all elements of the Philadelphia Police Department. For example, each of the police districts has gang violence among its concerns.

In addition, there is a division of the Police Department, designated the Juvenile Aid Division (JAD), which specializes in juvenile delinquency. The JAD has maintained a gang control unit since 1954.

Organization and Functions of the JAD

Headed by a Police Inspector, the JAD has a complement of about 280 officers, including about 60 policewomen. Generally, officers are selected for service with the JAD only after at least one year's service in the Police Department. They are chosen for their interest and competence in dealing with youth.

Among the functions of the JAD are:

- a. Investigating all police cases--other than homicide--involving juveniles (individuals under age 18) as well as some cases of adults who have committed offenses against children. Major crimes and incidents are coordinated with the Detective Division. (The Homicide Division investigates all homicide cases.)
- b. Inspecting places where youth congregate.
- c. Patrolling areas with high juvenile delinquency rates.
- d. Monitoring gang activity.

Police Action Regarding Juveniles

While any police officer may apprehend and hold a juvenile, only a member of the JAD may make a formal "arrest." A juvenile held by other police officers is turned over to a JAD officer for determination whether the juvenile should be "arrested" or treated as a "remedial." The remedial process is a "non-arrest" program, wherein a juvenile is released to his parent's custody, and often a referral is made to a social welfare agency or group through the referral program operated by the Youth Conservation Services of the Department of Public Welfare. (See description of the referral program earlier in this chapter.)



If the juvenile is arrested, in most cases he is turned over to his parents for an intake interview the next day at the Youth Study Center, a detention facility for juvenile offenders under jurisdiction of the Family Court. In some cases, he is brought directly to the center.

Philadelphia has a curfew applying to juveniles under age 17. According to an ordinance of 1955, juveniles may not be on the street or other public place after 10:30 p.m. Sundays through Thursdays, after midnight on Friday and Saturday nights. If a juvenile is apprehended for a curfew violation, the police officer obtains name, address, and other information from the child, and instructs him to proceed home immediately. The parents are then notified of the curfew violation by mail. If the Police Department records numerous violations by a child, his parents are prosecuted for failure to provide proper supervision.

#### Financing Police Gang Control Unit

Total expenditures of Philadelphia's Police Department in Fiscal 1973 were \$126 million of direct expenditures plus an estimated \$32 million of employee benefits for a total of \$159 million. The budgeted amounts for Fiscal 1974 are \$132 million plus \$33 million employee benefits. The estimated budget (including employee benefits) for the JAD is about \$4,650,000 in Fiscal 1974.<sup>1</sup>

The manpower (90 police) assigned to the gang control unit constitute about 33% of the total JAD personnel complement. Estimated cost of the gang control unit for Fiscal 1974 is about \$1,350,000.

The JAD is financed entirely from the City's General Fund. Included as a General Fund revenue item for financing the JAD is a state grant of \$280,000, equalling about 6% of the JAD budget.

An LEAA grant of \$261,000 for expansion of the JAD is also available for Fiscal 1974, but had not yet been implemented at mid-year.

<sup>1</sup> The JAD is a component of a budgetary grouping designated "Community Group Liaison." For 1974, its personal service appropriation is about \$5,400,000, of which about 64%, or \$3,356,000, is attributable to the JAD. Adding 27% for fringe benefits brings the personal service appropriation of the JAD to \$4,389,000. With an allowance of 6% for non-personal service costs, the total appropriation for JAD is about \$4,650,000 in Fiscal 1974.

#### Staffing of the Police Gang Control Unit

The gang control unit is staffed by JAD officers, who are regular police officers. The size of the unit has been increased greatly since it was established in 1954. Initially, 14 to 18 officers were assigned. By 1969, the number had risen to 69, and it was increased to 71 in 1973. In February 1974, the complement was increased to 90.

Gang control unit officers are divided into four platoons, with three platoons scheduled for duty and one off-duty each day. The platoons work three overlapping shifts, covering the hours from 10 in the morning to 2 a.m. the following day.

#### Program of Police Gang Control Unit

According to the Fiscal Year 1974 budget statement, the Police Department "monitored" some 230 gangs in Fiscal 1973.<sup>1</sup> It is most concerned, however, with groups organized to "protect" an area through violence. Using this criterion, the JAD recognized 88 active gangs in July 1973.

The gang control unit's major responsibility is the prevention of hostile gang activity. To that end, gang control officers are assigned to monitor (patrol) sports and recreational facilities and other known areas of gang activity. Areas around secondary schools with many gang members are also frequently visited. Gang control officers also investigate crimes which appear to be gang-related, and they help supply intelligence data on gangs and their membership for the Police Department's records.

The Police Department maintains detailed records on gangs, gang members, and gang activities.

#### Pilot Program

In an experimental program started June 4, 1973, 20 gang control officers were assigned to work with seven gangs in West and Southwest Philadelphia. In addition to patrolling the gang's "turf," the officers talk with the hostile youths about their interests and problems. Since the officers are not social workers, their main emphasis is on the prevention of crime.

The program was later expanded to include three gangs in the North Central area of Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup> Supporting Detail for Fiscal 1974 Operating Budget, p. 68-13.

### Coordination with Other Agencies

The JAD has established a regular pattern of meetings with the Youth Conservation Services (YCS) program of the Department of Public Welfare.

Monthly, in each Police District, the district commander and the JAD officer assigned to the district meet with the YCS youth workers in the area to discuss problems and exchange information. The lieutenant in charge of the Police gang control unit and the commander of the JAD also attend these meetings.

The commander of the JAD or his representative meets regularly with the director of the Community Services Unit of YCS.

JAD officers participate in the Parent-Youth Aid Committee program administered by the YCS.

### Performance Data and Evaluation

The Police Department records data on offenses known to the police, as well as arrests, remedial actions, and curfew violations. Using data processing equipment, the department prepares reports periodically with breakdowns by such characteristics as geographic area, day of week, time of day, and age of offender. Prior to 1974, gang offenses were not separately coded for machine tabulation. Starting in January 1974, additional codes were added for major gang-related incidents, to permit mechanical tabulation of reports.

Prior to 1974, the Police Department kept a separate manual record of "gang-related" offenses. Weekly reports are made on major offenses including homicide, aggravated assault, simple assault, weapons offenses, and "disorderly conduct as a result of an affray."

In the pilot program area, the JAD used statistics on the above offenses to measure the effectiveness of the pilot program. In the first two weeks of the program, the JAD reported a 66% reduction in gang offenses as compared with the same two weeks in the prior year in the area of the pilot program. Latest available data (to 12/31/73), covering the first 30 weeks of the program, indicate a 45% reduction in gang related offenses.

The evaluation of the pilot program is the only statistical evaluation of the work of the gang control unit carried out by the Police Department. The general patrol and monitoring activities do not lend themselves readily to statistical evaluation. Moreover, the JAD is not the only agency trying to stem gang violence in Philadelphia; comprehensive evaluation of police programs would have to consider the impact, if any, in changes in programs carried out by social agencies in the same areas.

### JUVENILE BRANCH OF THE FAMILY COURT

The Juvenile Branch is a component of the Family Court Division of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas. The Juvenile Branch has jurisdiction over all court cases involving delinquency<sup>1</sup> of persons under age 18, with the exception of homicide cases, which follow the usual procedures for adult criminals.

The hostile nature of gang activity has resulted in many gang members under 18 becoming involved in Juvenile Court proceedings. The cases of gang members follow the same listing procedures as other cases of delinquency. This section briefly describes the procedures of the Juvenile Court.

#### Referral to Court

Cases are brought before the court by (a) informal complaint, (b) petition of individual or agency, and (c) police arrest.

As noted earlier in this chapter, all police arrests of juveniles are made by members of the Juvenile Aid Division. Upon arrest, the youth is taken to the Youth Study Center, a detention facility under direction of a Board of Managers appointed by the court.

#### Procedure From Arrest to Court Adjudication

After an arrested youth is brought to the Youth Study Center, a number of steps are followed before he is given an adjudicatory hearing. These are:

1. Determination of Jurisdiction. "Intake interviewers" are assigned to the Youth Study Center by the court. As a first step, the intake interviewer determines if the court has jurisdiction.

2. Determination to Adjust or to Hold for Court. The intake interviewer holds a hearing to decide whether the case should be (a) adjusted (and the youth not referred to court) or (b) held for court.

<sup>1</sup> A "delinquent child" means a child whom the court has found to have committed a delinquent act and is in need of treatment, supervision, or rehabilitation. A "delinquent act" means: (i) an act designated a crime under the laws of Pennsylvania, or of another state if the act occurred in that state, or under federal law, or under local ordinances; or (ii) a specific act or acts of habitual disobedience of the reasonable and lawful commands of his parent, guardian, or other custodian committed by a child who is ungovernable.

3. Detention Decision. If the decision is to hold for court, the intake interviewer determines whether the youth should be sent home pending the pre-trial conference or detained at the center. A detention decision has to be confirmed by a judge at a hearing.

4. Pre-Trial Conference. Prior to a pre-trial conference, an officer of the court's probation department makes a social investigation of the youth, and in some cases the youth is given physical and mental examinations. The pre-trial conference is attended by the youth and his parents, his counsel, an assistant district attorney, the judge, and court staff. The judge has the following options:

- a. discharge;
- b. grant motion to withdraw petition of delinquency;
- c. make motion of delinquency on basis of admission by the youth;
- d. continue case for adjudicatory hearing.

5. Adjudicatory Hearing. Upon the conclusion of the adjudicatory hearing, the judge has the following options:

- a. discharge
- b. probation
- c. commitment to an institution

In 1972, 15,667 cases of alleged delinquency were disposed of by the Juvenile Branch as follows:

10,431 (67%)--dismissed, discharged, or adjusted. Of these, 6,891 were handled by intake interviewers and the remainder by the judges.

3,663 (23%)--placed (or continued) on probation.

819 (5%)--committed to institutions.

360 (2%)--ordered to remain as committed.

394 (3%)--other disposition.

15,667

Statistics for 1962 to 1972 are shown in Table II-4.

#### Juvenile Court Probation

Of those who are not discharged, over 80% are placed on probation and the others committed to institutions or other dispositions made. In 1972, 3,700 youths were placed on probation, and 3,500 youths were under supervision at year's end.

Table II-4

#### Disposition of Delinquency Charges by the Juvenile Court 1962-1972

Year	Disposition of Delinquency Charges				
	Dismissed or Adjusted (1)	Committed* (2)	Probation (3)	Other (4)	Total (5)
1962	4055	2310	3533	2159	12,057
1963	3916	2013	2873	2205	11,007
1964	4405	2267	4776	2539	13,987
1965	4249	2240	3310	1384	11,183
1966	4762	1938	3754	1840	12,294
1967	5439	1362	3247	2132	12,180
1968	7547	1465	3513	2045	14,510
1969	9086	2509	4554	319	16,468
1970	9468	2157	5312	390	17,327
1971	14,432	1385	3137	306	19,310
1972	10,497	1268	3663	239	15,667

\* Includes "remain as committed."

Source: Annual Reports of the Family Court Division of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia (prior to 1968, County Court of Philadelphia.)

The Juvenile Branch staffing ratio provides 50 or less cases per probation officer, down from 106 in 1971. A rehabilitation plan must be prepared for each youth on probation. For a gang member, the plan involves the condition that the youth no longer participate in gang activities.

Contact between the probation officer and the youth varies. Regular probation requires monthly meetings; intensive probation requires meeting at least once a week. (The court also has pre-hearing intensive supervision, whereby a youth is seen daily in lieu of detention.)

The probation officers are assigned to one of seven districts into which the city is divided. In 1973, there were 140-150 probation officers assigned to the seven districts.

Relation to Other Agencies. The Juvenile Branch Probation Department has not established a formal relationship with the youth workers of the Youth Conservation Service (YCS). Often staff from both agencies are serving in the same area, and may have contact with the same youth. If the probation officer is aware that the youth is known to another agency, the officer contacts the agency for information.

The Probation Department does have a special relationship with one of the youth-serving agencies--the Model Cities Neighborhood Youth Resources Center--described in Chapter III. The court liaison officer of the center is a probation officer of the Juvenile Branch. He counsels all youth on probation from the area served by the center.

No special arrangements have been developed between the Probation Department and the other youth-serving agencies--Safe Streets, House of Umoja, or Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth (North Central Philadelphia Youth Academy)--described in Chapter III.

In cases where probation has been tried and failed or is simply inappropriate due to the severity of the offense, commitment to a correctional institution may be necessary.

#### Special Programs

The Family Court has several new federally funded programs intended to expand and intensify services to juveniles. All of these apply to gang members as well as other delinquents.

The new programs include: Correctional Group Counseling, Juvenile Drug Identification and Referral Service, and Community Related Institutional Probation.

Correctional Group Counseling. Correctional Group Counseling, which began in April 1972, extends group therapy to individuals on probation.<sup>1</sup> Groups staffed by probation officer group counselors, consisting of 10 probationers, meet twice a week for one-hour sessions. Attempts are made during these sessions to have the probationers actively participate in searching out the problems causing their delinquent behavior. Group therapy sessions are designed to provide probationers with six to nine months of counseling, depending on the attendance, motivation, and participation of the individual.

As part of the Correctional Group Counseling program, specially qualified probation officers are trained, by five senior therapists, as co-therapists, able to conduct correctional group counseling sessions.

According to a spokesman for the Juvenile Branch, this program was specifically designed to assist the gang member.

The program's counseling and training services are offered to other organizations and agencies concerned with the welfare of children.

Senior staff members are in the process of documenting the program's first two years' work, in preparation for developing a training manual to serve as a model for future projects providing correctional group counseling services.

Juvenile Drug Identification and Referral Services. The Juvenile Drug Identification and Referral Service (JDIR) was developed to prevent further drug problems among youth. All juveniles who are arrested and sent to YSC are given urinalysis to determine the presence of drugs in their systems. Where drug abuse is detected, JDIR extends medical, psychiatric, psychological, and social work services to the individuals to determine the appropriate drug rehabilitation program to meet their particular needs.

Participants in the program are used as a source of information by JDIR staff who are compiling statistics on the types and extent of drugs used by juveniles in Philadelphia, and evaluating family characteristics which may have contributed to the problem, in an effort to gain a better understanding of the drug problems and learn more effective ways to treat it.

<sup>1</sup> In 1972, 323 youth were enrolled in the program.

Community Related Institutional Probation. This program provides individuals, requiring institutional treatment, with a probation officer, who visits with them regularly and keeps in close contact with their family, school officials, and other members of the community, to help them make a successful transition from the institution to the community. Upon release, individuals are assigned to the same probation officer, who helps plan for their future.

Counseling and Referral Service. This service, located at 22nd and Arch Streets, is intended to divert cases from the Juvenile Court system as well as to provide counseling in crisis situations for seven days a week. Minor cases which would otherwise have been brought to the court are now brought to this service. Examples are minor complaints involving juveniles and some truancy cases. The professional probation staff of the service tries to resolve the matter by counseling or by referring the youth to other community social service agencies where appropriate.

Performance Statistics and Evaluation

The Family Court Division, continuing in the footsteps of its predecessor, the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, publishes annual reports which include extensive statistical data on the cases handled by the Juvenile Branch. For example, there are tables on the dispositions classified by the age, sex, and race of the juvenile, as well as by type of disposition and reason for referral.

However, there are no separate data regarding gang members, as such, with the exception of data relating to the offense of "gang-fighting." Most juvenile gang members who are arrested for gang-related incidents are referred to the court for such classes of offenses as "injury to person," "carrying deadly weapons," "disorderly conduct as the result of an affray." The data in Table II-5 on dispositions of such cases (involving both gang members and others) are gleaned from the Annual Report for 1972.

Evaluation of Disposition. The annual reports do not contain any evaluations of the relative effectiveness of the major alternative dispositions (adjustment, probation, commitment) in meeting the court's purpose of "salvation of children" rather than punishment of offenders.

Other Evaluation Programs. Some aspects of the work of the court are undergoing evaluation. For example, "a research design has been employed to provide reliable data on the effectiveness of the Correctional Group Counseling Program in reducing recidivism as compared to a control group of 300 adolescents on regular probation."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Family Court Report - 1972, p. 9.

Table II-5

Place and Type of Disposition of Boys' Cases Referred to Juvenile Branch for "Injury to Persons," "Weapons Offenses," and "Disorderly Conduct" 1972

Reason for Referral	Total Cases	Place of Disposition		Discharge of Adjustment	Type of Disposition				
		Intake Interview	Court Hearing		Commitment to Institution for Delinquents	Referral to Criminal Court	Probation	Other (1)	
Injury to Persons:									
Homicide	122	-	122	15	8	88	2		
Assault and Battery (2)	1,546	416	1,130	922	415	128	26	35	
Gang Fighting	34	33	1	24	8	-	-	2	
Threat to Do Bodily Harm	33	2	11	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	
Weapons Offense (3)	655	254	401	378	208	44	-	25	
Disorderly Conduct	1,166	928	238	1,012	128	16	-	10	

Source: Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, Family Court Division, 1972 Report, Juvenile Delinquency, Tables 11 and 28.

1. Includes "referred elsewhere," "remained as placed," "referred for treatment," and "restitution."
2. Includes cases of aggravated assault and battery, assault and battery, aggravated assault and battery on officer, and assault and battery on officer.
3. Includes offenses of carrying concealed deadly weapons, violation of Firearm Act, possession of explosives, and discharging firearms.

Chapter III

EFFORTS OF NONGOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES IN PHILADELPHIA

Gang-control efforts of nongovernmental agencies and organizations fall into two categories:

- a. those with programs aimed directly at stemming gang violence, and
- b. those with youth-development programs, serving youth in general, but also intended to prevent or reduce delinquency among gang members.

Among organizations in the second category are recreation centers, boys' and girls' clubs, settlement houses, YMCA's, and youth programs of churches. These are intended to serve all youth in a given service area. Many of the agencies offering the programs believe that they can and do play a part in the prevention of delinquency.

This report focuses on organizations in the first category, that is, those with programs aimed directly at stemming gang violence. It may be recalled from Chapter II that the main reason for the start of area youth work with gangs was the observation that most gang members did not participate in the programs of the regular youth-serving organizations. Therefore, the practice of area youth work was started as a means of reaching gang members.

In Philadelphia, nongovernmental organizations intending to stem gang violence have several approaches. These include operation of centers particularly appealing to gang members, serving as a resource to prevent gang hostilities, and organizing concerned members of the community.

Chapter III includes descriptions of the following organizations:

Safe Streets, Inc.  
Neighborhood Youth Resources Center  
House of UMOJA  
Philadelphia Committee for Service to Youth

SAFE STREETS, INC.

Safe Streets, Inc. operates two centers--one in West Philadelphia and one in North Philadelphia--offering a multi-faceted program intended to reduce gang problems in its service areas. Safe Streets is a private, nonprofit organization founded by a group of citizens in 1969, under the leadership of Philadelphia's District Attorney. It started its fifth full year of operation in the Fall of 1973.

## Program

The Safe Streets program has two distinct goals:

1. Short-run goal of stemming violence through direct services to gangs, including communicating with gangs, mediating conflicts, and providing supplementary recreation programs.
2. Long-run goal of treating causes of juvenile violence viewed as the youth's frustrations arising from failures in learning process, employment problems, or personality and social adjustment.

Safe Streets has defined general, but not precise, service areas for its two centers. Safe Streets has identified nine gangs in the immediate service area of its North Philadelphia center and six gangs in the immediate service area of its West Philadelphia center. In meetings its first objective, Safe Streets assigns staff members (see staffing below) to several gangs in its service area to establish communication and rapport. When a gang fight appears imminent, Safe Streets attempts to prevent battles by holding discussions with leaders and members, and by offering its services for mediation and conciliation. If the effort is unsuccessful, the staff will call the police.

The recreation program includes ping-pong, pool, arts and crafts, at the centers. Also, Safe Streets organized a basketball league, with games played at various community facilities.

The long-range program includes these elements:

1. Education--tutoring and GED test preparation. In the seven-month period ending June 30, 1973, 178 pupils participated in the tutorial program and five pupils in preparation for the GED test.<sup>1</sup>
2. Employment--job counseling, job training, and direct placement. In a seven-month period, 734 youths were counseled on job opportunities, 577 appeared for job interviews, and 116 were hired. Another 169 youths received special counseling on how to complete applications and how to present themselves for job interviews.

In one job training program (auto service and youth service aide), there were 30 active participants, 13 graduates, and 10 placed in jobs. The current job training program has 40 training slots in trades and clerical fields.

3. Attitudinal change by means of discussions ("rap sessions").

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<sup>1</sup> The General Education Development Test (GED) gives students an opportunity to earn the equivalent of a high school diploma. The state diploma is awarded by the Philadelphia Board of Education.

One difficulty encountered is that each of the centers operated by Safe Streets is in the "turf" of only one of the gangs in its service area. Therefore, most of the youths patronizing a center tend to be from only one gang area, to the exclusion of youths living in the turfs or members of other gangs in the service area. Safe Streets' staff has worked with very little success in making the centers neutral territory and accessible to all youths in the area.

As a short-run approach, Safe Streets has promoted meetings among gang leaders to reduce conflict. In West Philadelphia, Safe Streets sponsored a leadership institute program, held at the West Philadelphia branch YMCA, attended by leaders of former rival gangs.

### Relationship With Other Agencies

Gang Control Agencies. Safe Streets has not developed a formal relationship with the city's Youth Conservation Service (YCS). The City has assigned its area youth workers to the areas serviced by Safe Streets. The West Philadelphia center maintained a listing of YCS youth workers assigned to gangs in its service area. The relationship between the YCS staff and the Safe Streets staff depended upon the personalities involved; few examples of cooperative relationships were cited. Many more examples were of rivalry, distrust, or disrespect.

As to the Police Department, recently Safe Streets in West Philadelphia set up a schedule of monthly meetings with the staff of the JAD.

In September 1973, Safe Streets took a leading role in a meeting called to coordinate the work of public and private agencies concerned with gangs in West Philadelphia.

Other Youth-Serving Agencies. Safe Streets has utilized city recreation centers for some of its programs. For example, a basketball league used City recreation centers. It is planning the use of school facilities for a winter basketball league.

The current job-training program has 40 training slots for youths in the 18 to 21 age group. Of these, 30 are carpenter, electrician, and plumber training programs, to be carried out by Opportunities Industrialization Center under contract. Each trainee first undergoes five weeks of attitudinal training carried out directly by Safe Streets.

The clerical training program (10 slots) apparently is carried out directly by Safe Streets.

Community Relationship

Safe Streets has a nine-member board of directors. Three of the nine members were nominated by the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Commission.

The board meets monthly.

The West Philadelphia Center has a "Youth Advisory Council" of young people who use the center, including gang members. The council advises the staff on needs of youth and helps plan programs.

There is also an Adult Advisory Council to the West Philadelphia center. It is composed mainly of area residents; its functions are similar to those of the Youth Advisory Council.

The North Philadelphia Center has not established youth or adult advisory councils.

Financing

Safe Streets, Inc. is primarily funded from grants of Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) moneys, on the basis of applications approved by the Pennsylvania Governor's Justice Commission. Initially, the grants were made under the heading of "emergency juvenile gang control project"; recently, the title was changed to "youth in conflict cooperative service project."

The amount of grants, and source of matching funds, is shown below:

	( T h o u s a n d s )		
	Year III (9/71-11/72)	Year IV (11/72-6/73)	Year V (7/73-6/74)
LEAA	\$227.1	\$147.4	\$225.0
PAAC (Anti-Poverty Comm.)	67.0	-	-
State Grants	8.7	88.4	96.9
	\$302.8	\$235.8	\$321.9

Facilities and Staff

Safe Streets has a center-city office, and two district centers, one in North Philadelphia and one in West Philadelphia. The centers are converted store-front dwellings open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. Monday to Friday and 9 to 5 on Saturday.

There are about 30 members on the staff--20 full-time and 10 part-time. Each of the two centers is staffed as follows:

- center director
- assistant center director
- 4 youth staff workers
- job counselor
- head instructor (part-time)
- 4 instructors (part-time)

Most of the staff members are former gang members. The central staff includes a director, two deputy directors, two secretaries, and a driver.

Performance Data and Evaluation Mechanisms

Program Data

In the Spring of 1973, Safe Streets began to maintain narrative records and statistics on gang-incidents or potential incidents in which Safe Streets staff intervened. These include a record of the effect of intervention.

Safe Streets keeps records of the number of youths participating in its educational, employment, and attitudinal training programs.

Evaluation Mechanisms

Formal evaluation reports are now a required element for projects funded by the Governor's Justice Commission with LEAA funds. These evaluations are being made by external evaluators chosen by the project director from a list prepared by the Governor's Justice Commission. Prior to the formal evaluations, the staff (evaluation unit) of the Governor's Justice Commission prepared more limited evaluations when applications were received for continued funding of the program.

The job training component is undergoing evaluation by the Urban Coalition, which has been the channel for state funds for that component.

Evaluation of Major Goal Accomplishments. An evaluation report was prepared by Ellwood M. Johnston and Associates for the seven-month period ending June 30, 1973.

The evaluator noted the paucity of data relating to changes in the number of gang incidents. Safe Streets receives police statistics on gang-related offenses in its service area, but the staff does not believe that these give a comprehensive picture of the extent of gang



violence. "The evaluation team analyzed existing data on the reporting of youth crime incidents by certain staff of Youth Conservation and professionally determined that the data was unreliable for purposes of this evaluation report - on groups being served by Safe Streets, Inc."<sup>1</sup>

Lacking statistics, the evaluators placed emphasis on narrative reports of Safe Streets intervention in some 11 actual or potential gang conflicts, and noted that such intervention was successful when undertaken in time.

The evaluations noted that the long-range program components--such as the training and job placement programs--had served some youth successfully, although no information had been obtained on the gang membership of the youth. In any event, such programs operated by a small center can reach only a small percentage of Philadelphia gang members at best.

The fact that the centers themselves are often accessible to members of only one gang has proven a severe limitation. The Director of Safe Streets has developed program proposals whereby staff teams bring Safe Streets services to various gang areas on a rotating basis. The proposals are under study by the board.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH RESOURCES CENTER

The Neighborhood Youth Resources Center (NYRC), formerly located at 718 North Broad Street, provides a multi-faceted program for youth in the area of North Philadelphia between Spring Garden Street (500 North) and Master Street (1400 North), west of Broad Street. The center began operation in July 1971. It is operated by a non-profit private agency, the Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia, under contract with Model Cities, a component of Philadelphia city government operating in the North Philadelphia area. In January 1974, the NYRC was merged with the youth services center of the R.W. Brown Boys Club, operated by the Crime Prevention Association. The NYRC is now located at 924 Columbia Avenue, and its service area was extended east to Fifth Street.

#### Program

Target area: The target area neighborhood has about 4,000 youths in the age range 10 to 17.

Goal: A major goal is "diverting youths from the juvenile justice process by providing a wide range of youth supportive services."

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<sup>1</sup> Ellwood M. Johnston and Associates, Inc., Program Year Four Evaluation Report of Safe Streets, Inc., p. 40.

# CONTINUED

# 1 OF 2

Program elements: The program has six elements. The major component is "counseling and referral." The others are gang work, employment, tutoring, cultural and recreational activities, and legal and probation services.

Youths enter into the counseling and referral program in several ways: About 30% are referred by law enforcement and court agencies; about 20% are family or self-referrals; and the remaining 50% are divided among school referrals, outreach referrals, and other social agencies.

In the first year of operation, 215 youths were served by the counseling and referral element; in the first 11 months of the second year, 337 youths were served.

NYRC offers its services to virtually all target area youth in contact with police, but accepts only those most seriously in need. Information on police contacts is obtained in two ways. The NYRC lawyer receives police investigatory reports of contacts and arrests of target-area youth. Secondly, NYRC staff members serve on the youth-aid referral committees (see Chapter II) for the two police districts in the target area, and thereby have an opportunity to review all the non-arrest cases presented to the committee.

Referrals from schools are made by school counselors for youths with serious problems, and the school attendance officers refer all truant youth to NYRC.

Of the 337 youths served in the second year, 51% had an arrest record (including 22% who had been on probation or institutionalized). About 80% of the youths were male.

The counseling and referral process includes comprehensive assessment of needs through interviews, tests, and family visits, then the staff develops short and long range goals. The plan for service usually includes referral to other agencies which provide such services as psychological counseling, physical examination, tutoring, employment. In addition, the youths may be enrolled in the other program elements of the center, such as cultural and recreational activities, as well as being provided counseling by the psychiatric social worker.

Gang work is carried out by two Area Youth Workers who work directly with gangs in the streets. Three gangs have their turf in the target area; members of other gangs are enrolled in the two junior high schools and two senior high schools in the target area. NYRC maintains rosters of the membership of the three gangs.

"The several youth gangs are usually engaged in sporadic fighting, occasionally with lethal weapons. The area youth workers spend most of their time in the streets, attempting to prevent serious conflicts and also counseling youth."

The youth workers help arrange peace treaty meetings among the gangs. For example, a 1972 truce agreement included (1) definition of boundaries, (2) establishment of conditions for crossing of turf without reprisals, and (3) agreement that if a fight were necessary, it would be supervised by both groups and weapons would be prohibited.

In cooperation with the Department of Recreation, the youth workers organized athletic events (e.g., basketball) in which gangs play each other.

The workers also try to reduce dependence on gangs by escorting youth to and from schools. By arrangement with the School District, the youth workers provide surveillance at the secondary schools in the area, and, in cooperation with the school principals and the Juvenile Aid Division officers and other police, attempt to minimize violent gang activities around schools.

The employment component includes screening youth for qualifications, placing them in available job slots, supervising their work, and economic counseling. Blocks of jobs are made available by the School District Neighborhood Youth Corps and by the Negro Trade Union Council. NYRC also refers youths to job opportunities and training provided by other agencies.

The tutoring program is for elementary school children. Certified teachers supervise 20 junior high school youth who serve as tutors.

The cultural and recreational program includes trips for entertainment and cultural and historical visits, as well as recreational programs supervised by NYRC.

Legal and probational counseling is handled by the lawyer and the court liaison officer. The lawyer provides counsel to all target area youth involved in the juvenile justice system--with the exception of youth involved in gang fights. (The latter youth are represented by voluntary defenders assigned by the court.)

The court liaison officer counsels all target area youth who are on probation. For NYRC youth, the officer coordinates court and NYRC work with youths on probation.

#### Staff and Facilities

NYRC has about 20 staff members, in addition to office/secretarial staff. These include nine community resource workers (six full time and three part time), three assistant community resource workers, two area youth workers, a court liaison officer, a lawyer, a psychiatric social worker, and a student social worker. A director and a coordinator head the staff.

Selection. Great emphasis was placed on recruiting staff from the area; 15 of the staff members live in the Model Cities part of North Philadelphia; seven of them live in the immediate neighborhood of the NYRC.

In-Service Training. Weekly in-service training sessions are conducted by the senior staff and invited staff of other youth-serving agencies.

Patterns of Supervision and Accountability. The community resources workers (CRW's) maintain detailed files on each youth included in the caseload. Review of development is scheduled at monthly staff conferences.

Day-to-day supervision of the area youth workers is provided by the director of the NYRC; however, since the area youth workers are City employees, weekly reports are made to the Youth Conservation Services.

#### Relation with Other Agencies

Agencies in the Juvenile Justice System. NYRC has established a unique method of coordinating with agencies in the juvenile justice system by its staffing arrangements. The court liaison officer is also a probation officer of the Family Division of the Common Pleas Court; the services of two area youth workers are "purchased" from the Youth Conservation Services; the attorney is assigned by the Defenders Association of Philadelphia.

NYRC has made efforts to maintain a good relationship with the Police Department, and developed a policy for Juvenile Aid Division direct referrals to NYRC where the JAD officer feels such a referral is appropriate.

Other Youth-Serving Agencies. NYRC made a host of formal cooperative arrangements with public and private agencies providing service to youths of the target area. This facilitates referrals both to the NYRC and from NYRC to the other agencies. An example is the referral of truants to NYRC by School District attendance officers.

#### Relationship to Community

The NYRC is operated by the Crime Prevention Association for Model Cities. Residents of the area were to have an opportunity to express their views through Neighborhood Councils and the Model Cities Advisory Committee. Representatives of the two groups were to form a standing committee to monitor NYRC and evaluate resident reaction to the type and quality of services. This was done on an irregular basis.

NYRC also has its own advisory council, consisting of three representatives from the Crime Prevention Association, eight project youth, parents of five project youth, and eight representatives from the community.

The advisory committee meets monthly; it reviews programs and services, but not staffing or budgets.

#### Financing

The NYRC is financed by Model Cities, from moneys received from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and other federal government agencies. The program is carried out under contracts between Model Cities and the Crime Prevention Association. Funding shown in the contract is as follows:

Year I	7/71 to 6/72	\$202,000
Extension	to 9/72	54,000
Extension	to 12/72	59,000
Year II	1/73 to 12/73	244,000
Year III	1/74 to 12/74	173,000

#### Data Collection and Evaluation Mechanisms

Program Statistics. NYRC maintains statistics on the participants in its counseling and referral program, summarizing such items as source of referral, age, sex, school status, arrest record, and service provided. Numbers of participants in other programs are also recorded. No data are reported whether the youth served were gang members.

Area youth workers file regular weekly reports, as well as making special reports on incidents in which they intervened.

Formal Evaluation Mechanisms. The Model Cities program contracted for annual evaluations of NYRC. A report was prepared by the Atlantic Group in June 1972. Behavioral Research and Evaluation Corporation prepared a report in May 1973, under a grant of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The evaluations stressed many of the operations aspects of NYRC.

Evaluation of Major Goal Accomplishments. No comprehensive statistical data were presented in either evaluation report on the major goals of preventing juvenile delinquency and reducing gang warfare. However, the 1973 evaluation report presented the following data on juvenile arrests in the target area:

1970 (prior to opening of center)	: 563
1971 ( " " " " " )	: 434
1972 (first year of center)	: 224
1973 (second year of center)	: 168

The center's own summary report, prepared by the Crime Prevention Association,<sup>1</sup> included data on two sets of youths:

- a. The Center served 57 cases "who had violated probation and were going to be sent back to court and juvenile institutions. The center program was successful with all but two."
- b. The School District "attendance officer referred truants to the Center, instead of to the court, and their efforts had an 80% success rate."

The center's monthly report for November 1973 contained the following regarding the reduction of gang warfare:

The two Area Youth Workers . . . are the only two workers from any agency public or private working in the target area which covers three gangs and is contiguous to four others. Yet the number of homicides has dropped from eight per year to two in two years and three months.<sup>2</sup>

The statistic on homicide is extremely important, but would have to be supplemented by data on other acts of violence (e.g., stabbings and shootings) to serve as a comprehensive measure of the reduction of gang violence. However, data on other gang offenses have not been compiled.

<sup>1</sup> "Neighborhood Youth Resources Center--Progress Report 1971-1973; A Model Cities Program," The Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia, August 1973.

<sup>2</sup> According to the director of the center, there were eight gang homicides in the area in the year before the center opened. The two prior years each had five or six gang homicide cases in the area.

## THE HOUSE OF UMOJA

The House of Umoja, established in 1968 by Founder-Director Falaka Fattah, is a youth-serving agency concerned with the wide range of problems facing black youth in Philadelphia, including truancy, gang involvement, unemployment, and limited recreational opportunities. It is located in the Overbrook section of West Philadelphia.

### Programs of the House of Umoja

The House of Umoja operates on the philosophy of the "extended family," with the directors as the governing force of the House and the inhabitants of the various dwellings viewed as the kinship group.

The primary goal of the House of Umoja is to attract problem youth, particularly gang members, into its programs and establish the first "Black Boys' Town" in America, which will generate resources, skills, and the social organization necessary to resolve the problems faced by black youth.

At a given time, approximately 100 black youth participate in the programs operated by the House of Umoja. Programs include:

Residential	- 20 youths
Day	- 50 youths
Watusi	- 30 youths

The residential program provides youth with food, clothing, shelter, tutoring services, and counseling.<sup>1</sup> Presently there are 20 youths in the program living in housing surrounding the House of Umoja. The dwellings are owned by the House and are being renovated by the youths in the program. The youths help with the household chores. To participate in the residential program, all gang affiliations must be severed.

Fifteen members of the Residential program are from the Philadelphia Detention Center. This program is intended as an alternative to incarceration and to ease the transition from detention center to home.

The day program provides recreational and tutoring services to 50 youths. They do not live or eat at the House of Umoja and are not required to give up their gang membership, although they may not engage in gang warfare.

<sup>1</sup> A total of 215 youths have participated in the residential program between 1968 and 1973.

The Watusi program consists of recreational activities directed toward about 30 youths between the ages of 6 and 13. This program was specifically designed to involve youth in constructive activities as a positive alternative to gang membership.

Two other programs of the House of Umoja are its provision of emergency temporary residence for youth in need of shelter, and serving as a distribution center for the donated food program carried out by the Cardinal's Commission on Human Relations.

As to direct work with gangs, the staff has undertaken to become familiar with the gangs in the neighborhood of West Philadelphia north of Market Street. Staff members have responded to calls from residents about potential gang hostilities. The staff tries to organize meetings between gang leaders to understand their problems and devise ways to resolve them. A number of peace conferences have been held over the years.

Recently, the staff has extended its efforts to other parts of Philadelphia. For example, the Director was instrumental in organizing a citywide peace conference among gangs at the beginning of 1974. The conference, held in North Philadelphia, was attended by about 500 gang members from 32 gangs, mainly from North Philadelphia and Germantown. They pledged not to engage in gang war in 1974.

### Public Financial Support

The House of Umoja received its initial governmental funding in December 1972 through a contract with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare. Under the "purchase of service" contract in the amount of \$126,000, the House of Umoja provides food, clothing, shelter, tutoring, and counseling to 15 youths from the department's Philadelphia Detention Center (located at 2nd and Luzerne). In December 1973, the contract was extended for a second year. (The Urban Coalition provides accounting services to the House of Umoja to help maintain required financial records.)

The other activities of the House of Umoja are financed by private sources, including such efforts as raffles and chicken dinners.

### Facilities and Staff

The House of Umoja is located at 1436-44 North Frazier Street in West Philadelphia. Besides a main office, the House of Umoja owns a number of nearby buildings where the youth from the detention center and some members of the staff live.

There are 10 paid staff members:

director  
assistant director  
five youth leaders  
recreational aide  
cook  
secretary

In addition, Temple University has provided two students (former participants in the program of the House) to tutor youth in the practical application of mathematics and English, filling out application forms, and other subjects. Each student tutor works 35 hours per week. The Neighborhood Youth Corps provided two additional tutors, but this ended in August 1973.

The five youth leaders or "walkies," who counsel and attempt to develop a "big brother" relationship with the youth from the detention center, are all former members of the House. The youth leaders live at the House or nearby.

#### Relationship With Other Agencies

The House of Umoja staff works in an area to which the City's Youth Conservation Services also assigned staff.

Staff members of the House once met with staff members of the City's YCS at the Catto School in West Philadelphia. No subsequent meetings were held. At this time, there are no arrangements for coordinating the services of the two organizations for gang youth in West Philadelphia.

Staff of the House of Umoja have had some joint meetings with staff of the Safe Streets center in West Philadelphia and some of the concerned parents in the area. In North Philadelphia, the staff of the House of Umoja meets with the Black Christian Liberation Front, and also participated in meetings regarding the Network program of the Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth.

#### Measures of Performance and Evaluation

The House of Umoja maintains records on the number of youths in its programs.

The residential program supported by the state contract is evaluated by the staff of the State Department of Public Welfare.

There have been no formal evaluations of the two-pronged efforts of the House to stem gang warfare--the programs at the House or the conciliation and peace treaty programs carried out elsewhere. The staff has not maintained formal statistics relative to incidents of gang warfare. Therefore, no data are available on the effectiveness of the programs to stem gang warfare.

## PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE FOR SERVICES TO YOUTH

The "Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth" (PCSY), Network, and the North Central Youth Academy are three related organizations established with the aim of reducing the level of juvenile crime, and particularly gang violence. The headquarters of the three organizations is 2318 Columbia Avenue in North Central Philadelphia.

PCSY was established in 1972; Network in June 1973; and the North Central Youth Academy in November 1973.

#### Program

The program has been evolving as the additional components were added to the original PCSY operation.

One approach of PCSY was to work directly with gang "runners," or leaders, of about 25 gangs--mainly in North Philadelphia but also some in West Philadelphia. This work includes attempting to gain rapport with the leaders in order to uncover their problems and suggest positive alternatives in such areas as employment, education, and housing. The purpose is to help develop these youths as responsible leaders not only for the other members of the gang but also for the community. PCSY has assisted the youths by obtaining job referrals, school transfers, legal advice, and better housing.

In another facet of its program, PCSY has initiated peace treaties between rival gangs in North Philadelphia and tries to mediate conflicts to avert violence.

Another PCSY program element is to keep informed on the gang situation and on City and State efforts to curb gang violence. The Committee takes stands on and makes recommendations regarding such efforts and their administration.

Network. In June 1973, PCSY established Network, a telephone "hot line" service, to head off gang violence. Community residents who hear of a possible gang confrontation can call Network, and a staff member will respond by contacting the police or other appropriate public or private agencies that have expressed a willingness to help. Network also responds to calls from gang members or their families for legal advice, job referrals, or for information about education or drug programs. Network's phones are manned six days a week from noon to 1 A.M.

In the first two months of operation, Network received about 40 calls for service.

Youth Academy. The Youth Academy was started in late 1973. It includes three components: (a) "outreach" to connect out-of-school youth with program opportunities; (b) counseling to identify the youth's specific needs and provide referral to recreational, cultural, tutorial, and vocational opportunities; and (c) vocational training.

Areas of vocational training initially will be electrical appliance repair and automotive repair. The classes are to be held at public school facilities. For example, two classes in automotive repair are held at Dobbins Vocational Technical High School in North Philadelphia, under a contract with the School District.

The grant application for the Youth Academy anticipates that 500 youth will be served.

#### Board and Staff

The parent organization--PCSY--has an eight-member board of directors, including the executive director of PCSY, the director of Network, and the coordinating counselor of the Youth Academy, plus five other members. Network has a 12-member board. Both PCSY and Network have the same chairman.

The Youth Academy is legally directed by the PCSY board of directors; however, the academy has a separate advisory board which includes representatives of the School District, Recreation Department, Free Library, Managing Director's Office, and neighborhood youth.

As to staff, PCSY itself has an executive director and a secretary. The Academy and Network also have directors.

There is an outreach staff of seven youth "coach" workers under the Resource Center director. Initially, three of these were employed under the Network program. All were gang members, one each selected from a list of names submitted by community groups in North, West, and North-west Philadelphia. Four additional youth workers were added later.

The youth coach workers serve as recruiters for the Academy program and also to refer youth to recreational, cultural, tutorial, and vocational opportunities provided under PCSY auspices or by others in the area.

The staff for the training component includes three instructors and a secretary.

There are also youth counselors on the staff, plus administrative and secretarial personnel.

#### Funding

PCSY received its initial funding of \$13,000 from the Urban Coalition for the period from October 1972 to June 1973. In June 1973, the Urban Coalition provided one-year funding amounting to \$64,000 for both the PCSY and Network operations.

The Youth Academy received initial funding in November 1973 for the seven months ending June 30, 1974. The funds are as follows:

\$105,000--LEAA grant through the Governor's Justice Commission
8,700--State of Pennsylvania contribution, "state buy-in"
30,600--to be applied from the PCSY-Network budget to the Youth Academy
<u>\$144,300</u>

#### Relationship With Other Agencies

The Network program is based on close cooperation with other organizations providing services to youth. Network maintains a list on file of over 40 agencies that have indicated their willingness to assist.

Formal arrangements with other agencies have not been developed for all of the other aspects of the PCSY program, such as outreach services to gang youth, and referring to recreational, educational, and training opportunities.

PCSY states that it works closely with some 13 gangs in North Philadelphia, mainly west of Broad Street. Other agencies also provide services to members of some of these gangs. Safe Streets, which has its North Philadelphia office nearby, works with some of the gangs, and the Model Cities Neighborhood Youth Resources Center has workers assigned to others. The City's Youth Conservation Services has workers from its "Individual Youth Services" and "Community Services" units assigned to the area. The respective roles of the various agencies remain to be developed.

The advisory board of the Youth Academy will supply a coordinating forum with other agencies providing recreational, educational, and training programs for youth in North Central Philadelphia.

#### Goal Statements and Evaluation Procedures

The application for an LEAA grant for the Youth Academy included formal goal statements.

The Youth Academy is aimed at reducing juvenile crime in North Philadelphia. The generalized short-range goal of the PCSY program is to provide young people with access on a systematic basis to agencies, institutions and programs in North Central Philadelphia.

A number of sub-objectives are also identified.

The application does not have any criteria for evaluating progress toward the goals.

PCSY maintains operational statistics. For example, a record is maintained as to the number and type of calls received by Network's "hot line" service.

External Evaluations. External evaluations will be undertaken by both the funding agencies--the Urban Coalition and the Governor's Justice Commission.

## Chapter IV

### GANG PROBLEMS IN OTHER CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

Many of the other large cities in the United States have had special programs aimed at gang members in the past quarter century. This chapter briefly reviews some of the gang programs which were operative in the past, and then turns to a summary of the current situation.

#### HISTORY OF GANG CONTROL PROGRAMS

Observations of juvenile gangs in American cities go back to the 19th century. Such gangs appeared in the poorer sections of the cities, often areas settled by recent immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

In the early years, stemming of criminal activity of youth gangs was the responsibility of regular units of the police departments. No social agencies dealt with gang problems.

Around the turn of the century, programs of social work with deprived neighborhoods were begun in many cities. In particular, social agencies opened "settlement houses" and centers to provide recreation and a wide range of social services to both youths and adults. Initially, however, these did not have any special programs for youthful gang members.

It may be recalled from Chapter II that the program of area youth work, or street gang work, was begun as a result of the realization that many of the most deprived and delinquent-prone youths did not enter into the programs of the settlement houses and centers. The program of street work was started in the 1930's in Chicago by the "Chicago Area Project." The impact of the program on other cities was described as follows:

"In all probability, the Area Project was the first organized program in the United States to use workers to establish direct and personal contacts with the 'unreached' boys to help them find their way back to acceptable norms of conduct. The adoption of this pattern in many cities during recent years may be regarded as in part, at least, a contribution of the Area Project to the development of working methods in the delinquency prevention field."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first comprehensive academic description of gangs and their activities was a study of Chicago gangs published by Frederick Thrasher at the University of Chicago in 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Solomon Kobrin, "The Chicago Area Project--A 25-Year Assessment," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1959, p. 27.



Patterns of Organization--1964

A survey made by Saul Bernstein in 1964<sup>1</sup> found social service programs dealing with gang violence in Philadelphia and eight other cities: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, San Francisco, and Boston. Sponsorship and organization of the programs varied greatly, both among cities and within cities. A number of the cities had several different patterns. Sponsorship varied as follows:

Public: Special agency  
Special service welfare agency  
Recreation agency  
Court agency  
Other

Nonpublic: Supported by public funds in whole or part  
Supported by private funds

In scope, some were citywide while others served particular neighborhoods. While the emphasis of the programs varied, most of them were based upon carrying out "area youth work" with gangs and gang members.

Classification of some of these programs as to sponsorship in major cities is shown in Table IV-1, based on the data in Bernstein (1964).

The largest operation was that of the New York City Youth Board, which had about 190 youth workers providing services to gangs. Established in 1947, the Youth Board at first made funds available to private agencies, and then started its area youth work with 11 workers in 1950 building up to the 190-level by 1964. In 1966, the program was transferred to a new city agency--the Youth Services Agency--and the New York City Youth Board was retained strictly as an advisory agency.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to providing its own direct services, the Youth Board provided area youth workers under contract to the "Mobilization for Youth" program which operated in the 1960's in the Lower East Side of New York.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Saul Bernstein, Youth on the Streets--Work with Alienated Youth Groups (New York: Associated Press, 1964). A brief description of some of these programs is also found in Malcolm Klein, Street Gangs and Street Workers (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 44-46.

<sup>2</sup> New York City Youth Board, Reaching the Fighting Gang (1960), pp. 2-3, and New York City Youth Services Agency (Amalia V. Betanzos, Commissioner), "The Youth Services Agency, A Transition Report," November 8, 1973.

<sup>3</sup> C. F. Grosser, "Mobilization for Youth, New York, N.Y." Helping Youth--a Study of Six Community Organization Programs (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare), 1968.

Table IV-1

Agencies In Largest United States Cities Dealing With The Gang Problem--1964

City	Sponsorship	Service Area	Agencies
Boston	Public	Citywide	Youth Activities Bureau (Six streetworkers)
Chicago	Voluntary*	Not citywide	The Chicago Youth Centers Chicago YMCA Youth Development Project Neighborhood Services Organ.
Cleveland	Voluntary*	Not listed	United Youth in Cleveland
Detroit	Voluntary*	Citywide	Neighborhood Service Organization (work with 20 youth groups)
District of Columbia	Public	Citywide	Roving Leaders Program within District of Columbia's Recreation Department (11 workers)
Los Angeles	Public	Citywide	Los Angeles Group Guidance Section of the Probation Department (15 workers)
	Voluntary*	Not citywide	Special Services for Groups
New York	Public	Not citywide	Mobilization for Youth
	Public	Citywide	New York City Youth Board (187 streetworkers in 28 neighborhoods)
Philadelphia	Combined Public and Voluntary*	Citywide	Crime Prevention Association (35-40 workers)
	Public	Citywide	Youth Conservation Services, Department of Public Welfare
San Francisco	Voluntary*	Not listed	Youth For Services
	Voluntary*	Not citywide	Telegraph Neighborhood Assn.

\* "Voluntary" refers to nonpublic nonprofit organizations.

Source: List is based on programs discussed in Saul Bernstein, Youth on the Streets--Work With Alienated Youth Groups (New York: Associated Press, 1964), pp. 58-62.

Most of the programs in the other cities were on a much smaller scale than the program of the New York City Youth Board. For example, the Group Guidance Project operated by the Los Angeles County Probation Department between 1961 and 1965 had only 17 gang workers (professional probation workers). The Chicago YMCA "Detached Worker Project" had eight to ten youth workers on its staff; the Chicago Youth Development project employed seven youth workers.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-1960's, Philadelphia's gang work program was operated by the Crime Prevention Association, with City Council funding. A total of some 35 to 40 workers were employed.

#### Evaluation of Programs

That programs of social work with gangs spread from Chicago to other cities would indicate that they were successful in their primary objective of stemming delinquency among gang members. However, the success or failure of most programs is unclear. While descriptions of many programs were published, very few contained comprehensive evaluations of their effectiveness.

Malcolm Klein, in his Street Gangs and Street Workers (1971) concluded his review of gang prevention programs around the nation as follows:

"Although most gang prevention programs remain unevaluated in a proper fashion, it is highly significant that the evaluated programs have proven only slightly successful, ineffective, or even contributory to gang delinquency."<sup>2</sup>

Klein based his conclusion on the only four detached worker projects which he found had careful evaluations made.<sup>3</sup> These were:

<sup>1</sup> Charles N. Cooper, "The Chicago YMCA Detached Workers: Current Status of an Action Program," in Malcolm W. Klein (ed.), Juvenile Gangs in Context (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1967), p. 187, and Nathan S. Caplan et. al, "The Nature, Variety and Patterning of Street Club Work in an Urban Setting," in ibid., p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Page 55.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-51. Klein acknowledges that a report on a fifth project--the Hyde Park project in Chicago--did indicate that the program reduced delinquency, but Klein believes the evaluation was not methodologically sound because of no controls or comparison groups. The Hyde Park project operated between 1955 and 1958, with three street club workers serving 11 street clubs. The favorable evaluation is found in John M. Gandy, "Preventive Work with Street-Corner Groups: Hyde Park Project, Chicago," The Annals, March 1959, p. 107.

Roxbury Project (Boston), 1954-1957. "There was no significant reduction in the number of disapproved acts, in legal violations, or in court appearances among the gang members as compared with 'control gangs' not receiving intensified service. In fact, there were a number of increases in delinquency. . ."

Chicago Youth Development Project, 1960-1966. "Although the project succeeded in implementation, it failed in delinquency reduction."

Group Guidance Project (Los Angeles), 1961-1965. "The project was clearly associated with a significant increase in delinquency among the gang members. This was found to be most true in the gangs most intensively served."

Ladino Hills Project (Los Angeles), 1966-1968. "Delinquency rates (number of offenses per member) did not change during the project period, but the steady reduction in the size of the gang led to an overall reduction of 35 per cent in the number of offenses. These trends continued through the follow-up period despite the withdrawal of project staff."

Klein's conclusion (1971) is contrary to the earlier descriptive writings on detached street work with gangs by Spergel (1966) and Bernstein (1964). While neither presented any definitive data on the effectiveness of the street work approach, they--as well as many others--assumed that street work could help reduce gang delinquency.

A review of indexes of literature on crime and delinquency published since Klein's work was printed has not revealed any published evaluations either supporting or contradicting Klein's conclusion.

Judging from the number of publications, interest among sociologists and criminologists in gangs reached its peak in the 1960's; the paucity of publications on gangs and gang control programs in the 1970's suggests a lessening of academic interest in the problem.

#### Direct Funding of Activities of Gangs

In addition to area youth work with gangs, another approach was tried in the 1960's. This was to finance "constructive" activities of gangs. The theory was that the gangs were the true indigenous leadership elements in the ghetto, and that rather than trying to break up the gang, the desirable strategy was to assist the gangs in undertaking constructive activities, such as economic enterprises and training programs. Funding was obtained from the United States Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), "war on poverty," as well as from private foundations.

A national organization of gang leaders was formed with the aid of professionals in the war on poverty. The organization, called YOU

(Youth Organization United), received foundation funding for a national meeting in East St. Louis in 1968, and later received government funding.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of local groups which received OEO funding were the Blackstone Rangers, a large gang in the South Side of Chicago which later changed its name to Black P (for Peace) Stone Nation, and another gang, the East Side Disciples. Funds were granted for training and employment programs to be undertaken by the Blackstone Rangers and the East Side Disciples. The results of the activity were controversial. Hearings held by a committee of the United States Senate in 1968 received reports of many abuses including intimidation, embezzlement, fraud, and other criminal behavior.<sup>2</sup>

Another example is the funding of a small group of ex-gang members in New York under the title "Real Great Society." It undertook a number of enterprises intended to involve gang members in constructive activity. Many of these failed; of those that appeared to have some success, much of the impetus came not from the gang leaders but from professionals and others who were not indigenous gang members.<sup>3</sup>

In Philadelphia, a gang (12th and Oxford) formed a film-making enterprise with outside funding; again, the program had little long-term success.

#### SITUATION IN MAJOR CITIES IN 1973

The Economy League sent questionnaires in late 1973 to civic agencies and other sources in the five other cities in the nation with population in excess of one million, as well as to a selected group of other large cities.

#### Cities of Over One Million

The situation appears to be as follows in the other five cities:

Severe problems of gang violence: Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York

Very limited problem of gang violence:

No gang problem:

Detroit  
Houston

<sup>1</sup> Richard W. Poston, The Gang and the Establishment (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Hell's Angels," Newsweek, July 15, 1968, p. 28, and "Chicago: Turning Against the Gangs," Time, July 27, 1970. The project is described more sympathetically in R. T. Sale, The Blackstone Rangers--A Reporter's Account of Time Spent with Blackstone Rangers in Chicago's South Side (New York: Random House, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Poston, passim.

Reports from Los Angeles and New York indicate that there was a considerable problem of gang violence in the early 1960's, but that the problem appeared to diminish in the latter half of the 1960's, only to re-emerge in the past two years.<sup>1</sup>

Detroit had a gang problem in the early 1960's, but most of the gangs appear to have gone out of existence, with only two gangs being recognized by the police in 1973. Observers of the Detroit situation do not know of any public or private programs which were instrumental in the demise of youth gangs in that city.

In Houston, a gang problem has never be reported.

Table IV-2 presents data on the number of gangs, number of gang members, and number of gang-related homicides in Philadelphia and the cities with a population over one million.

#### Other Large Cities

Questionnaire responses from the following cities under one million population indicated that the city did not have a youth gang problem:

Boston  
Cleveland  
Indianapolis  
Miami  
Phoenix  
St. Louis  
Wilmington, Delaware

The correspondent from Miami reported that Miami had quite a few street gangs five to eight years ago. The Police Department stated there is no known reason why the situation changed so materially since then. Crime in general in Dade County increased greatly in the last six or seven years.

In Phoenix, there is no evidence of organized juvenile gangs, but there is a great problem of juvenile crime. The usual variety of youth programs exist, "but it is doubtful any of these would take credit for preventing gang formation."

<sup>1</sup> There is a question whether gang activity actually did decrease in Los Angeles and New York in the latter 1960's. Some believe that gang activity did not decrease, but that the media paid less attention to it. See Klein, Street Gangs, p. 22, regarding both Los Angeles and New York, and James R. Adams, "Handling the Youth Gangs," The Wall Street Journal, November 20, 1973, regarding New York.

In St. Louis, police department intelligence is reported to be excellent on "embryo" or potential gangs; the members are identified, interrogation reports are made, and parents notified. Potential gangs are "nipped in the bud"; this is a dual effort of the Juvenile Division and the Intelligence Unit of the Police Department.

Organizations Dealing with the Gang Problem  
in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles

The following section presents information on agencies dealing with the gang problem in three cities with population of over one million.

New York

Public Social Agencies. In New York, the city agency dealing with gangs is the Youth Services Agency (YSA), created in 1967 to take over the operating responsibilities of the Youth Board. The YSA's annual report for 1972-73 stated the following regarding the gangs:

"Since 1971 . . . gangs reemerged in the city after being virtually nonexistent for 10 years. They are very different from their counterparts of the 1950's. They are better organized and widespread. They are better armed with more sophisticated weapons, handguns as well as automatic weapons. Today's gangs are involved in a greater amount of violence and crime, and homicides committed by youth have risen sharply. On the other hand, many gangs are community minded and politically oriented."<sup>1</sup>

To deal with the gang problem, the YSA employs some 250 youth workers assigned to work directly with individual gang groups in the street. The program carried out is the traditional program of area youth work, as described in Chapter II of this report. The work includes:

- . conflict mediation
- . crisis intervention
- . information gathering
- . counseling and referral services
- . Assisting gang youth to organize and carry out responsible community projects

Another aspect of YSA's gang work is an "emergency team" established in the spring of 1973 to prevent acceleration of conflict situations. The team consists of five Borough Coordinators and 30 workers. Members of the team respond quickly to emergency situations involving youth.

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Youth Services Agency, 1972-73, p. 8.

Table IV-2

Statistics On Gang And Gang-Related Homicides In Cities With  
Populations Of Over One Million

City	1973 Estimate of		Gang Related Homicides	
	Number of Gangs	Number of Gang Members	1972	1973
Philadelphia	90	5,000-8,000	38	41
New York	325	8,000-20,000	54	34 (to November 1973)
Chicago	220	10,000	45	27 (to September 1973)
Los Angeles	150	10,000	29	31 (to 12/12/73)
Detroit	2	About 40	0	0
Houston	0	0	0	0

Sources:

Philadelphia: Police Department

New York and Los Angeles: Police departments (questionnaire)

Chicago: U.S. News and World Report, September 17, 1973

The YSA also operates Youth Development Centers, which offer a wide range of recreational, cultural, health, and educational programs to youth. These serve also as the headquarters for the detached workers.

Nonpublic Social Agencies. Some social agencies have developed special programs relating to gangs. Examples are St. Peter's in the Bronx and Boy's Harbor, Inc. in Manhattan. According to the response to the Economy League questionnaire, the above two agencies have developed ongoing relationships with some of the gangs in their communities. By getting to know and understand the youth, the agencies are able to assist or treat a gang member.

Police Department. Responsibility for dealing with youth gangs is primarily on the precinct commanding officer, who gets supporting services from other units, such as the Borough Task Forces, Youth Aid Division, and Community Affairs. Line command units known as "Borough Youth Task Forces," composed of uniformed police, are set up to suppress gang activities and arrest gang members who violate the law. About 250 officers are assigned to the task forces.

Intelligence on gangs is gathered by the Youth Aid Division's four gang units, which report to the Deputy Commissioner for Community Affairs. Thirty-one policemen are assigned to gather gang information and disseminate it throughout the department.

The Community Affairs Division conducts dialogue sessions with gang members, to develop better understanding between police and gang members.

#### Chicago

The head of the police gang squad in Chicago is quoted as saying that "The old crime syndicate has withdrawn from black area in Chicago and certain segments of the youth gang population are attempting to step in. They are demanding protection money from the dealers--or taking over distribution of narcotics directly."<sup>1</sup>

Another report states that Chicago gangs have evolved into sophisticated, underworld organizations. Gang leaders are much older, some in their late 20's, and are more concerned with organized crime than with killing each other. Extorting businessmen has become popular.

<sup>1</sup> U.S. News and World Report, September 17, 1973, p. 63.

Recently the Chicago gang intelligence unit conducted massive raids on various gangs and confiscated millions of dollars worth of drugs.<sup>1</sup>

Social Agencies. The city government does not have any special programs dealing with gangs. The city's social service agency--the Department of Human Resources--has "neighborhood workers" working out of neighborhood service centers. The workers deal with youth in a geographic area, and not with gang members as such.<sup>2</sup>

The special gang work in Chicago has traditionally been carried out by nongovernmental agencies, including the YMCA, Boys Clubs, and the Chicago Area Project. Most of the moneys for staff salaries in the latter project were paid by a state government agency--initially, the Illinois Institute for Social Research and later the Illinois Youth Commission.<sup>3</sup>

Police Department. The Chicago Police Department has a special unit dealing with the gang problem. It is a gang intelligence unit of about 125 men. The Police Department has engaged in major operations to arrest and obtain convictions against the core leadership element of some gangs.<sup>4</sup>

#### Los Angeles

Gang activity in Los Angeles appears to have increased in the 1970's, according to Police Department statements.<sup>5</sup> Approximately 150 gangs, with some 10,000 members, were reported for both 1972 and 1973. However, the police indicate that the youth gangs in Los Angeles generally are loose knit, with no formal organization. Gangs are generally organized along ethnic lines, including black, Mexican-American, Chinese-American, and white gangs.

Public Social Service Agencies. The only public agency which has special programs for gang members is the city Department of Recreation and Parks. Its program is called "Youth Street Counselors." There are about 40 of these counselors, assigned to work in the streets, but out of a given recreation center. They have the traditional functions of area youth workers. The goals are stated as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, October 19, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> Telephone interview with Oscar Anderson, supervisor, Chicago Department of Human Resources.

<sup>3</sup> Koblin, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. News and World Report, September 17, 1973, p. 63, and James R. Adams, "Handling the Youth Gangs," Wall Street Journal, November 20, 1973.

<sup>5</sup> Economy League questionnaire completed by Los Angeles Police Department.

To redirect behavior into acceptable socialized, leisure and recreation activities.

To locate conflict producing elements in the community life.

To create productive, satisfactory communication channels between youth and the adult community.

To help adolescents make use of community resources that are available to them.

To encourage drop-outs to return to school.<sup>1</sup>

The Los Angeles County Probation Department had a program of area youth work in the early 1960's--the Group Guidance Project. As noted earlier, the evaluator--Malcolm Klein--found that the program increased gang cohesion and delinquency. The negative assessment of the project has been a deterrent to the Probation Department undertaking new projects as gang activity increased in the 1970's.<sup>2</sup>

Nonpublic Agencies. As of the end of 1973, nonpublic social agencies had not undertaken special gang control efforts. For 1974, Teen-Post had received a grant to start a center program specially applicable to the gang problem.

Police Department. The city Police Department has a Gang Activities Section in the Investigative Support Division. The section, staffed by some 11 officers, gathers information on gang operations to keep field commanders informed.

The Los Angeles County Sheriff's office is also involved. It has special details assigned on weekends to suppress illegal gang activities in problem areas.

<sup>1</sup> Los Angeles Department of Recreation and Parks, Community Relations Section, "Youth Street Counselors" (undated, mimeographed), 6 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Telephone interview with Al Thompson, Los Angeles County Probation Department, February 25, 1974.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Available statistics on the extent of gang membership in Philadelphia present a general picture, but do not permit exact year-to-year comparisons.

There are approximately 200 to 250 juvenile gangs and "corner groups." Over 90% of the gang members are black. They are mainly in the age group 12 to 19.

Approximately 90 to 100 of the gangs engage in gang warfare. The number of such gangs has remained about the same in recent years, perhaps decreasing slightly between 1971 and 1973.

It is obviously impossible to count precisely the number of youths in Philadelphia's gangs, since they do not have a "card-carrying" membership. The Police Department and the other agencies have made estimates of the number of members of the violent gangs. These have a total of 3,000 to 10,000 members with various degrees of participation in gang affairs. It is generally agreed that the number of core members--those who consistently join in gang activities--is at the lower end of the range.

There are another 100 to 150 groups, sometimes designated "corner groups" and sometimes gangs, which have been called to the attention of police and social agencies because of their disturbing conduct. These generally do not engage in gang warfare. Such groups are estimated to have another 3,000 to 5,000 members.

Incidence of Gang Warfare

Statistics on the number and nature of gang-related offenses are indispensable for determining the incidence of gang violence and for measuring the effectiveness of programs intended to reduce or eliminate gang warfare in Philadelphia.

The available statistics are far from complete. The Police Department maintains records of offenses known to the police. Although there are questions as to the exact number of gang homicides in a given year, data regarding the general magnitude of gang homicides are considered to be reliable. These reached 30 in 1968, and have varied between 35 and 45 in subsequent years, according to the Police Department.

Few of the homicides result from rumbles--confrontations between large numbers of members of two gangs. Most stem from confrontations between a few gang members; many are "sneak attacks" by several gang members upon actual or imagined opponents. Some attackers fire from cars; the majority of the victims are gang members, but many are not. Almost all the victims are black males.

The Police Department solves almost all cases of gang homicide.

For every gang killing, there are numerous shootings and knifings that do not result in death, although many cause permanent injuries. Comprehensive, accurate statistics on such shootings and knifings are not maintained.

The police statistics on shootings, stabbings and other gang hostilities not causing death are considered incomplete by the Youth Conservation Services (YCS) in the Department of Public Welfare. The YCS supplements the police statistics with data culled from incident reports prepared by YCS youth workers. However, statistics prepared from such reports are still far from reliable, since the number of incidents reported depends both on the number and diligence of workers as well as on the number of incidents.

There has been no effort to prepare a coordinated list of major gang offenses known to all the youth agencies in Philadelphia.

This report has given the available statistics on gang-related homicides, shootings, and stabbings, as compiled by the Youth Conservation Services. The totals for the past five years are summarized below:

1969 . . . . .	226
1970 . . . . .	203
1971 . . . . .	319
1972 . . . . .	247
1973 . . . . .	292

Certainly these figures are not encouraging, and do not appear to speak well for the efforts of the Philadelphia agencies to combat gang violence.

#### Gang Control Programs

Prior to 1945, Philadelphians developed programs dealing with juvenile delinquency in general. These included:

- a. Provision of recreation and other youth development programs as delinquency prevention measures. These were carried out by the Crime Prevention Association, neighborhood centers and settlement houses, and the City government.
- b. Establishment of a separate unit in the Police Department to specialize in juvenile matters. The unit is now the Juvenile Aid Division (JAD).
- c. Setting up a special court for juveniles. Philadelphia's juvenile court is now the Juvenile Branch of the Family Court Division of the Court of Common Pleas.

Starting in 1945, when the Crime Prevention Association began area youth work with gangs, these programs were augmented by special programs dealing directly with the juvenile gang problem.

In March 1974, the following agencies and organizations in Philadelphia had programs dealing with gang problems:

#### City of Philadelphia Agencies

- a. Office of Managing Director--Two special assistants for gang control. They individually go into gang areas to avert violence; speak on gang problems; try to develop proposals.
- b. Department of Public Welfare--Youth Conservation Services. Under a change in policy, the programs of this agency are intended for all youth. However, in practice, two units place emphasis on work with gang members. Individual Youth Services has a staff of 130 providing individual counseling in the fields of health, education, and employment to 3,000 to 4,000 youths, many gang members. The Community Services unit assigns about 40 youth workers to areas where gangs are a problem. In late 1973, these programs replaced the former program--initiated in 1967--of direct assignment of youth workers to individual gangs. In 1972-73, workers were assigned to about 225 different youth groups at various times.
- c. Police Department, Juvenile Aid Division, Gang Control Unit. Formed in 1954, the unit monitors the gang trouble spots throughout the city; patrols tension areas; investigates gang crime. Under an experimental program, some members of the unit are assigned to cover specific gangs in Southwest Philadelphia and in North Philadelphia.

#### Nongovernmental Agencies

Special programs dealing with the gang problem are at least part of the activities of the following agencies:

- a. Safe Streets, Inc. Founded in 1969, Safe Streets has two centers--one in West Philadelphia and one in North Philadelphia--and a staff of 20 providing programs geared primarily to about 15 gangs in the primary service areas.
- b. Neighborhood Youth Resources Center. Operated by Crime Prevention Association in a North Philadelphia target area since 1971. Staff of 20 includes two area youth workers serving the three gangs in the target area.

c. House of Umoja. Established in 1968 in West Philadelphia. The staff of 10 provides services to about 100 youths who participate in its programs as well as to gangs in the neighborhood; also organizes peace treaties citywide.

d. Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth. Established in 1972, it now has a staff of 20. It operates a hotline citywide (Network) and has gang control and educational programs in North Philadelphia, in part through a related organization, the North Central Youth Academy.

#### Staff and Resources

It is impossible to list precisely the staff and resources devoted to the gang problem, because most of the agencies cited above are involved with other aspects of services for youths in addition to dealing with gangs and gang members. In total, the three City agencies and the four non-public ones have a total staff of 400 and budgets of about \$5.2 million. Two city agencies--the Youth Conservation Services and the Police Department Gang Control Unit--account for most of the staff and budgets.

The Police Department Gang Control Unit was recently increased from 70 to 90 men; its annual budget (including estimated allocation of overhead items) is about \$1.4 million.

Two units (Individual Youth Services and Community Services) of the Youth Conservation Services deal in large measure with the gang problem, although their services are also provided to other than gang youth. The units have a combined authorized staff of about 250 and an annual budget of about \$3.0 million in the 1973-74 fiscal year.

The four nongovernmental agencies have much smaller operations. They have a combined fulltime staff of about 70, and their budgets total about \$800,000, only part of which is used for the gang control aspects of their work.

A substantial part of the funding of both the governmental and nongovernmental agencies comes from annual grants of federal moneys, allocated mainly through two state agencies: the State Department of Public Welfare and the Governor's Justice Commission. Continued funding of the programs depends on annual decisions by the grantor agencies.

As to source, the total budgets of about \$5.2 million are supplied by:

City of Philadelphia General Fund	\$2.2 million
State government	0.4 million
Federal government	2.5 million
Other sources	0.1 million
	<u>\$5.2 million</u>

#### Evaluation of Effectiveness

One of the purposes of the Economy League study was to analyze the results of the gang control programs. Included was a review of the evaluation procedures established by the agencies themselves and their reports on their accomplishments.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that the evaluation procedures of the Philadelphia gang control agencies on the whole have been sadly deficient. Comprehensive evaluations on the work of the agencies have not been prepared (as of March 1974).

Much gang control work is funded by state and federal grants, which require the preparation of evaluation reports. For example, recent major grants of LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) moneys, authorized by the Governor's Justice Commission, require formal reports by external evaluators. Evaluations of several of the programs funded in the 1973-74 fiscal year were scheduled for completion in the Spring of 1974.

However, even the best of evaluations made heretofore have been limited by the lack of complete, accurate statistics on gang violence; this deficiency will prove a handicap for evaluations now underway.

Effective evaluation would require:

- a. A clear statement of objectives.
- b. Formulation of criteria for determining whether the objectives were being achieved.
- c. Gathering relevant data.
- d. Establishing control groups to compare with the serviced groups, and gathering data on the control groups.
- e. Periodic reporting of results.

In Philadelphia, a major agency responsible for social services to gang youth is the City's Youth Conservation Services. The available statistical record regarding the performance of the YCS between 1967 and 1973 is ambiguous. The number of gang-related offenses increased from 1967 to 1971, during the period of the build-up of the YCS staff; a substantial decline was recorded in 1972, followed by an increase in 1973.

The Model Cities Neighborhood Youth Resources Center has had some evaluations made. These evaluations contain little data on crime. Such data as are available--arrest statistics and homicide statistics--point to the effectiveness of the operation.



Unfortunately, available data on gang violence in the areas served by the House of Umoja, Safe Streets, and Philadelphia Committee for Services to Youth are too incomplete to assess their effectiveness in stemming gang violence.<sup>1</sup>

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that, on the basis of available data, no precise evaluation can be made of the effectiveness of the programs of the various agencies or of the agencies themselves. Recorded incidents of homicide, shooting, and stabbing have remained at a high level since 1968--at least when compared with the period prior to 1968. Would the number of incidents have been higher if the agencies had not been there? If they had different programs? There is no way to answer these "iffy" questions.

#### EXPERIMENTATION AND DATA COLLECTION

Traditionally, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, the strategy in seeking to cope with, or "control," destructive gang behavior has been to conduct special or separate programs aimed at gangs or gang members.

An alternative approach is to abandon special programs. Instead, the strategy is to provide programs directed toward individual youths, some or most of whom happen to be members of gangs.

The main argument for special programs is that gang-related crime can be combatted most readily by special programs directed at the gang and gang members.

A number of agencies here and elsewhere in the U.S. have turned away from special programs for gang youth on two grounds: (1) regular programs to stem juvenile delinquency are equally applicable to the gangs; and (2) special programs strengthen the cohesiveness and thereby the delinquency of the gangs.

#### Conclusion and Recommendations

Evidence on this question is inconclusive, because of the lack of comprehensive evaluations of gang control programs in both Philadelphia and elsewhere in the nation. The arguments for emphasis on youth in general rather than on gang members alone appear to have merit. Nevertheless, even within the framework of programs for youth in general, special efforts directed at gangs and their members might be necessary to persuade gang youth to participate in the regular social service programs. Moreover, the special characteristics of gang warfare may justify special approaches to gangs by both social agencies and the police.

<sup>1</sup> Preliminary statistics regarding decrease in gang homicides early in 1974 indicate the possible effectiveness of some of the efforts of the agencies. In-depth analysis of comprehensive data--not now available--is required.

Recommendation No. 1: So that the community can derive full benefit from future expenditures for gang control, all programs seeking to reduce gang violence--whether by regular social service or through special efforts--should be considered experimental.

Recommendation No. 2: Programs should have as their objective to divert gangs from destructive activities and to facilitate involving gang youth in regular community and social service programs. The design of the programs should include clear statements of objectives, criteria for evaluating the major purpose of crime reduction, and methods for carrying out the evaluation.

Recommendation No. 3: A coordinated system of data collection and dissemination on incidents of gang violence should be established. The Department of Public Welfare and the Police Department should take the lead, but all other agencies should have an opportunity to provide input. The purpose would be to develop a comprehensive and reliable body of statistics relating to gang violence in Philadelphia. Such statistics would be the basis for all program evaluations.

#### Causes of Gang Behavior

Little is really known about the causes of destructive gang behavior. The concentration of gangs in the poorer sections of the city suggests that poverty, broken homes, an educational system which is unappealing to many ghetto youths, and the difficulty for youths to get jobs are all important factors.<sup>1</sup> Thus special gang programs, however well structured, can hope for only limited success at best as long as there is no solution to the basic ills which plague many Philadelphia neighborhoods. Employment opportunities for youths--part-time for those in school and full-time for those out of school--are considered basic by many of those dealing with youth problems. These are long-run matters.

Conclusion: Nevertheless, the Economy League believes that programs dealing with the gang problem may have some short-term impact. It is the Economy League conclusion--pending availability of comprehensive evaluations--that each of the five program elements noted below has a place in the control of gang problems.

#### ELEMENTS OF PROGRAM

Philadelphia's programs dealing with gang problems include many activities, which may be classified under the following five headings or program elements: (1) "hang and rap" (talking with youth on the streets); (2) prevention of immediate hostilities; (3) group programming; (4) individual programming; and (5) community organization.

<sup>1</sup> That the social factors in themselves are not the causes of juvenile gang behavior would appear to follow from the fact that many large cities (e.g., Detroit and St. Louis) with similar social ills as those of Philadelphia reportedly do not have gang problems (Chapter IV).

## "Hang and Rap"

"Hang and rap" should not be an end itself, but appears to be useful, perhaps indispensable, as part of a larger strategy for control of gang violence. However, if hang and rap activity is carried out by "gang workers" assigned to a particular gang, the activity has the danger of increasing gang cohesion, attractiveness, and recruitment. Therefore, on balance, it may be a negative activity.

On the other hand, the hang and rap activity may be carried out by street workers assigned to an area, and communicating with all of the gangs in the area. If a street worker is assigned to an area, his relationship with any one gang is more casual and his contacts are less frequent. The activity is less likely to increase gang cohesiveness. On the other hand, the worker may not be as effective in establishing communications or in obtaining data on the gang's leaders and members.

Some experts believe that a differential approach on working with gang groups may be necessary, and that the decision should be based on detailed analysis of the group. In some cases, they believe, the gang's characteristics are such that an individual worker assigned to the gang can be successful in turning the gang into constructive activities. Other experts, however, believe that the more cohesive the gang, the more likely that it will engage in anti-social activities.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that an effective approach to coping with destructive gang behavior requires street workers to establish communication with all hostile gangs in Philadelphia. However, street workers should not be assigned to individual gangs.

Recommendation No. 4: Philadelphia's youth programs which seek, among other objectives, to eliminate destructive gang behavior should provide for street workers who will hang and rap--talk with gang members. The street workers should generally be assigned to geographic areas, and not to individual gangs; each worker should deal with several gangs. Each agency which has street workers should devise effective means for improving their activities and holding them accountable for their time.

## Hostility Prevention

Some believe that hostility prevention or crisis intervention is strictly a police function; however, evidence from Philadelphia agencies indicates that at times social agencies and individuals can play a useful role.

Role of others than the police. Special gang control agencies can recount many instances where their efforts at conciliation prevented the outbreak of hostilities. One reason is that the presence of neutral adults

is said to serve as a face-saving way for gangs to avoid conflicts which many of the members want to avoid. One or more adults must be readily available when there is potential conflict. Who should be involved in crisis intervention? Under what auspices--private or public--should a communications system be operated to alert the responsible adults?

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that, to increase the effectiveness of hostility prevention efforts, full cooperation must be established among the public and private agencies and community groups in the gang control field.

Recommendation No. 5: Experiments with crisis "teams" involving various components--such as youth workers, probation officers, juvenile aid officers, clergy, and representatives of community groups--should be undertaken in some areas as a means toward more effective crisis intervention.

Peace treaties. Some groups believe that peace treaties are effective in preventing hostilities, for at least short periods of time.

The argument against is that peace treaties are rarely effective for extended periods, and that the process of arranging peace treaties glorifies the gangs and their leadership. Such glorification enhances gang recruitment and cohesion, making the situation worse in the long run.

The evidence on this point is inconclusive.

Increased police patrol. Many persons in the community stated their belief that increased police patrol would be effective in stemming gang violence. It is argued further that if the police are insufficient, the National Guard should be called out.

Others question the effectiveness of increased police patrol on the grounds that most gang-related homicides and injuries are the result of clashes between small numbers of individuals at odd hours. They say that no municipality could afford to station a policeman round the clock in each block of Philadelphia.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that Philadelphia does not have the resources for a massive increase in police patrol. The Juvenile Aid Division's experience with its "pilot project" of assigning some gang control officers to particular gangs indicates that this may be an effective approach, although the data base for evaluation was somewhat limited. Further experiments with alternative deployments of police manpower are desirable in arriving at recommendations as to the numbers and manner of deployment of police to stem gang violence.

## Group Programming

The purpose of programming group activities--such as sports, dances, and other recreational and social activities--is not only to channel the energies of youth into constructive areas but also to develop character

traits of self-management, discipline, and sportsmanship which may carry over into other facets of their lives. The participation of a youth in group activities might therefore prevent delinquent behavior in two ways: by occupying a youth's time and by building his character.

We know of no systematic studies which have tested the positive impact of group activities on delinquent behavior. On a logical basis, there would appear to be merit in such programs.

A controversy regarding group programming relates to who shall constitute the group. If the gang constitutes the group, development of group activities may enhance gang cohesion and attractiveness. This would negate benefits of the activities. If group activities are developed for all youths living in a given neighborhood, not limited to gang members, then such group programming could be beneficial.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that there is sufficient evidence in Philadelphia and other cities that group programs for gangs as such are undesirable.

Recommendation No. 6: In developing youth programs, effort should be made to ensure that the groups are neither dominated by nor identified with particular gangs. However, gang members should not be excluded from group activities. In fact, they should be encouraged to participate, but as individuals.

Because of gang organization and strength, good preparation and planning are required to prevent gang domination of group activities in which gang members participate. Representatives of youths and adults should be involved in the planning, and strong coverage, at least initially, by youth workers familiar with gangs may be a necessary element of a successful operation.

#### Individual Counseling, Aid, and Referral

Philadelphia's gang control agencies engage in individual counseling, aid, and referral to help steer youths from paths of delinquency or potential delinquency. Education, training, and employment referral are examples.

There are two alternative approaches to these activities: first, to serve all youths who seek help, to the extent staff time and resources are available or, second, to concentrate upon leaders of gangs or cliques.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that, given the limited resources available for special program elements, experiments which concentrate the limited resources on gang leadership appear worthwhile.

Recommendation No. 7: An experiment should be undertaken to concentrate on gang leadership in a target area, including the following steps:

- a. Have the JAD, YCS, and street workers of other agencies prepare a list of core membership of each violent gang in the area.
- b. Classify leadership roles of core members of the gang.
- c. Classify as to school or employment status and needs.
- d. Formulate and apply intervention strategy for each of the key leaders of the gang using all the resources available, e.g:

School and employment counseling  
Family counseling  
Job training

- e. Have the police notify the following of any arrests of core members: YCS, Juvenile Court Probation, District Attorney, JAD. These agencies should jointly formulate a recommended disposition, for consideration by the court.
- f. Have YCS, JAD, and street workers of other agencies continue to monitor the gangs and record periodic (monthly) changes in lists of core members.

#### Community Organization

The involvement of community groups--civic groups, block groups, social groups, church-based groups--helps to engage youth in constructive activities. Unfortunately, many neighborhoods with the most severe gang problems have few community groups able to undertake programs.

Some believe that a community organization drive on a house-to-house basis would be desirable in order to establish new organizations where none exist or to involve more families in existing organizations.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that there is insufficient evidence to indicate whether large-scale commitment of scarce paid staff and finances to community organization would be a wise investment. But experiments on a small scale in a given neighborhood would be desirable.

#### COORDINATION OF SERVICES

In addition to the organizations providing programs aimed directly at the gang problem, many organizations supply services to youth in general or to delinquent youth.

Conclusion: The community appears to favor involving both public and nonpublic agencies in the gang control effort.

Unfortunately, the existing agencies do not have documented records of success to point to. Nevertheless, many of the personnel have gained experience over the years, and with increased emphasis on evaluation, the community will have greater opportunity to benefit from this experience.

Although there is room for a multitude of agencies and organizations to try to reduce or eliminate gang violence, the programs need to be coordinated so that it is possible to husband resources and to pinpoint accountability and responsibility.

Recommendation No. 8: Existing publicly funded delinquency prevention agencies should define mutually exclusive geographic or functional areas in which to provide services for which they can be held accountable. As a means of coordinating different functions of several agencies in the same geographic area, the arrangements among the Neighborhood Youth Resources Center, Youth Conservation Services, and Juvenile Court Probation provide a model.

Recommendation No. 9: The agencies should formulate joint plans for cooperation in (a) training and development of youth workers, (b) collection and distribution of data on gangs, gang membership, and gang-related incidents, and (c) sharing evaluations of different techniques.

A host of services and programs is available for Philadelphia youth in general, for example, remedial education, training, employment services, recreation, medical treatment, professional counseling, and legal aid.

Special agencies dealing with the gang problem can provide some of the above services directly, particularly recreation programs and counseling. However, most other services required by gang members are obtained by referral to other agencies.

Many agree that additional efforts are desirable so that agencies have knowledge and appreciation of their respective roles and do not unnecessarily duplicate services. Basically, there are three alternative approaches for achieving this objective:

- a. A citywide coordinating agency
- b. Area coordinating agencies
- c. Neighborhood agencies which have coordinating and operational responsibilities

The City has opted for the first alternative--by the creation of the citywide Youth Services Commission. The commission was established by ordinance in September 1973; its members were appointed in February 1974. The board of directors of the commission consists of members appointed by the Mayor, by City Council, and on nomination of community groups. This citywide commission, on which many different interests are represented, could provide over-all, high level coordination of services among agencies, by developing citywide policy and procedures applying to the implementation of such services.

The question is whether a citywide coordination mechanism would be sufficient really to integrate day-to-day operations of the multitude of agencies in the various sections of the city.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that, within the framework of the citywide Youth Services Commission, the development of subarea "youth resources centers" would provide the best opportunity for a coordinated approach.

Recommendation No. 10: Additional youth service centers, providing a range of services, should be established on an experimental basis in neighborhoods not now served. One possibility is to establish one or more centers under the auspices of the Youth Conservation Services. Such a center would be the focus of YCS services--area youth work, individual services, family casework--in a target area, and also would bring under one umbrella the services of court probation, school attendance, and other youth development programs.

#### ROLE OF THE COURTS

A serious problem in the control of gang violence is the fact that many youth apprehended by the police and brought before the Juvenile Court are back on the street in a short period of time.

Some cases are "adjusted" without a formal determination of delinquency; others are determined to be delinquent and are released on probation. Other youth are committed to juvenile institutions, but are returned to the community after relatively short periods.

Some persons believe that the lack of longer-term commitment of offenders is one of the main factors in the continuation of the high level of gang violence. Recommendations have been reported in the press seeking tougher action against gang members. These recommendations include:

Sending gang members to work camps  
Handing out harsher sentences for illegal gang activity  
State legislation to outlaw gang membership.

A problem facing the courts is the dearth of commitment facilities which have a record of success in rehabilitating the gang youth.

Conclusion: The Economy League concludes that the action of the courts might be more effective regarding the welfare of both the youth and the community if information were available to the court on the role of the youth in the gang structure, and if detailed data were developed on the number of repeaters of gang-related offenses as compared to various dispositions of the court.

Recommendation No. 11: The sentencing and commitment policies of the courts and penal institutions should be harmonized with the community's desire for protection against gang violence, as follows:

- a. The courts should develop and publish data on the rate of recidivism related to alternative dispositions of the court.
- b. At the time of the disposition of gang-related delinquency charges, Youth Conservation Services should present to the court any data it has regarding the role of the youth in the gang structure.
- c. The court administrator should sponsor a conference of community representatives to determine whether there is a community consensus regarding sentencing policies for juveniles adjudged delinquent because of gang activities.

**END**