

GANG WITNESS INTIMIDATION

January 10, 1997

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- In just ten years, the number of juvenile murderers has tripled -- with many of these killers belonging to gangs that kill over drugs and turf. In Los Angeles County, it is estimated that more than 40% of all killings are attributed to gangs- more than double the percentage it was ten years ago. (*Los Angeles Times*, December 1996)

Witness Intimidation by Gangs: Thwarting Punishment According to many police investigators and prosecutors, gang murders and violent crimes frequently go unpunished because witnesses are afraid to testify due to retaliation by gang members.

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Clinton Administration Cracking Down on Gangs and Witness Intimidation

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Youth Violence and Anti-Gang Bill. President Clinton will send comprehensive legislation early in the 105th Congress to combat youth violence and drug abuse.



National Institute of Justice

Research Preview

Jeremy Travis, Director

November 1996

Assessing the Exposure of Urban Youth to Violence

A Summary of a Pilot Study From the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods

Recent research suggests that exposure to violence during childhood and adolescence may lead to substance abuse, delinquency, and adult criminality and contributes to emotional problems. With trends pointing to mounting involvement of young people in crime—as offenders or victims—a parallel increase in exposure to violence in the community, school, and home seems inevitable.

Current efforts to gauge the extent and, ultimately, the impact of childhood exposure to violence are hampered by a number of difficulties in research methods. Many studies, for example, do not distinguish between witnessing violence and experiencing violence. Others include only questions about more consequential events, such as shootings or attacks with a weapon, but may not include sexual violence. Still others include media violence. Given these disparate approaches, comparing these studies is difficult and generalizing from them to urban youth as a whole is inadvisable.

A new measurement tool

To explore ways to overcome these deficiencies, the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods last year developed and tested a new way to measure young people's exposure to violence. The Project is a long-range study of the determinants of antisocial behavior, delinquency and crime, and substance abuse. Some 7,000 male and female youths and their primary caregiver (that is, mother, father, or other person who has major responsibility for the child), selected from 80 economically and ethnically diverse neighborhoods in Chicago, are being studied. After the first phase of the Project is completed, in December 1996, they will then be interviewed annually for a total of 8 years to obtain information for the study.

The measurement tool is new in that it covers multiple aspects of violence. It includes witnessing violence as well as experiencing violence, covers a range from less serious to

more serious events, and also extends to sexual violence. It was used in a pilot test consisting of interviews with 80 people who are part of the ongoing Project. They were asked about their lifetime and recent (past year) exposure to 18 different violent events that they had either witnessed or personally experienced.

The findings produced strong evidence that the new method works—exposure to violence can be reliably ascertained from this type of interview—and also that exposure is extremely high among these urban youth. The amount varied with gender, race/ethnicity, and neighborhood.

The young people interviewed and their neighborhoods

The pilot test was part of a supplement to the established approach developed for the Project and used in its first year. The 80 people interviewed were ages 9 to 24 (caregivers were not included). Sixty-one percent were male, and the racial/ethnic composition was 47 percent African American, 38 percent white, 10 percent Latino, and 5 percent other. Analysis of neighborhood-level crime statistics showed that 50 percent of the people interviewed lived in low-crime areas, 33 percent in high-crime areas, and 17 percent in moderate-crime areas.

Highlights of the analyses

The findings revealed a wide range of exposure: from the 88 percent who said they had seen someone hit during their lifetime to the 3 percent who had been sexually assaulted during the past year.

- **Witnessing violence.** The young people were frequently witnesses to serious violent events. For example, during their lifetime between 23 and 30 percent had seen a shooting or someone being killed or shot at.

Even in this small sample, 24 percent had seen an apparent murder victim in the past year and 66 percent had heard live gunfire.

- **Violent victimization.** Violent victimization in this sample of urban youth was also common, with 8 percent saying that in the past year they were shot at, 15 percent saying they were attacked with a weapon, and 31 percent saying they were hit. One in seven (14 percent) had been sexually assaulted during her or his lifetime.
- **Patterns of exposure.** Higher levels of exposure to violence were reported among those who were male, older, and African American (although there was some variation from this general pattern). About one-quarter of the males (and 7 percent of the females) said they had been seriously threatened in the past year. African Americans experienced higher total exposure to violence in the past year than whites, but there was no difference in race/ethnic groups in *lifetime* exposure. Of those ages 15 to 24, between 43 percent and 53 percent had been seriously threatened *on more than one occasion in their lifetime*.
- **Neighborhood violence.** Personal exposure to violence in the past year tended to vary with the level of violence in the neighborhood. Thus, for example, 35 percent of the young people who lived in a high-crime neighborhood had witnessed a shooting during the past year compared to only 2 percent of those who lived in a low-crime neighborhood (and 21 percent who lived in a moderate-crime community).

Expanding the use of the measure

Future analyses will focus on the context in which the exposure to violence occurred, including the location (e.g., whether home, school, or neighborhood), the relationship of the victim to the assailant, and the victim's reaction to the violence.

With additional funding from the National Institute of Mental Health, the new tool will be included in all interviews with young people ages 6 to 18 during the next phase of the study, which will begin in early 1997. Careful measurement of exposure to violence will enhance the understanding of its consequences for the development of children who are growing up in a violence-plagued environment. This should include enhanced understanding of exposure to violence as a factor contributing to antisocial behavior. Use of the measure is also expected to be helpful in assessing the impact of violence prevention programs.

This Research Preview was based on a study by Mary Beth Selner-O'Hagan, Ph.D.; Daniel J. Kindlon, Ph.D.; Stephen L. Buka, Sc.D.; Stephen W. Raudenbush, Ed.D.; and Felton J. Earls, M.D., "Assessing Exposure to Violence in Urban Youth," *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* (submitted). Dr. Raudenbush is with Michigan State University. The other researchers are with the Harvard School of Public Health. The Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods, of which this study was a part, is directed by Felton Earls and jointly sponsored by NIJ and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. This Project is supported under NIJ grant 93-IJ-CX-KOO5.

Points of view in this document do not necessarily reflect the official position of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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**President Clinton is Leading the Fight
To Crack Down on Gang Violence**
May 14, 1996

"Violent crime is coming down all across America... Our next step in the fight against crime is to take on gangs the way we once took on the mob. I'm directing the FBI and other investigative agencies to target gangs that involve juvenile and violent crime, and to seek authority to prosecute as adults teenagers who maim and kill like adults."

- President Clinton, March 21, 1996

A Growing Youth Gang Problem in America. A generation ago, fewer than half of our cities reported gang activity. Now 95 percent of our largest cities and 88 percent of smaller cities suffer gang related crime, while cities with an emerging gang problem report that up to 90 percent of the gang members are juveniles. With the advent of hard drugs like crack and the proliferation of assault weapons on our streets, gangs have become violent street families for too many of our young people.

Clinton Administration Cracking Down on Gangs. Despite these problems, federal prosecutors have worked with state and local law enforcement and prosecutors to achieve a number of notable successes around the country. Attorney General Reno presented the President with a new progress report on the fight against gang violence, which details successful federal gang prosecutions across the country. In addition, the President received a briefing from 3 U.S. Attorneys who have successfully curbed gang problems and prosecuted their members in Chicago, Illinois, Boston, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut.

Strategies for the Future. In remarks before federal prosecutors, state and local law enforcement and local officials, the President urged the nation's prosecutors to embrace 4 principles in waging a full scale assault on gang-related violent crime:

- 1) Use every available tool, such as racketeering statutes, carjacking penalties, etc;
- 2) Boost cooperative efforts among state, local and federal law enforcement agencies;
- 3) Involve communities and community police in anti-gang efforts;
- 4) Support effective early intervention programs that help keep young people out of gangs in the first place.

A national gang tracking network. President Clinton announced funding for the first step of a National Gang Tracking Network. It will provide federal, state, local and municipal law enforcement agencies with the ability to share and exchange gang information quickly and efficiently.

A juvenile violence/drugs legislative package. In addition to executive actions and Presidential exhortations, President Clinton has sent proposals to Congress to help stop the rise of youth violence and drug use, including: *

- * Trying juvenile offenders as adults for violent and drug crimes,
- * A strategy to stop the spread of methamphetamine,
- * A \$75 million grant program for juvenile drug and gun courts,
- * Increasing the penalties for drug dealers who sell drugs to children,
- * Restoring the ability of the courts to enhance the sentences of criminals convicted of having used or carried a firearm in connection with a drug-related or violent crime.

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FARRAR STRAUS GIRDUX

DEPT. OF DISPUTATION

THE CRIMINALS OF TOMORROW

Are we wrong to feel optimistic about the crime rate? A Princeton professor thinks we are, and warns of a coming wave of juvenile "super-predators."

BY JAMES TRAUB

JOHN J. DI IULIO, JR., a thirty-eight-year-old professor at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, at Princeton, is an academic with a pamphleteer's rhetoric. He writes about criminal justice, and his work gives many of his peers fits. Most criminologists agree that the law-enforcement system discriminates against black men, that the prisons are full of low-level drug offenders who ought not to be there, and that we spend too much money on incarceration and not enough on treatment. Citing recent statistics, they claim that the crime rate has finally peaked; the worst is behind us. Di Iulio disagrees on every count: he believes that the system is not punitive enough; and he has been sounding alarms about the juvenile-crime rate, which has been rising rapidly over the past decade, and which he insists will continue to rise, even as the over-all crime rate has stabilized. Di Iulio has a gift for the turn of phrase that quickly finds its way into politicians' speeches and sound bites, and he reports his findings not only in academic journals but in the *Reader's Digest* and on the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page. Simon & Schuster has just published "Body Count," a book Di Iulio collaborated on with William Bennett, the best-selling author and former drug czar, and John P. Walters, an expert on drugs and crime. The book is full of anecdotes about remorseless killers, many of them still children. The authors quote one

prosecutor as saying, "It's 'Lord of the Flies' on a massive scale." "Body Count" also introduces the reading public to a term Di Iulio has coined: "the super-predator."

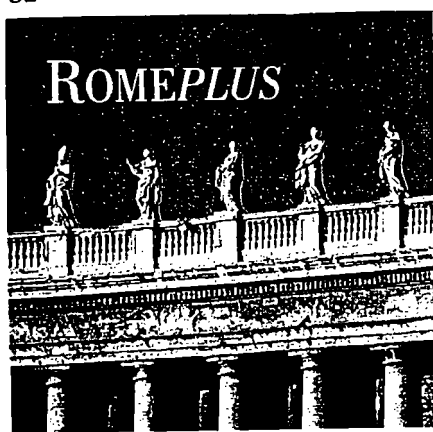
Di Iulio is provocative not only because of what he says but because of who he is. Besides being a tenured Ivy League professor, he is a Democrat who has sharply, and publicly, attacked the Contract with America and the new welfare law. He may be the only academic in the country who could say, as he did in a speech earlier this year, "It is no more true that most welfare recipients are lazy, undeserving people



A Princeton colleague says that John Di Iulio "loves playing the South Philadelphia thug made good."

than it is true that most prisoners are mere first-time nonviolent criminals." Di Iulio, who grew up in a tough neighborhood in South Philadelphia, is adroit at using his working-class credentials to shield himself from the charge that he's simply indifferent to the fate of the young black offenders he would send off to prison. Jennifer Hochschild, a Princeton political scientist who is well to her colleague's left on most issues, says, "John feels very, very strongly that the real victims of black crime are people in the inner cities. The left doesn't want to take that fact seriously enough. It's a politically complicating fact—it's an emotionally complicating fact." Still, she says that Di Iulio, with his confrontational style, "makes it about as difficult to agree with him as he can."

Di Iulio's current obsession is juvenile crime—the "demographic crime bomb."



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as he describes it. His argument, which forms the core of "Body Count," runs as follows: First, although policing and correctional policies affect the crime rate, demographics matter even more. According to census reports, the number of juveniles in the population—and especially the number of minority juveniles—is now increasing faster than the general population. And while the percentage of chronic juvenile offenders has remained constant over time, the number and the violence of their crimes have increased dramatically. Thus, between 1985 and 1994, juvenile arrests for murder increased a hundred and fifty per cent, while arrests for aggravated assault and weapons charges doubled—this at a time when the adult-crime rate was levelling off. DiIulio concludes that in fifteen years there will be anywhere from a hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand juveniles in confinement on any given day, almost three times the current figure.

DiIulio's conclusions fly in the face of the recent good news about crime. The rate of violent crime among juveniles actually dropped last year for the first time since 1988, while the homicide rate for all offenders has fallen four years in a row. It has long been a truism among scholars that law enforcement has almost no effect on the crime rate. The recent sustained fall, however, has forced a rethinking, and one objection to DiIulio's analysis, offered by former New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton and others, is that he continues to underestimate the benefits of improved police work. And there may be other factors at work as well. "My sense is that some of the family pathologies are coming under control," Alfred Blumstein, a criminologist at Carnegie Mellon, says. He adds that, in any case, it's "better to focus on the pathologies than to say, 'Hey, boy, we better build some more prisons.'" DiIulio agrees that the long-term solution requires focussing on the pathologies but maintains that that alone won't solve the problem. He says, "I think it's almost laughable to take the position that because we've had our first decrease in the crime rate, happy days are here again, or this is all exaggerated, or this is some sort of right-wing plot. There are all sorts of indicators that suggest that we have a growing number of kids who are far more violent and far more prone to im-

pulsive violence." DiIulio cites, for example, the growth of gang violence in recent years. He and his co-authors write in "Body Count," "America is now home to thickening ranks of juvenile 'super-predators'—radically impulsive, brutally remorseless youngsters, including ever more pre-teenage boys, who murder, assault, rape, rob, burglarize, deal deadly drugs, join gun-toting gangs, and create serious communal disorders. They do not fear the stigma of arrest, the pains of imprisonment, or the pangs of conscience."

There is something deeply disturbing about this kind of dehumanizing rhetoric. For all his talk about the importance of family, when DiIulio refers to a "new breed" of super-predators he is encouraging an implicit disavowal of kinship on the part of his reader. These kids are not like us; they are not even our kind—they are a different strain. "I dislike the term 'super-predators,'" Marvin Wolfgang, a criminologist at the University of Pennsylvania, says. "They may have committed some hard crimes, but that doesn't mean that they will be forever hardened criminals, or that they have a 'criminal mind.'" DiIulio believes that most juvenile offenders can be rehabilitated, but he does regard the most violent young people as intractable.

DiIulio's ability to get his ideas into the public arena—Bob Dole talked about "super-predators" in a radio address in July—obviously infuriates many academics who feel the public debate tipping away from them. In a piece in the *Los Angeles Times* this past summer, Franklin Zimring, a law professor at Berkeley, called DiIulio's juvenile-crime projection "phony," and accused him of fomenting a latter-day version of the Red scare. Zimring may be right about DiIulio's rhetoric, but he makes a mistake in attacking his statistics. He appears to have erroneously thought that DiIulio was predicting that two hundred and seventy thousand violent juveniles would be on the streets in 2010, whereas DiIulio wrote that they would be coming "in waves" over a ten- or fifteen-year period. DiIulio himself has admitted to carelessness in a few cases: he has written that fewer than half of all convicted violent felons are sentenced to prison, though in fact four-fifths wind up in some form of confinement. Nonetheless, the bulk of statistical evidence about trends in juvenile violence supports his views. Wolfgang cuttingly describes Di-

Julio as a "textbook writer," because he relies on the research of others. But DiJulio often cites Wolfgang's own work to buttress his claim that violent juvenile crime is growing dramatically, and Wolfgang does not dispute DiJulio's interpretation.

DILULIO accuses his critics of "defining criminality down," a reference to Daniel Patrick Moynihan's oft-cited 1993 essay "Defining Deviancy Down." What Dilulio means is that conventional opinion has consistently sought to minimize the dreadfulness of violent crime so as not to distract attention from the social forces that turn young men into criminals in the first place. In this view, young black offenders are as much victims as they are predators. That is why it has been "liberal" to oppose stricter incarceration policies. Dilulio counters that, while the number of blacks in prison is indeed a terrible indictment of our society, it should not be construed as evidence that the criminal-justice system is racist, since blacks are imprisoned in direct proportion to their crime rate. The real victims of violent crime, Dilulio insists, are the law-abiding black men and women and children who are the principal targets of black crime. On this point, the tide may well be turning: Randall Kennedy, a highly respected black professor at Harvard Law School, has mounted much the same argument. And black views on crime are generally quite conservative. Dilulio cites a recent poll by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, in Washington, D.C., which found that seventy-three per cent of blacks favor "three strikes and you're out" sentencing laws.

DiIulio recognizes that the “super-predators” are natural products of what he calls a “criminogenic” environment; but he describes that environment in moral rather than in material terms. In this regard, he is very much a student of the conservative political scientist James Q. Wilson, who was his mentor at Harvard, where DiIulio received his Ph.D. In testimony before a Senate subcommittee on youth violence earlier this year, DiIulio defined “moral poverty” as “the poverty of being without loving, capable, responsible adults who teach you right from wrong. . . . In the extreme, it is the poverty of growing up surrounded by deviant, delinquent, and criminal adults in chaotic, dysfunctional, fatherless, Godless, and jobless settings where drug

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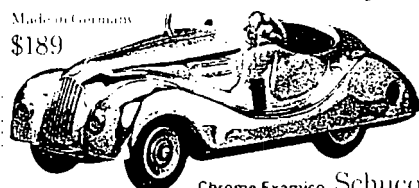
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abuse and child abuse are twins, and self-respecting young men literally aspire to get away with murder." As long as more young men, and especially young black men, keep being reared in an environment of failure and despair, he argues, juvenile violent crime will continue to increase. And he does not see many signs that the pathologies are coming under control. "No one relishes the thought of locking up more juveniles," he testified. "But it must be done."

DiIulio believes that punishment serves a moral as well as a practical end; he is openly contemptuous of such anti-incarceration groups as what he calls "the Sentencing Project and its turn-'em-loose comrades-in-arms." DiIulio is a serious student of prisons; even his harshest critics praise his 1987 book, "Governing Prisons," as a model of scholarly care. Perhaps his single greatest obsession has been to explode the widely held belief that the prisons are full of low-level offenders who should be in drug-treatment programs or in halfway houses or on probation. DiIulio says that only about ten per cent of inmates are minor drug offenders; he frequently cites a 1991 survey of state prisoners across the country which characterized sixty-two per cent of the inmates as violent offenders and another thirty-two per cent as repeat nonviolent offenders. In his own studies of the prison populations of individual states, he has found that the median number of crimes which inmates admitted to, excluding drug sales, was twelve. Criminologists respond that DiIulio shouldn't be lumping together violent and even repeat nonviolent offenders, and that a number of those twelve crimes are also nonviolent. These caveats sound suspiciously like defining criminality down.

DiIulio's ultimate point is that, even though the United States has an enormous prison population, it's not large compared with our staggering rate of violent crime. In 1992, he notes, there were ten million "violent crime victimizations," but only a hundred thousand people convicted of a violent crime were imprisoned. And, even after the passage of stricter sentencing laws in many states, the average violent offender serves only about half his sentence. DiIulio says, "If that's punitive, I'm punitive, most

ET CETERA, ET CETERA

IN MEMORY OF JOSEPH BRODSKY

It could be said, even here, that what remains of the self
Unwinds into a vanishing light, and thins like dust, and heads
To a place where knowing and nothing pass into each other, and through;
That it moves, unwinding still, beyond the vault of brightness ended,
And continues to a place which may never be found, where the unsayable,
Finally, once more is uttered, but lightly, quickly, like random rain
That passes in sleep, that one imagines passes in sleep.
What remains of the self unwinds and unwinds, for none
Of the boundaries holds—neither the shapeless one between us
Nor the one that falls between your body and your voice. Joseph,
Dear Joseph, those sudden reminders of your having been—the places
And times whose greatest life was the one you gave them—now appear
Like ghosts in your wake. What remains of the self unwinds
Beyond us, for whom time is only a measure of meanwhile
And the future no more than et cetera, et cetera... but fast and forever.

—MARK STRAND

Americans are punitive. But I don't think we are. It's also considered bad form to remind people that we have two-thirds of the perpetrators on the street at any given time." This is another of DiIulio's favorite statistics, and what it means is that most violent felons in the correctional system are on probation or on parole, not in prison. DiIulio says that if he had his way he would remove from prison altogether the ten per cent or so of the population which he thinks consists of low-level drug offenders, and others, including the mentally ill, then return many of the parolees who should be serving longer sentences and the one out of every four probationers who is a repeat violent offender. DiIulio estimates that this would produce a prison population ten to fifteen per cent larger than it is now. DiIulio and others have strongly argued that incarceration cuts crime simply by taking criminals off the streets; it follows that prisons, expensive as they are, can cost less than crime itself.

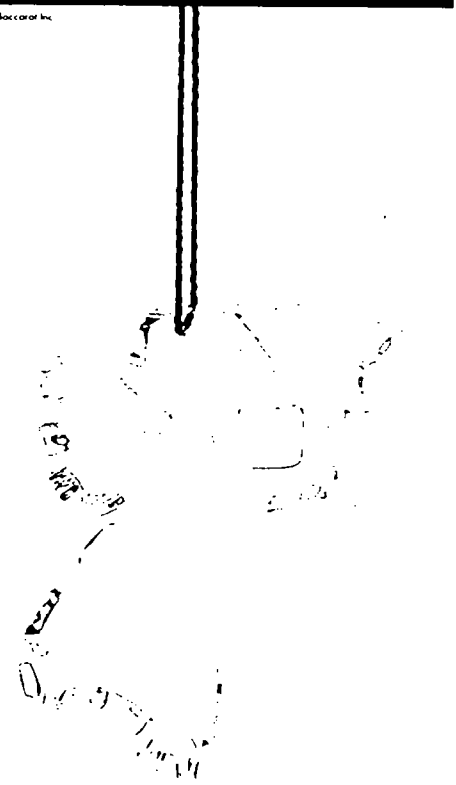
DILULIO met me at the train station when I paid him a visit earlier this month in Philadelphia, where he keeps an office. (He lives in a nearby suburb with his wife, Rosalee, and their three children.) His assistant had told me to expect someone in a tie and a black jacket, but in fact the professor was wearing basketball sneakers, bluejeans, and a T-

shirt that hung about half a foot below the bottom of a baseball jacket. The T-shirt said, "There Used to Be a Ballpark Here"—a *cri de coeur* among old-time Philadelphians for the demolished Connie Mack Stadium. DiIulio did not look like a Princeton professor posing as a construction worker; he looked like a construction worker. He has the kind of torso where stomach and chest swell as one. But when he opens his mouth you don't think South Philly; you think Social Scientist. A colleague at Princeton says, "He loves playing the South Philadelphia thug made good."

DiIulio grew up along the collapsing urban frontier of the sixties and seventies, and he feels that he understands the anger not only of the white working class but also of the black poor and working class in a way that most of his ivory-tower colleagues cannot. I asked if he could drive me around his old neighborhood, and he happily complied. Leaving downtown Philadelphia behind, we drove over a flyway that bisects a vast Sunoco refinery, then through a bumpy patch of open land. "These are the junk yards where I grew up," DiIulio called out, as if he had been one of the Dead End Kids, though in fact his father had worked as a deputy sheriff and had once run for the citywide post of sheriff. As we drove past a little gas station, DiIulio said proudly, "One of my best buddies works there." We headed

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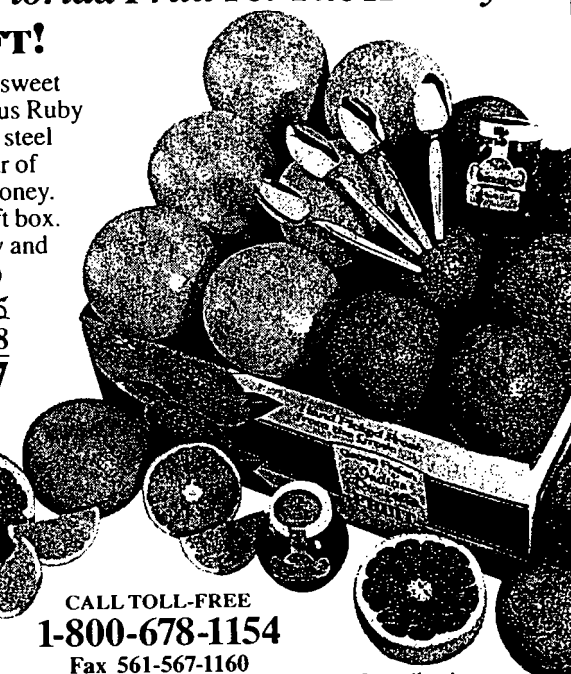
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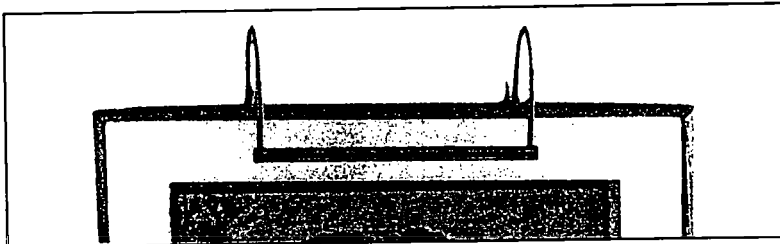
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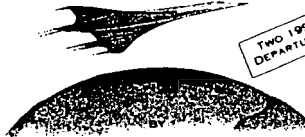
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into Southwest, a neighborhood of trolley tracks and row houses and small stores—the stable world into which DiIulio was born. We went on into South Philly, where he had gone to elementary school; we stopped at his grandmother's house. The church had been here, the school here, the store there. Now it was all gone; South Philly was a ghetto. The occasional store made a tiny pool of light in the dusk; black men lingered idly on stoops. There had once been not only a ballpark but a life—the solid, working-class life that had been the foundation of the old industrial cities. DiIulio felt it all sliding downhill. His grandmother had been mugged repeatedly; an uncle had been stabbed to death by a paroled convict. Sitting in the car, in the gathering darkness, he said quietly, "This will be North Philadelphia in ten years; and Philadelphia will be Detroit in ten or twelve years."

DiIulio has followed a head-spinning trajectory to the top of the academic heap. The first person in his family even to attend college, he studied public policy at the University of Pennsylvania before going on to Harvard. He has been a wide-ranging and feverishly productive scholar from the outset of his career, and Princeton gave him tenure when he was only thirty. DiIulio still talks about how alien he found the politesse of academic life; and, rather than assimilate, he clung to his blunt South Philly style. A popular figure at Princeton, he is considered a dedicated teacher and a warm and ebullient colleague, but his bellicose style has also made him a target for harsh criticism. Earlier this year, a letter printed in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* called his work racist and accused him of pandering to the nation's worst instincts. And DiIulio, for all his bravado, is clearly pained by such charges. As we were sitting in his office, he suddenly said, "If you're coming from South Philly, and you're going to Penn and Harvard and Princeton, you're not supposed to be vehement. You're not supposed to be a raging bull. You're not supposed to get this far, or even be taken seriously at any level no matter what your work is, no matter how many awards you win, no matter how much early tenure you get, no matter what research you create—if you don't play by the rules of the normal polite discourse. To me, if the polite discourse is doing real harm, I



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don't care what the rules are." DiIulio glared through his heavy black-framed glasses.

Academically, DiIulio is more a synthesizer and a popularizer than an original thinker: he wants to bring ideas to the surface and use them to force change. DiIulio has testified before Congress on several pieces of legislation. His ideas helped mold the Democrats' 1994 crime bill, which, in a significant break from the past, provided hundreds of millions of dollars for new prison construction. Will Marshall, the head of the centrist Progressive Policy Institute, praises DiIulio for convincing "a lot of open-minded progressives and liberals" of the merits of incarceration. But DiIulio had serious problems with the legislation and, at a forum organized by the conservative activist William Kristol, criticized the bill for failing to address "revolving-door justice." The forum gave impetus to the Republican attack on the bill—an attack that featured mocking references to the "midnight basketball" programs it would have funded (programs DiIulio supports). Kristol says, "I think John was one of the main people who made the arguments that were then retailed on Rush Limbaugh and the *Journal* editorial page. He gave lots of congressmen confidence that it wasn't just their instincts, that there was a respectable Princeton professor who was willing to say it"—that the bill was soft on crime. DiIulio says that he was not engaging in partisan politics and doesn't tailor his conclusions for either party's purposes.

Marshall describes DiIulio as "a New Democrat." DiIulio wants to reinvent government rather than simply get rid of it; he has regularly criticized the Republican demonization of federal bureaucrats. And he feels that his work on criminal justice constitutes as much of a challenge to conservatives as it does to liberals. He favors gun-control laws and drug-treatment programs, though he also argues that liberals have exaggerated the benefits of both. "If you build all the jails in the world, you still have a primary- and secondary-prevention dilemma," DiIulio says—a need for alternatives to incarceration or release, such as "a meaningful, no-nonsense network of community-based residential facilities and programs." He adds, "The people on the right want to say, in effect, 'That's their problem. They should solve their own cultural

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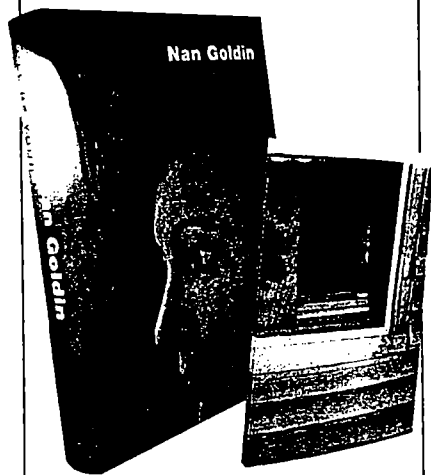
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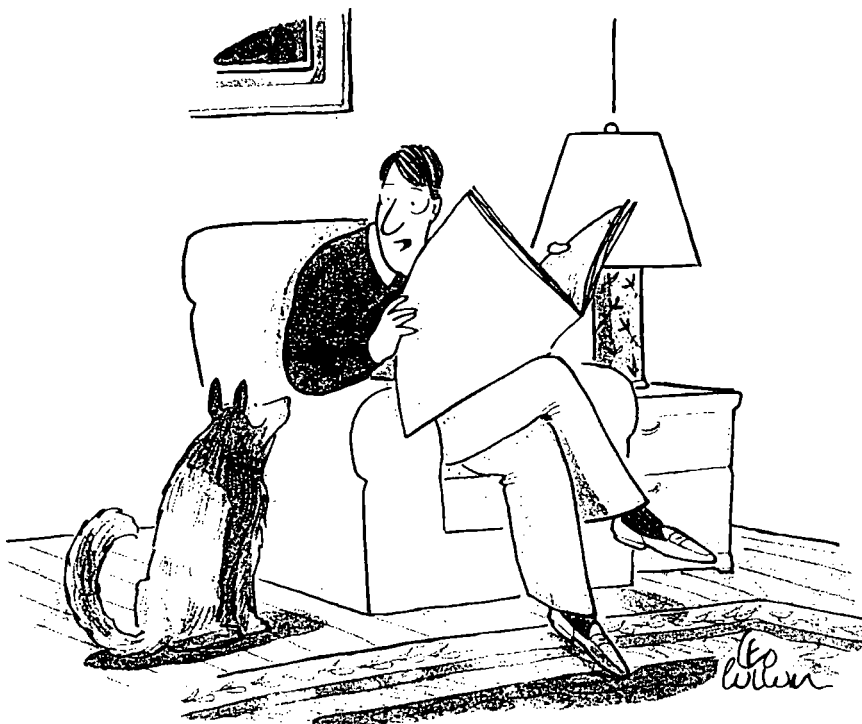
problems: the orphans should build their own orphanages." Like Newt Gingrich, DiIulio thinks that children should be rescued from abusive households and placed in orphanages. But he would have the federal government help pay to do so. Voluntaryism, he points out, is a wonderful principle, but philanthropy will never fill the hole left by the withdrawal of the state.

Nevertheless, DiIulio argues that, as crime is essentially a moral problem, the solution must be found in the moral realm. "Body Count" offers the kind of stern instructions on the need for "parental and moral guidance" for which William Bennett is famous. In a recent article in the conservative *Weekly Standard*, where DiIulio is a regular contributor, he suggested that we "bring back the shotgun marriage" by subjecting absconding fathers to public opprobrium. He wants to "re-moralize" the culture generally and inner-city culture specifically. DiIulio doesn't pay much attention to institutional solutions; but there is one urban institution that he truly cares about reviving, and that is the black church. "If we are to have a prayer of stopping any significant fraction of the super-predators short of the prison gates," he has written, "then we had better say 'Amen,' and fast." DiIulio believes that the moral authority of the church is the only way to counter the ruinous influences of inner-city life. He also points out that

churches are virtually the only institution left standing in many ghettos; it makes sense to channel the kind of social services that inner-city kids and their families desperately need through the existing network of churches. His heroes are the black ministers who have dedicated themselves to turning troubled kids around.

DiIulio berates conservatives for giving lip service, rather than active support, to these kinds of effort; he would like to see public funds used to support church-based social services. It is a practicable, and even an activist, solution to the problems of the inner city, but it's also a strikingly modest one for a person who claims to believe in the state. "Body Count" has virtually nothing to say about jobs, housing, or health care. Jerome Skolnick, an adjunct professor at New York University's School of Law, says of DiIulio, "He's pushing the politics of virtue—there's no controversy there. The question is, What are the conditions under which people are inclined to be virtuous? You have to look beyond these platitudes."

When I pressed DiIulio on this subject, he responded that "Body Count" was not "broadly conceived." He said he had spoken just the day before to William Julius Wilson, the Harvard scholar who lays the blame for ghetto pathologies on the disappearance of jobs. DiIulio says that he agrees with Wilson's analysis,



"I know you're a working dog, Angus. I just don't have anything for you right now."

CONVERSATION WITH A SEAGULL

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Poem-maker, your guild disbanded, not one
 Man left at his station:
 Love-adept, at last unbefriended, no win,
 Your situation,
 So what if some cloud from your most Aquarian mood,
 Or a snowflake of brain,
 Drifts above Shandon, prospecting for Leningrad
 Through thickening rain,
 Puzzling in vain for the wobbly Venetian "O"s
 Of arch-backed embraces,
 The aristocratic self-disregard of palazzos?
 Such weathers aren't voices.
 Say the feathery soul of your river-love just gave a cry
 As it dived from the railing—
 A gull is a Soviet type, mass-produced, sly.
 Your wings would be flailing.
 Whether nature plays God is still what I want to know.
 Can selves be reformed
 Like the river from rain? And now I can hear it abseiling
 In spirals down from your vast oratorical
 Rucksack—the question. *The question, Karol, you're saying,*
Is surely rhetorical?
The self is—well—imaginary, and it will go
Nowhere—or wherever imaginings go.

—CAROL RUMENS

but also believes that it's unrealistic to expect ambitious jobs programs in the current political climate. (Large-scale schemes of reform seem to raise his hackles.)

DiIulio is too passionately engaged with his subject to be satisfied with merely writing about it. He is now on leave from Princeton to work with a research group called Public/Private Ventures, evaluating church-based social programs. He is also building a network to coordinate the efforts of inner-city black ministers. He says that he is thinking seriously about leaving academic life in order to work full time with black churches and to study their effectiveness; he has, he says, broached the idea to his family. "My biggest contribution to date," DiIulio says, "has been to make it impossible for people who a decade ago were saying things like 'Incarceration does not cut crime'—you can't do that anymore. I had a good deal to do with that." And now that he had reframed the problem, he said, he was hoping to reframe the solution—"the notion of children in need of adults."

Will DiIulio be able to extricate himself from the consequences of his own rhetoric? He has had his greatest successes when he harnessed public disgust and impatience, and has been far more effective in changing the ground of debate on incarceration than on orphanages, or on rehabilitation, or on community-based facilities. Until now, DiIulio has pressed the attack on the "turn 'em loose" crowd with a great deal more fervor than he has the attack on conservative passivity. The result is that he has strengthened the position of people whose views are far less nuanced than his own. Lately, DiIulio seems to have been looking in the mirror and wondering if he has turned into something he never intended. "I probably am guilty of being more self-righteous than I should be," he confessed to me. He had shown, he thought, too little concern for "fraternal correction" when pointing out errors on the part of his colleagues. DiIulio is now hoping to preach to public compassion rather than to public fear. In this regard, at least, "Body Count" is probably not a step in the right direction. ♦

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ANTI-CRIME INITIATIVES IN BIRMINGHAM

October 24, 1996

Youth Violence Initiative

- Through the Clinton COPS Program, Birmingham started a Youth Firearms Violence Initiative in January 1996. 19 School Resource Officers were deployed into 9 high schools and 16 middle schools throughout the city. The officers work with 22,000 students and provide counseling, prevent gang fights, confiscate weapons from students, and respond to drug incidents.
- From January to Oct. 15, 1996, officers responded to 110 drug-related incidents and 55 weapons-related incidents. 174 juveniles and 35 adults were arrested and removed from school grounds. 12 firearms were removed from students in the first 3 months.
- These officers have been enforcing a daytime curfew since March 1996. From March 1996 to June 1996, 175 children were picked up for violating the daytime curfew. The officers also provide critical counseling services for students and parents, counseling students on how to avoid gangs and parents on how to recognize signs of gang activity in their children. From January 1996 through October 1996, more than 20,000 counseling sessions have been held with parents and students, and over 1,000 classes in conflict resolution have been conducted.

Other Crime Policies

Curfews

- Birmingham has a curfew policy: everyone age 17 and under must be indoors by 10:00 p.m. during the week and midnight on weekends, unless accompanied by an adult. If children are found outside, their parents are warned, with later offenses resulting in a fine. From March 1996 to June 1996, 118 children were picked up for violating the night curfew.

School Uniforms

- After the President encouraged school districts to adopt school uniform policies, Birmingham schools instituted a mandatory uniform policy. As of August 19, 1996, all K-12 schools are required to have all students in full uniform. School staff has raised \$20,000 and the United Way has made a small donation to provide for needy students. To date, there have been no lawsuits filed or major complaints.

Truancy

- The Birmingham school district enforces the statewide "Compulsory Attendance Law." All absences must be excused. If a child has three or more unexcused absences, then they are referred to attendance officers. The matter is turned over to family court if there is no improvement.

Domestic Violence

- Birmingham was granted \$200,000 to create a Domestic Violence Task Force to focus on increasing the number of domestic violence arrests. The grant has provided funding for crisis intervention experts, two full-time police officers dedicated to domestic violence crimes, and equipment such as tape recorders and computers.



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Mom pays for sons' crimes

Drug arrests prompt city to revoke section 8 subsidy

By Barry Eberling
DAILY REPUBLIC

FAIRFIELD — Sometimes parents inherit the sins of their children.

That's how Loretta Blair feels these days. Her two teen sons were arrested for selling rock cocaine this past summer and as a result she is losing the federal subsidy that pays the rent at her Kansas Street home.

She knew her sons were hanging out with some questionable friends and had broken the city's curfew law, Blair said recently. But she never knew they were selling drugs, she said.

"When they made their decision, they made it behind my back," Blair said. "I didn't know they were involved with it. They knew what my reaction to it would have been."

But under federal Section 8 subsidized housing laws, Blair is responsible for the boys, who are now locked up. City housing officials held a hearing and revoked her subsidy because of the drug arrests.

"It's not something we just decided to do, it's federally mandated," said M. Ann Harris of the Fairfield Housing Authority. "We terminate the assistance of fami-

■ At a glance

Since 1992, the Housing Authority has had 95 hearings and terminated federal assistance for 43 families. The city has 894 families on Section 8 housing assistance.

lies that don't play by the rules."

So the conflicting emotions come as Blair tries to pull her life together again:

■ Anger as she thinks of the federal rules that could leave her without a place to live because of her sons' arrests.

"I'm just really angry at the system," Blair said. "How the system just comes along, they don't take the time to find out what kind of person you are."

■ Pain as she thinks of her boys behind bars, though she agrees they must pay the price for their misconduct.

"They were my boys, they were my life," Blair said. "I wouldn't talk to them for almost a month because it hurt me. . . It's like they went in and pulled something right out of me."

■ Worry as she packs up her possessions in boxes and contemplates where she and her youngest son, who wasn't involved in the drug deals, will live next.

"I don't have the money to pay rent at all," Blair said.

■ And even hope.

"A lot of hurt and a lot of tears I have shed around here," Blair said. "But it's time for me to live again."

■ ■ ■

Blair came to Fairfield in 1987 from Richmond, where she had been raised by her grandmother.

"My grandmother was a very Christian person," Blair said.

Last spring, Blair had a job in the lunchroom in Fairview Elementary School, her boys were in school, her husband lived with her and Section 8 subsidies helped her pay for a Kansas Street house with peeling paint and two tall palm trees in the front yard.

But her husband left her and she didn't like the company her 16-year-old and 18-year-old were keeping.

"Whenever I would catch them on the corner, I would walk down and pull them off the corner," Blair said.

Fairfield police did undercover drug work that summer and went into the Kansas Street area, which is a neighbor-

See Mom, Page A4

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The Clinton Administration's Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy

Boston, Massachusetts

February 19, 1997

Announcement

- Today President Clinton traveled to Boston, Massachusetts to announce his new Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy. The strategy, which includes comprehensive legislation and new initiatives, would give local communities the resources and support to replicate the great success Boston has had in reducing youth violence in the last few years.

Background

- Last year, overall serious crime dropped for the fifth year in a row -- the longest decline in more than 25 years. However, until recently, youth violence rates have been drastically climbing. The violent juvenile crime arrest rate increased 62% from 1987 to 1993 and between 1984 and 1993, the rate of homicides committed by juveniles skyrocketed 169%.
- We are beginning to make some progress -- last year juvenile violent crime arrest and murder arrest rates decreased for the first time together in seven years. But with a growing youth population on the horizon, we have much more ground to make up.

The Boston Success Story

- Adopting a comprehensive strategy of enforcement, intervention, and prevention, the City of Boston has drastically curtailed its youth violence. From 1990 to 1995, juvenile homicides dropped some 80%, with not a single juvenile killed by gun since July 1995. Between 1993 and 1995, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate for aggravated assault and battery with a firearm decreased 65%.

The Clinton Strategy

- Using Boston as one of many models, President Clinton's Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy seeks to break the back of violent gangs, reduce youth violence, and provide our kids with positive alternatives to steer them away from gangs, guns, and drugs.

Key Elements:

1. Targeting Gangs and Violent Juveniles: *\$200 million for new State and local Anti-Gang Prosecution initiatives *Federal authority to prosecute more juveniles as adults for violent offenses *New tools for prosecutors to protect witnesses willing to testify against gangs and punish gang members who intimidate witnesses.

2. Keeping our Kids Gun- and Drug-Free: *Brady handgun checks for individuals with violent juvenile records *Require Safety locks on handguns reducing accidents and gun theft *State programs requiring the drug testing of minors before receiving a driver's license.

3. Keeping our Kids on the Right Track: *Funding for 1,000 new after school programs across the country to keep kids off the streets *\$75 million Anti-Truancy, School Violence, and Crime Intervention Initiative.

4. Streamlining and Reforming the Juvenile Justice System: *\$50 Million for Youth Violence Courts and Probation Officer Initiatives *Creates a new Office of Juvenile Crime Control and Prevention at the Justice Department.

would win the House by margins like those in 1988, 1990, and 1992. The final polls were, with one exception, in the statistical margin of error these polls always warn about. But the likelihood of all the polls' being off on one side of the political spectrum and none on the other is something like the odds of shooting seven straight sevens in craps: It could happen, but a sensible person will start to wonder whether the dice aren't loaded. (One theory—and it is no more than a theory so far—is that conservatives are more likely than others to refuse to respond to polls, particularly those polls taken by media outlets that conservatives consider biased. If so, they're hurting their own cause.)

The efficiency of the political marketplace, like the efficiency of the economic marketplace, depends on the full dissemination of accurate information. Today almost all the players in the political marketplace seem to think that the Republicans got pasted in House elections and that they ended up retaining their majority by a fluke. Acting on this misinformation will produce less than optimal vote-winning behavior, especially for the Republicans. They seem to think that if they avoid stating any positions on issues, the electoral calendar will take care of them. But just the opposite could be true: If they fail to give voters any reason to vote for them, the Democrats might seize the opportunity to do that, and win back the House.

This may already be happening. When Bill Clinton's plan for dealing with Medicare was announced last month, it received strong criticism for being a cen-

tralized, command-and-control scheme that would not work and would deny seniors the choices others have in choosing medical plans. Who made the argument? Not Republicans, who might have argued that their Medicare plans do offer choices to seniors. No, it was made by newly elected senator Ron Wyden, who began his career as an advocate for seniors and who is one of the few Democrats to win a seat formerly held by a Republican between November 1992 and November 1996. Wyden is thinking intelligently about public policy and politics. Republicans seem to be hunkering down, like dogs puzzled about why they have been whipped and hoping to avoid being hit again.

Today power is flying out from Washington to the states, to local governments, to private organizations and mediating institutions and families and individuals. That movement is in line with what most Republicans have urged for years and against what most Democrats have urged.

The smart move for Democrats is to argue for small government interventions, to help individuals and families make their way, and this is what smart Democrats like Wyden are doing. The smart move for Republicans is to argue for continued dispersion of power to give individuals and families choices about how to make their way. But most Republicans seem frozen with fear. They believe their policies are unpopular and that their only hope is to conceal what they are doing. Bill Clinton knows he won in 1996. When are House Republicans going to wake up and realize they won the last election too? ♦

HOW TO DEFUSE THE YOUTH CRIME BOMB

By John J. Dilulio, Jr.

Today America is home to about 57 million children under age 15, some 20 million of them ages 4 to 8. The teenage population will top 30 million by 2006, the highest since 1975. The nation's

Contributing editor John J. Dilulio, Jr. is a member of the Council on Crime in America and directs the Partnership for Research on Religion and At-Risk Youth, at Public/Private Ventures.

two most respected criminologists, James Q. Wilson of UCLA and Marvin E. Wolfgang of the University of Pennsylvania, agree that this demographic bulge spells trouble. So does Harvard's Philip Heyman, a former deputy attorney general in the Clinton administration. The victims of youth crime, as well as the perpetrators, Heyman writes, "are largely concentrated among minority males in urban centers. . . . That age group will grow over the next 15 years." Indeed it will. By the

year 2010, there will be nearly 5 million nonwhite males ages 15-24 in the population, up from 3.4 million in 1980.

A recent drop in violent youth crime rates—in 1994-95, arrests of 10-to-17-year-olds fell nationally by 2.9 percent—may be transitory. James Alan Fox, dean of the College of Criminal Justice at Northeastern University, is warning that an explosion in juvenile crime in a few years' time is "really, really possible."

The criminologists are right, but make that *another* explosion in youth crime. Juvenile violent crime arrest rates rose 5.2 percent in 1987-88, 16.8 percent in 1988-89, 12.1 percent in 1989-90, 7.6 percent in 1990-91, and by at least 4.4 percent in every year thereafter until 1994-95. In 1994 alone there were over 2.7 million arrests of persons under age 18—a third of them under age 15. That was up; a 59 percent increase from 1991. Juveniles were responsible for an estimated 14 percent of all violent crimes and a quarter of all property crimes known to the police. Nationally, juveniles committed an estimated 137,000 more violent crimes in 1994 than in 1985 and were responsible for 26 percent of the growth in violent crime over that period. There were nearly 4,000 murders committed by teenagers in 1995.

Likewise, the number of juvenile drug arrests increased from roughly 65,000 in 1990 to 147,000 in 1995. The increased use and availability of drugs has fueled the growth of drug-dealing street gangs, some of which are led by adults who turn small children into narcotics customers and sellers. Most studies estimate the number of youth gangsters well into the hundreds of thousands.

To explain this phenomenon, liberals stress risk factors like poverty and joblessness. Their data: The percentage of children under age 6 living in households with annual incomes under \$7,600 doubled between 1975 and 1994. Fewer than half of young black high-school dropouts were either working or looking for work during 1994.

Conservatives stress risk factors like births to unmarried teenagers and child abuse and neglect. The teenage illegitimacy ratio (the percentage of all live births to teens ages 15-19 that occur out of wedlock) rose from 29.5 percent in 1970 to 76 percent in 1994. And the number of substantiated cases of child mal-

treatment rose by 20 percent from 1990 to 1993, the year it broke a million.

By either analysis, it is clear that more at-risk youth are on the way. Both the Clinton administration and the Republican Congress seem duly mindful of the potential juvenile crime problem, but neither side shows much sign of understanding the sorts of local, community-based strategies that are needed to avert it.

On February 19, President Clinton appeared in Boston, a city that over the last two years has experienced steep drops in its youth crime rate, to announce an "offensive" against juvenile crime. If new policies are not enacted soon, he said, "our country is going to be living in chaos." The president proposed spending

about \$500 million in new federal money over the next two years, including \$200 million to assist state and local prosecutors in going after street gangs and violent juveniles and another \$60 million to fund a hodgepodge of after-school programs. The president and other administration officials celebrated the city's innovative crime-prevention efforts, including Operation Night Light, a multifaceted program in which local police and probation officers work together to ensure that juvenile offenders are adequately supervised.

But, as the *Boston Globe* reported, the Clinton entourage very nearly snubbed the inner-city clergymen who have worked assiduously to roust drug dealers, break up street gangs, and provide safe havens for youngsters. In interviews I've conducted, the Boston police and probation officials who have administered Operation Night Light and other programs are themselves quick to credit the ministers. "We could not succeed without the churches," says Milt Britton, a 27-year veteran of the city's probation department. Britton, an African-American who lives and works in the city's high-crime districts, runs a "fatherhood initiative" program that seeks to involve young males who have had run-ins with the law in the lives of the neighborhood children they have fathered.

The Clinton administration has repeatedly touted such community-based anti-crime efforts and has flashed an open federal wallet at them in the form of myriad Justice Department, HUD, and other grant programs. But as one inner-city Boston churchman says, "That Beltway rap is fine, except it means nothing on the streets when you're handling young gangsters at 2 a.m., and nothing when you can't renovate a

THE CLINTON ENTOURAGE VERY NEARLY SNUBBED THE INNER-CITY CLERGYMEN WHO HAVE WORKED ASSIDUOUSLY TO ROUST DRUG DEALERS AND BREAK UP STREET GANGS.

church building for kids or give young folks low-wage jobs or make productive use of whatever public funds you have because of stupid, costly federal regulations and unholy amounts of required paperwork."

These remarks would suggest that the Republican commitment to devolving such efforts from the federal government to the state and local levels is the right approach. But strangely, the GOP's congressional leaders want to help by further federalizing the juvenile justice system. The latest version of the Senate Republicans' juvenile crime bill, for example, requires that a juvenile age 14 or older "who is alleged to have committed an act that, if committed by an adult, would be a criminal offense, be tried as an adult at the discretion of the U.S. Attorney [if] there is a substantial Federal interest in the case or the offense to warrant the exercise of Federal jurisdiction." The bill would also federalize the handling of "any offense committed in connection with, or in furtherance of, the activities of a criminal street gang where the defendant was a member of such a gang at the time of the offense."

There are several basic problems with this. First, as I have argued previously in these pages, it is a gross penological mistake to house even youth offenders convicted of violent crimes with adult criminals. Second, it is fanciful in any case to suppose that new federal laws will do what a decade's worth of get-tough state laws targeted on violent and high-rate juvenile offenders have failed to do, namely, result in more than a tiny fraction of kids who murder, rape, rob, burglarize, assault, or deal deadly drugs being prosecuted and sentenced "as adults."

In 1992 only 1.6 percent of "delinquency" cases were sent from juvenile to criminal court. In many jurisdictions, "waiving" a case to another court is a tedious, time-consuming bear of a legal wrangle that typically falls on the shoulders of overworked assistant district attorneys. "You fight your heart out to get a teen thug into criminal court," one mid-sized-city assistant D.A. told me, "and he'll probably end up on probation—just like most adult criminals do."

The overarching problem with Washington's various approaches to juvenile crime is that they trifle with (in the case of the praise-and-spend White House) or largely ignore (in the case of the never-say-

midnight-basketball Republicans) hard-won lessons about what actually works to stop juvenile crime before it starts. Former New York City police commissioner William Bratton, whose innovative policing practices are properly credited for the city's dramatic drops in crime, has recently emphasized that while better policing is pivotal to cutting crime, "prevention has simply got to be a big part of the long-term anti-crime equation."

Bratton is a member of the bipartisan Council on Crime in America. Together with Gary Walker, the president of Public/Private Ventures, a nonprofit youth-development research organization in Philadelphia, I assisted the council in drafting its report, *Saving Children, Preventing Crime*, which was just released by the Manhattan Institute's Center for Civic Innovation. The report focuses attention on the present and

impending youth crime problem and recommends three promising community-based prevention strategies—monitoring, mentoring, and ministering.

First, "monitoring" refers to community-based supervision of youth offenders, whether by professional probation officers or by neighborhood adults. Despite the passage of get-tough juvenile crime laws in many states, the majority of adjudicated juvenile offenders get probation, not incarceration. In 1993, 520,600 cases disposed of by juvenile courts resulted in proba-

tion. Between 1989 and 1993, the number of juvenile cases involving a "person offense" such as homicide, rape, robbery, and assault soared 45 percent. Probation officers, forced to handle more serious cases than ever, often have little time for first-time juvenile offenders who are not yet serious criminals but may turn out to be.

Private citizens can help. A prime example is Philadelphia's Youth Aid Panel program. Panels of adult volunteers in each of the city's police districts hear cases of first-time juvenile offenders and mete out punishments ranging from curfews to community service. The estimated recidivism rate is an impressively low 20 percent.

Second, "mentoring" by citizen-volunteers benefits at-risk youth to an extent that even some of its boosters might find surprising. Consider, for example, the findings compiled by Public/Private Ventures in its research on 1,000 youngsters aged 10-16, almost all of them from low-income, single-parent families, who

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AND SENTENCED
AS ADULTS.**

participated in Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America. Juveniles matched with mentors were 46 percent less likely than a comparison group to initiate drug use, 27 percent less likely to start drinking, one third less likely to commit assault, and half as likely to be truant from school. The "mentors" were not trained in drug prevention, remedial tutoring, or family therapy. And, yet, by becoming their friends and providing support to these youths, they influenced young lives in many ways.

Finally, "ministering." This refers to the work of local churches that deal with at-risk youth. In New York City, for example, the New York Theological Seminary has trained over 2,000 ministers who are now providing their communities with a wide range of youth outreach services—literacy training, after-school programs, and the like. One graduate, Rev-

erend Hilary Gaston of the Bronx, came to what he calls his "latch-key ministry" for youth after working for a decade as a police officer. He has his counterparts in big cities all across the country.

But for monitoring, mentoring, and ministering to expand their effectiveness—and we need them to expand *now*—more citizens must volunteer, and public policy must recognize the worth of this approach. As William Bennett, one of the Council on Crime co-chairmen, has stressed, that will happen only when the rest of us adopt the "fourth M" of crime prevention: a sense of moral obligation to America's children that transcends conventional political pontification. Getting warm-blooded adults into the lives of kids is the one sure way we have of saving our youngest, our most vulnerable, and potentially our most dangerous fellow citizens. ♦

THE HISTORY STANDARDS: STILL AN OUTRAGE

By David Warren Saxe

When the Senate voted 99-1 two years ago to condemn the national history standards drawn up at the behest of the federal government, people concerned about the brainwashing of school children with politically correct history figured the battle had been won. Wrong. Sure, the standards-writers pieced together a revised version that seemed to mollify most critics, highlighting a previously snubbed George Washington and other neglected heroes and stories. But that all now seems a ruse. When children turn to page one of their new history textbooks, they will read a history entirely in keeping with the seemingly rejected first set of standards.

Those interested may think that Lynne Cheney, who launched the attack on the standards in October 1994, nailed them when she exposed the bogus "three worlds meet" theory according to which Native Americans, Africans, and Europeans shared equally in the American founding. Cheney raised the nation's con-

sciousness by laying bare the standards' misplaced emphasis on the "grandeur" of Mansa Musa's court, their suggestion that students hold a mock trial of John D. Rockefeller, their near deification of American Indians, their disproportionate coverage of the Ku Klux Klan and McCarthyism, and their omission of Alexander Graham Bell, Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, Jonas Salk, and the Wright brothers.

But Cheney's exposé, though absolutely correct, turns out to have had little impact on educators and publishers. Also ignored were scholarly critiques of the standards by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Herman Belz, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and John Patrick Diggins, among others, as well as scathing accounts by media commentators. Even President Clinton and presidential candidate Bob Dole complained about the standards in the 1996 campaign. Nevertheless, certain of support from the American Historical Association and a host of like-minded groups, which overwhelmingly approved of the original standards, educators and publishers simply forged ahead.

A comprehensive review of eight recent high

David Warren Saxe is associate professor of education at Pennsylvania State University.



U. S. Department of Justice

Washington, D.C. 20530

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

TO: Intergovernmental Affairs
Marcia Hale
John Emerson
John Hart
Alison Bracewell

Public Liaison
Alexis Herman
Christa Robinson

Domestic Policy
Bruce Reed
Dennis Burke

Rahm Emanuel

FROM: Nicholas M. Gess
Director
Public Liaison and Intergovernmental Affairs
TELEPHONE: (202) 514-3465
FACSIMILE: (202) 514-2504

DATE: 3/17/97

SUBJECT: Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Initiative

PAGES: (Including this cover sheet)

REMARKS: see attached



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

Director

Washington, D.C. 20530

March 17, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Rahm Emanuel
Assistant to the President

Bruce Reed
Assistant to the President and
Director, Domestic Policy Council

Marcia Hale
Assistant to the President and
Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

Alexis Herman
Assistant to the President and
Director of Public Liaison

Dennis Burke
Senior Policy Advisor
Domestic Policy Council

FROM: Nicholas M. Gess
Director of Intergovernmental Affairs
Department of Justice

SUBJECT: Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Initiative

We have sent the attached materials to all state attorneys general and chief prosecutors as well as all appropriate advocacy groups. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me on 514-3465.

Enclosures



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

Office of the Director

Washington, D.C. 20530

March 17, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR: All Interested Groups

FROM: Nicholas M. Gess
Director
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

SUBJECT: Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy

In an effort to make as many materials as possible available to you, we have established a special section on our Home Page of materials relating to the Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy. Included among the materials posted is the text of the legislative proposal as transmitted to Congress. The Justice Department's Website is:

www.USDOJ.GOV

We hope that you find this material of assistance.



U.S. Department of Justice
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

Office of the Director

Washington, D.C. 20530

March 17, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR: All State Attorneys General
All Chief Prosecutors

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "N. M. Gess", is written over the typed name of the Director.

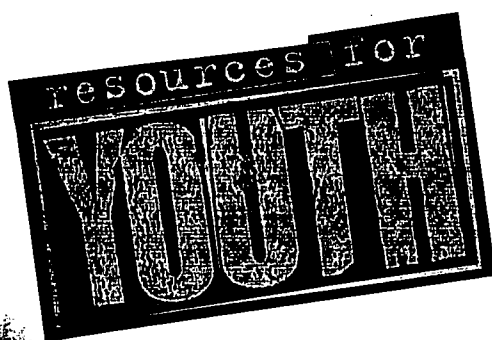
FROM: Nicholas M. Gess
Director
Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

SUBJECT: Anti-Gang and Youth Violence Strategy

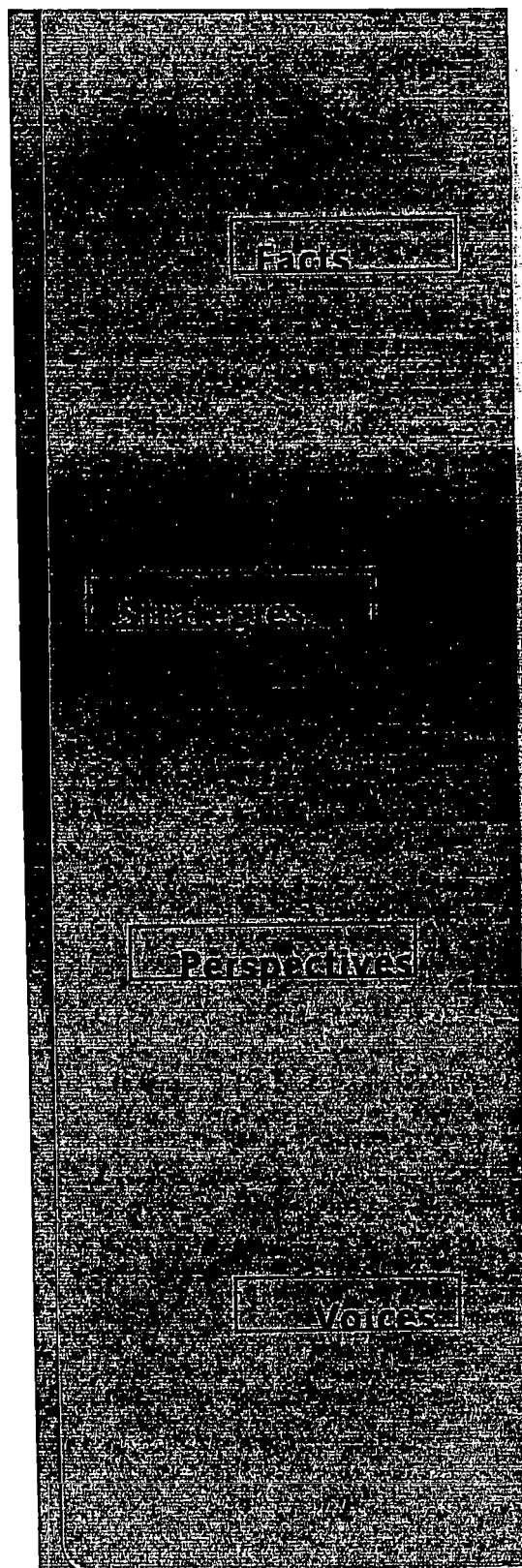
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We hope that you find this material of assistance.



an **honest**
dialogue
about strategies
to prevent
youth
violence



RESOURCES FOR YOUTH



454 Las Gallinas Avenue, Suite 178 San Rafael, California 94903-3618 T: 415 331-5991 F: 415 331-2969
Resources for Youth is funded by a grant to Martin & Glantz from The California Wellness Foundation.

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Organization _____

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☐ Yes! I want to be a part of the Resources for Youth dialogue about strategies to prevent youth violence.

☐ Please send me the summary analysis of *Preventing Youth Violence: A Survey of Public Attitudes in California*, a statewide poll of California voters conducted by Paul Maslin of Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates in consultation with Ed Goetas of The Tarrance Group.

☐ Please send me a copy of the Pacific Center for Violence Prevention's policy brief, *Preventing Youth Violence: Full Service Schools*.

What kind of information and/or materials would you like to see in future mailings?

Comments _____

☐ I do NOT want to receive any more materials from Resources for Youth. Please remove my name from your mailing list.

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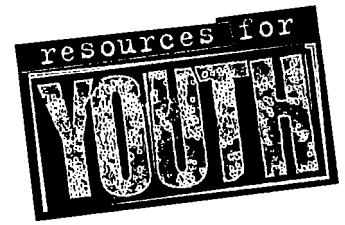
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Divider Title: _____

Facts



454 Las Gallinas Avenue, Suite 178
San Rafael, California 94903-3618
T: 415 331-5991
F: 415 331-2969

To engage in a productive and honest discussion of the issues, we need to start with facts.

Here are some of the facts about juvenile crime and violence in California.

- Youth between the ages of 12 and 17 are crime victims five times more often than people over the age of 35.¹
- Every 17 hours another child in California is a murder victim. Homicide is the leading cause of death for youth in California.²
- In 1995, there were 85,052 juvenile felony arrests in California.³ Twenty-six (26%) of all juvenile felony arrests are for violent offenses.⁴
- Ninety-seven percent (97%) of all juvenile offenders are handled by county probation departments, including placements in county-run juvenile facilities.⁵ In 1989, over 66,000 youth were on probation and being supervised by counties.⁶ California counties house over 6,000 minors in juvenile halls and 4,000 minors in ranch and camp facilities each day.⁷
- Three percent (3%) of juvenile offenders are committed to the California Youth Authority (CYA).⁸ CYA currently incarcerates 9,808 young men and women. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of these youth have been convicted of violent offenses.⁹

Here are some of the costs to California taxpayers for state and local responses to juvenile crime and violence.

- State and local law enforcement agencies spend an estimated **\$1.1 billion** a year to respond to juvenile crime and violence.¹⁰
- Total prosecution and public defense costs for juvenile offenders are estimated at **\$176 million** annually.¹¹
- The California court system spends an estimated **\$532 million** each year to process juvenile cases.¹²
- The California Youth Authority budget for 1996-1997 is **\$361.4 million**.¹³
- Annual County probation costs for youth offenders are estimated at **\$145 million**.¹⁴

¹ U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 'Juvenile Victimization: 1987 - 1992,' Fact Sheet #17, June 1994, by analyst Joseph Moone.

² California Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics, *Crime and Delinquency in California*, Table 3c, 'Juvenile Felony Arrests,' p.11. 542 juveniles (17 or younger) were murdered in California in 1994, or one every 17 hours.

³ Legislative Analyst's Office. 1995 juvenile felony arrests in California.

⁴ Hill, Elizabeth G. *Juvenile Crime: Outlook for California*. Sacramento: Legislative Analyst's Office, May 1995, p. 12. Violent offenses are defined as homicide, rape, robbery, assault, and kidnapping.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶ Legislative Analyst's Office. This figure has not been available since 1989, when the program requiring the California Department of Justice to segregate data on juvenile crime was defunded due to budget cuts. In 1995, AB 488, a bill carried by Assemblyman Joe Baca, was signed into law and reinstated juvenile data collection by expressly requiring the Department to keep statistics on juvenile crime.

⁷ Hill, Elizabeth G. *Juvenile Crime: Outlook for California*. Sacramento: Legislative Analyst's Office, May 1995, p. 51. These numbers reflect the number of county facility beds. According to the Legislative Analyst's Office, county facilities are overcrowded.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁹ Legislative Analyst's Office. As of September 18, 1996.

¹⁰ Legislative Analyst's Office, \$6.7 billion total on law enforcement. In 1989, the California Department of Justice estimated that 16% of all arrests are juveniles.

¹¹ Legislative Analyst's Office, \$1.1 billion total on prosecution and public defense. Use of estimated juvenile arrests at 16% of total.

¹² Legislative Analyst's Office, \$1.4 billion total on all court and court related costs. In 1989, it was estimated that juveniles accounted for 38% of court costs.

¹³ California State Budget, 1996-1997.

¹⁴ Legislative Analyst's Office, \$810 million (1993-1994) total on all probation expenditures. In 1989, 18% of the probation caseload was for juvenile offenders.

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Perspectives

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Perspectives

and Ed Goeas

EG: And the data could not be more clear about juvenile crime. By large margins — 2 to 1 — voters believe that the rate of juvenile crime is going up. They think most crimes are committed by young people, and they view kids primarily as perpetrators, not victims of these violent crimes.

Paul Maslin of Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates is a leading public opinion pollster and has served as advisor to many Democrats, including six Presidential candidates, ten U.S. Senators, a dozen city Mayors, Governors, scores of Congressmen, and state and local officials.

Ed Goeas is a leading Republican Group. He is a respected Republican pollster who has worked for various presidential congressional and sub-national campaigns. He also served as a pollster for U.S. News & World Report.

Preventing Youth Violence

A Survey of Public Attitudes in California was conducted May 6-12, 1998 of 1,000 registered California voters. The survey included 25 questions about youth violence, by accepted polling standards, the survey responses are considered to be accurate reflections of statewide voter opinion within a statistical tolerance of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Photo Credits:
Paul Maslin, Victor Venera
Ed Goeas, PhotoGraphic Design

The Resources for Youth campaign begins with the assumption that youth violence is a problem that affects all of us. While ensuring public safety is a priority, we believe much more can be done to prevent youth violence and crime. Discussion of solutions is often difficult because this issue has become both polarized and politicized. One thing we can all agree on is the need for an honest dialogue. The campaign will provide California policy makers and community leaders with facts, perspectives, voices and strategies to prevent youth violence and crime so that together we can become resources for our youth.

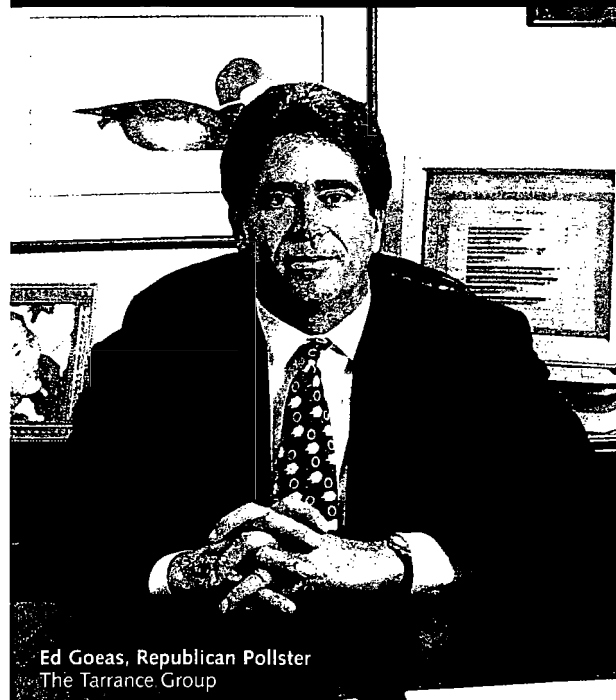
We hope you will be interested in these perspectives and invite you to send your opinions on preventing youth violence to us.



4500 La Tijera Avenue, Suite 140
Santa Fe, California 97003-1410
800-445-4H6991
800-445-4H6992

A Conversation between Paul Maslin

PM: Ed, our May survey uncovered some interesting attitudes about crime in general and youth crime in particular. First, it is still at or near the top of the list as a state problem, and even higher when it comes to Californians' own communities. Second, very few Californians believe, despite recent statistics to the contrary, that the rate of crime or violent crime is going down in their communities.



Ed Goeas, Republican Pollster
The Tarrance Group



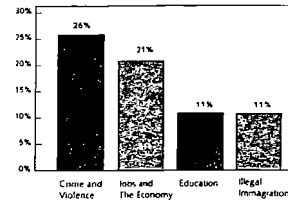
Paul Maslin, Democratic Pollster
Fairbank, Maslin, Maullin & Associates

An honest dialogue about strategies to prevent youth violence. Funded by a grant to Martin & Glantz from The California Wellness Foundation



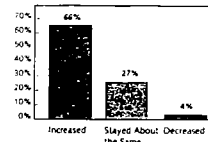
A Conversation between Ed Goeas and Paul Maslin

Voter opinion about the most serious problem facing California.

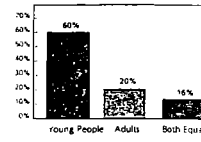


PM: And therefore, not surprisingly, most people believe our current juvenile justice system is too lenient, particularly when it comes to violent or repeat youth offenders. But shouldn't we talk about perceptions vs. reality here?

Voter perception of change in rate of youth violence in past few years.

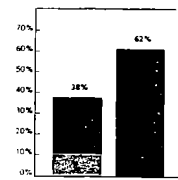


Voter opinion of who commits the most violent crime these days.



EG: Hey, we're in the realm of public opinion where perception is everything! No, actually I agree, because there are important messages for our elected officials and others in some of the realities.

PM: Reality Number One. Most people in our sample had not been personally touched (they or a family member) by crime — any crime, not just violent crime — in the past 5 years. Of those who had, barely one-quarter identified a juvenile as the perpetrator of the crime.



Percent of voters or family members who have been the victim of a crime in the past few years.

Those who identified the perpetrator as a juvenile

EG: The perception of juvenile crime doubles the reality when you compare what Californians report in terms of kids committing crime and what they think. I'll give you another reality. Most people identify the breakdown of the family or the lack of parental discipline as the principal factors leading to youth violence. And as a result, we saw in our focus groups that adults have become more fearful of this violence because they believe the kids committing it are more violent due to a lack of morals or even a conscience about their actions.

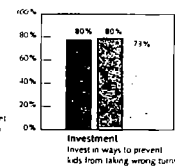
PM: That attitude cuts across all ethnic and socioeconomic groups — Californians believe there is a more violent edge today. But too often in the past Democrats have seen solutions simply in terms of money and programs, and not in the human terms of family and values.

EG: And Republicans see the same solutions as simply a handcuff and a jail cell.

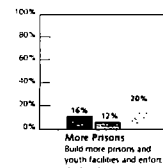
PM: Both sides have to move beyond their biases to try to find a solution here.

EG: I couldn't agree more. And what is also striking about this survey is the willingness of Californians to try change — any change — in the area of prevention to try to ease this problem. Any way we put it, and on any choice we tried, the vast majority of Californians preferred an emphasis on prevention over a strict emphasis on tough sentencing and enforcement. Three-quarters favor prevention over building more prisons; strong majorities are at least somewhat convinced that prevention programs would reduce crime.

Percentage of voters who favor prevention.



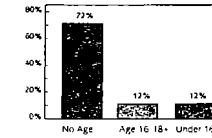
Percentage of voters who favor building more prisons.



PM: I'll admit that the margins and the consistency of this finding surprised even me. But what also surprised

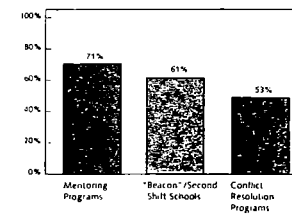
me was the finding that three-quarters of this sample believed there was no age beyond which it is too late to help a kid who has gotten involved in crime, and only 12% would give up on a kid under 16. People believe kids are worth helping — at any time, and any age.

Voter opinion on what age is "too late" to help a young person who has gotten involved in violent crime.



EG: Yes, but you need a stick as well as a carrot. Obviously the violent and repeat offenders need to be dealt with firmly. And you've also got to watch out for the money part of this. If people hear a program — without any validation of its success — they're just going to conclude that it means more money, and guess who pays for that.

PM: But look at the willingness which we found to try programs: 71% thought a Mentoring Program would be effective; 61% for Beacon or Second Shift Schools; 53% for Conflict Resolution.



Percentage of voters who on a scale of 1-7 rated these programs with a 6 or above for effectiveness in preventing juvenile crime.

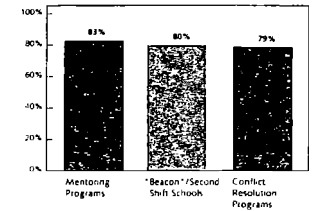
EG: What do those three have in common?

PM: There's a human element in all these programs involving adults and youth working together, with an emphasis on accountability and taking responsibility for one's actions.

EG: That's right. We didn't get into the funding mechanism, but I think people in our survey heard something beyond just the dollar sign in each of these examples — they heard that counseling or discipline or human involvement was present.

PM: Although we did find at least some willingness by a majority of respondents to invest in these programs. And we also learned from our focus groups that the ability to discuss a group or a program that has had some success is very important — it gives necessary validation.

Percentage of voters willing to invest public tax dollars in the following programs.



EG: And also to show an actual success story.

PM: Like a kid who got into trouble and can tell how a specific group or a specific program helped him get straight.

EG: Helped him help himself. People still want the individual to take responsibility for his or her own actions and lives.

PM: But in the end, I happen to believe it is the perceived severity of the problem that's driving this demand for change. People are smart enough to realize that just getting tough won't solve this problem. It is the tough love approach, but you have to have both.

EG: That's right, and it is children, after all, we're talking about. People from Orange County to Oakland, despite their political differences, want to do something to help our kids.

PM: Yeah, in this case, the line about "they're our future, after all" is actually true. And on that a Republican and Democratic pollster can agree.

EG: Agreed.



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Voices

Divider Title: _____



MARTIN & GLANTZ

To: John Podesta, Deputy Chief of Staff

Fr: Gina Glantz

Re: The California Wellness Foundation "Resources for Youth: An Honest Dialogue"
April 9, 1997 Videoconference

The enclosed portfolio, which was recently mailed to over 10,000 California opinion leaders, and TV spots, which will run from February 17 through the end of April in major markets through the state (this is paid advertising; not PSAs), will give you a feel for the on-going public education campaign we are managing.

As you know, the leadership of The California Wellness Foundation would very much like to have the President participate in the videoconference by satellite on the day of the event. Specifically, we would like to beam him into all sites approximately 20 minutes after the statewide telecast so that he can speak to the assembled opinion leaders and policy makers as they settle into the local meetings which will address their specific community's strategies for preventing youth violence and create a plan for informing and involving policy makers, opinion leaders and the media in their efforts.

Please call me with any questions. I am planning to be in Washington on March 6 and 7 and would be delighted to make the pitch to you in person at that time.

*Thanks for taking
time to look this
over and consider it.
my best, Gina*



MARTIN & GLANTZ

The California Wellness Foundation
"Resources for Youth: An Honest Dialogue"
Statewide Videoconference
April 9, 1997
9am-1pm

Co-Sponsors: League of California Cities, California Police Chiefs Association, Chief Probation Officers of California, The League of Women Voters of California, California State PTA

Format: One hour telecast featuring live and taped segments of federal, state & local elected officials, representatives of law enforcement, community-based organizations, violence prevention experts and others discussing strategies to prevent youth violence.

Discussion will follow at each site with a panel of local experts.

Locations: Los Angeles and Sacramento will be the uplink sites.

The telecast will be downlinked to Fresno, Oakland, Pomona, Riverside, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Ana, and Santa Cruz. 75-100 participants are expected in the audience for each site. The videoconference is by invitation only with no expense to attendees.

Satellite coordinates will be provided for those organizations interested in viewing the event from their own facilities.

Invited Live Panelists: Cruz Bustamante, CA Speaker of the Assembly
Susan Golding, Mayor of San Diego
Pastor Sonny Lara, Mexican American Community Services
Joseph Marshall, Executive Director, Omega Boys Club (confirmed)
Michael Nash, Presiding Judge, Los Angeles County Juvenile Court
Dr. Barbara Staggers, Oakland Children's Hospital
John Vasconcellos, CA State Senator (confirmed)
Willie Williams, Los Angeles Police Chief

Moderator: Wendy Tokuda, NBC (confirmed)

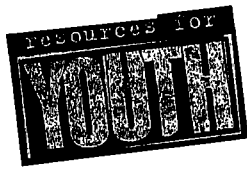
For more details, call Samantha Cranko at Martin & Glantz. (415) 331-1970

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AN HONEST DIALOGUE ABOUT STRATEGIES TO PREVENT YOUTH VIOLENCE



Voices

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Strategies

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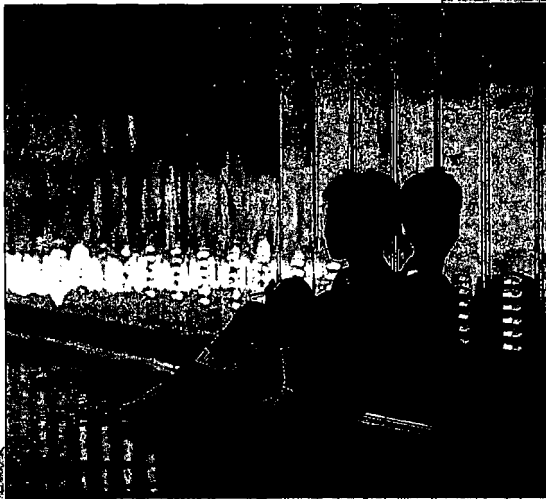
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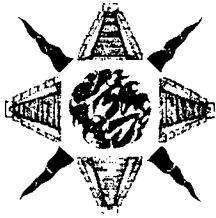
The California Wellness Foundation

VIOLENCE PREVENTION

INITIATIVE



...a new direction
for improving health
and well-being
in California



Community Wellness Partnership

Community Wellness Partnership (CWP) is a community based movement funded by the California Wellness Foundation to implement a youth violence prevention program in collaboration with adult and youth residents and the community based agencies that serve them. With First Presbyterian Church of Pomona as fiscal agent, CWP seeks to positively impact the community by empowering youth through:

Providing a platform for youth to voice their opinions

Educating youth on issues relevant to their experiences

Bringing awareness of resources available to youth

Facilitating change in institutions by making them sensitive to the needs of youth

By working in partnership with other organizations, youth and adults, we hope to develop strategic planning to counteract the effects of youth violence. Areas of discussion include enhancing educational opportunities, creating recreational and cultural programming and developing youth employment. Creating alternatives to violence, we will reduce youth violence, offering instead positive hopes for the future and alternatives to the cycle of poverty, disempowerment and alienation that breed violence.

VIOLENCE PREVENTION INITIATIVES

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

Knowledge is Power (KIP) is a six session program of study and practice for Pomona's young people of color interested in learning about community organizing and how public policies affect their daily life. Students accepted into the training make a commitment to fulfill media and policy advocacy organizing requirements.

MARIPOSA

The Mariposa Program is a joint effort of the Community Wellness Partnership (CWP) and the Pomona Unified School District. Mariposa is designed to train and mentor ninth and tenth grade Chicana/Latina women about their history, culture, career choices and leadership.

POMONA TUTORING ADVOCACY

CWP is affiliated with the First Presbyterian Church of Pomona's - Tutoring Advocacy Program. The objective is to help youth - kindergarten through fifth grade - in the central area of Pomona with their homework and provide after-school enrichment.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH ORGANIZING

CWP offers "Minigrants" open for independent youth groups to join together in organizing grassroots projects for the betterment of their community.

SELF AWARENESS TRAINING

CWP provides and presents youth, community agencies and schools with violence prevention programs. Self Awareness Curriculum assigns trained youth advocates to classrooms to conduct presentations, workshops, and technique demonstrations on issues relevant to violence prevention.

MULTI-MEDIA COMPONENT

The Multi-Media Component was designed to provide relevant information to youth and to help change the image of youth from perpetrator of violence to agent of prevention of violence. CWP supports young people who write in the youth-written, youth-produced newspaper, "Unheard Voices." Training also includes radio and video production.

COLLABORATIVE DEVELOPMENT

CWP facilitates the Pomona Community Collaborative and the Pomona Council of Youth. The Community Collaborative consists of community organizations, youth and adults working together on youth violence prevention. Current Collaborative members include House of Ruth, Project Sister, YWCA, Pomona Inland Valley Council of Churches, Imani Saturday Academy, Pomona Youth Employment Services, Family And Community Educational Services, Parent Advocacy Coalition, Young Mothers Support Group, From Gangs to Grace, and the Martin Luther King Birthday Celebration Committee. The Pomona Council of Youth consists of students organizations, clubs and youth that are committed to the elimination of youth violence.



El Colaborativo para el Bienestar Comunitario

El Colaborativo para el Bienestar Comunitario (CWP) es un esfuerzo de la comunidad, fundado por la California Wellness Foundation para llevar a cabo programas de prevención juvenil, en colaboración con adultos y jóvenes residentes y con las agencias de la comunidad que les sirven. CWP procura lograr un impacto positivo en la comunidad colaborando con la Iglesia First Presbyterian, para capacitar a la juventud:

~Ofreciéndoles un foro donde la juventud pueda expresar sus opiniones.

~Educando la juventud sobre asuntos que estén relacionados con su experiencia.

~Comunicando conocimiento sobre recursos que están disponibles para los jóvenes.

~Promoviendo el cambio en las instituciones, haciéndolas sensitivas a las necesidades de los jóvenes.

Trabajando en colaboración con otras organizaciones, jóvenes y adultos, esperamos desarrollar un plan estratégico para contrarrestar los efectos de la violencia juvenil. Las áreas de discusión incluyen el mejoramiento de oportunidades educativas, la creación de programas recreativos y culturales y el desarrollo de empleos para los jóvenes. Al crear alternativas a la violencia reduciremos la violencia entre los jóvenes y en su lugar ofreceremos una esperanza positiva para el futuro y alternativas al ciclo de la pobreza, la incapacidad y la enajenación, que generan la violencia.

INICIATIVAS PARA LA PREVENCIÓN DE LA VIOLENCIA

CONOCIMIENTO ES PODER

Conocimiento es Poder KIP (Knowledge is Power), es un programa que consta de seis sesiones de estudio y práctica para la gente joven de color de Pomona, que estén interesados en aprender sobre cómo organizar la comunidad y cómo las políticas públicas afectan su vida diaria. Los estudiantes admitidos al adiestramiento se comprometen a cumplir con la meta de apoyar la organización de esfuerzos que estén relacionados con política pública y con los medios de comunicación.

MARIPOSA

El Programa Mariposa es un esfuerzo conjunto del Colaborativo para el Bienestar Comunitario y del Distrito Escolar Unificado de Pomona. Mariposa está diseñado para orientar y adiestrar a jovencitas Chicanas/Latinas de noveno y décimo grado con respecto a su historia, su cultura y sobre alternativas profesionales y de liderazgo.

TUTORÍA Y APOYO DE POMONA

El CWP está afiliado al Programa de Tutoría y Apoyo de la Iglesia First Presbyterian de Pomona. La meta es ayudar a la juventud del área central de Pomona —desde Jardín de Infancia hasta el Quinto grado— para que hagan su tarea escolar y para ofrecer mejoramiento después de horas de clase.

ORGANIZANDO LA JUVENTUD EN EL VECINDARIO

CWP ofrece pequeñas donaciones ("mini-grants"), que pueden obtener grupos independientes de jóvenes que se formen para organizar proyectos locales para el mejoramiento de la comunidad.

ADIESTRAMIENTO DE CONCIENTIZACIÓN (AWARENESS)

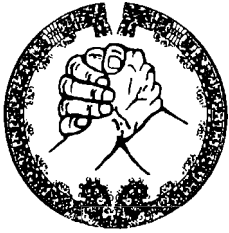
CWP ofrece y lleva a cabo programas de prevención de violencia para jóvenes, agencias de la comunidad y escuelas. Los Currículos de Concienciación asignan a jóvenes ayudantes adiestrados, para que vayan a los salones de clase a hacer presentaciones, talleres y a demostrar técnicas útiles en la prevención de la violencia.

COMPONENTE DE MULTI-MEDIA

El Componente de Multi-Media fue diseñado para ofrecer información que sea relevante para la juventud y para cambiar la imagen del joven, de perpetrador de violencia a agente de prevención de violencia. CWP le brinda apoyo a gente joven que escriba para el periódico "Unheard Voices", el cual es escrito y publicado por jóvenes.

DESARROLLO COLABORATIVO

CWP promueve el Colaborativo de la Comunidad de Pomona y El Concilio de Jóvenes de Pomona. El Colaborativo Comunitario está compuesto de organizaciones de la comunidad, jóvenes y adultos, trabajando juntos para la prevención de violencia juvenil. Al presente, los miembros del Colaborativo incluyen: House of Ruth, el Proyecto Sister, la YWCA, el Concilio de Iglesias de Pomona Inland Valley, Imani Saturday Academy, Pomona Youth Employment Services, Family and Community Educational Services, Parent Advocacy Coalition, Young Mothers Support Group, From Gangs to Grace y el Comité para la Celebración del Natalicio de Martin Luther King. El Concilio de Jóvenes de Pomona está compuesto de organizaciones estudiantiles, clubes y jóvenes comprometidos con la eliminación de la violencia juvenil.



COALICIÓN NACIONAL DE BARRIOS UNIDOS

PROGRAMAS

ESCUELA CÉSAR CHÁVEZ PARA EL CAMBIO SOCIAL (CSSSC)

La Escuela César Chávez para el Cambio Social ofrece la alternativa de un ambiente educativo positivo que desarrolle liderato y auto-estima por medio de cursos y actividades que sean culturalmente relevantes. Las clases que CCSSC ofrece actualmente incluyen arte, destrezas en computadoras, bailes culturales, Inglés, historia, serigrafía, Español, producción de video-cintas y escritura.

DESARROLLO ECONÓMICO COMUNITARIO

El objetivo principal del Desarrollo Económico Comunitario es proveer empleos a jóvenes de comunidades locales y ayudar a Barrios Unidos a desarrollar capacidad económica para brindar adiestramiento. Barrios Unidos opera un negocio de servicios completos de serigrafía llamado **BU Productions**, el cual inicia a los jóvenes en la cultura del trabajo y les provee adiestramiento en destrezas para obtener trabajo pagado. Los jóvenes adquieren destrezas en producción, mercadeo, diseño y administración. Los jóvenes desarrollan mayor auto-estima, destrezas de liderato, un sentido de logro, de orgullo en su trabajo y de fe en el futuro.

ALCANCE (OUTREACH) COMUNITARIO

El Alcance Comunitario es parte integral del trabajo de Barrios Unidos. Nuestras actividades de Alcance Comunitario se han ganado el respeto y confianza de gran parte de la comunidad incluyendo jóvenes, educadores, oficiales de la ley y padres. El personal de Barrios Unidos es solicitado para brindar sus recursos y experiencia en escuelas públicas, instituciones de justicia juvenil y comunidades locales. Los programas de Alcance incluyen:

Clubes de Jóvenes: Ofrecen a niños jóvenes un ambiente de aprendizaje positivo con un énfasis multicultural.

Grupos de Juventud: Promueven el cambio positivo en individuos que demuestran o tienen potencial para actuar negativamente o con violencia.

Grupos de Padres: Capacita a las familias educándolas y brindándoles información sobre los recursos que están disponibles en sus comunidades. Elimina las barreras creadas debido al lenguaje y a obstáculos raciales y económicos ofreciendo una perspectiva multicultural, y apoyo individual.

Instituciones de Justicia Juvenil: Ofrece solución de conflictos, trabajo de mediación y adiestramiento al personal en trabajo con grupos así como consejería individual. Provee un currículo multicultural y sesiones de discusión.

Trabajo de Alcance en las Calles: Ofrece actividades alternativas a poblaciones marginadas. Promueve el orgullo, el respeto y la tolerancia dentro de la comunidad.

Programa Cultural: Organiza eventos dedicados a la diversidad. Rinde honor a los rituales, tradiciones y ceremonias comunitarias.

Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos es una organización multicultural sin fines de lucro localizada en Santa Cruz, California. Nuestra misión es prevenir y reducir la violencia entre los jóvenes ofreciéndoles alternativas.

Lo singular de Barrios Unidos es cómo abordamos el dilema de la violencia entre los jóvenes. Creemos que los trabajadores de la comunidad que han experimentado y conquistado los retos que enfrenta la gente joven hoy día, son los que mejor pueden ayudarlos a escoger un comportamiento que exalta la vida. Nos concentramos en forjar una auto-estima positiva y orgullo cultural, por medio de actividades relevantes, de la educación y adiestramiento para el trabajo.

Los programas de Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos operan desde tres áreas separadas: La Escuela César Chávez para el Cambio Social, Alcance Comunitario y Desarrollo Económico Comunitario. En conjunto, éstas áreas le permiten a Barrios Unidos servirle a la comunidad local.

Nuestra visión de lograr comunidades más fuertes y seguras sólo puede ser realizada por líderes que no temen enfrentarse con prudencia y determinación, a los retos de hoy. El negar que las gangas existen sólo logra dar más poder a los enemigos de nuestros niños. Tenemos que aprender a trabajar juntos y a compartir la responsabilidad de detener la violencia en nuestras comunidades.



SANTA CRUZ BARRIOS UNIDOS

NATIONAL COALITION OF BARRIOS UNIDOS

PROGRAMS

CESAR E. CHAVEZ SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE (CCSSC)

The Cesar E. Chavez School for Social Change offers a positive alternative educational environment that develops leadership and self-esteem through culturally appropriate courses and activities. Classes currently offered at CCSSC include art, computer literacy, cultural dance, English, history, silk-screen, Spanish, video production and writing.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The focus of Community Economic Development is to provide jobs for youth from local communities and to assist Barrios Unidos to become economically self-training. Barrios Unidos operates a full service, custom silk-screening business called **BU Productions**, which introduces youth to the work culture and provides them training in a marketable trade. Youth learn production, sales, marketing, design, and administration skills. Youth develop increased self-esteem, leadership skills, a sense of accomplishment, pride in their work, and hope for their future.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

Community Outreach is integral to the work of Barrios Unidos, our Community Outreach activities have earned the respect and trust of a wide segment of the community including youth, educators, law enforcement officials and parents. Barrios Unidos staff members have been called upon to provide their expertise and support in public schools, juvenile halls and local communities. Outreach programs include:

Kids Clubs: Provides young children with a positive learning environment with a multi-cultural focus.

Youth Groups: Facilitates a positive change in individuals who exhibit or have the potential to exhibit negative and violent behavior.

Parent Groups: Empowers families by educating and informing them about resources that are available in their communities. Eliminates barriers that are created by language, racial and economic obstacles by providing a multi-cultural perspective and individual support.

Juvenile Hall: Provides conflict resolution, truce work and staff training to facilitate group as well as individual counseling. Provides a multi-cultural curriculum and rap sessions.

Street Outreach: Offers alternative activities to marginal populations. Fosters pride, respect and tolerance within the community.

Cultural Program: Organizes events which welcome diversity. Honors community rituals, traditions and ceremonies.

Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos is a multi-cultural, non-profit organization based in Santa Cruz, California. Our mission is to prevent and curtail violence among youth by providing them with alternatives.

The uniqueness of Barrios Unidos is our approach to the dilemma of youth violence. Our belief is that community workers who have experienced and overcome the challenges facing young people today are best able to assist them in choosing life affirming behavior. We focus on building positive self-esteem and cultural pride through meaningful activities, education and job training.

Santa Cruz Barrios Unidos programs are generated out of three separate areas: the Cesar E. Chavez School for Social Change, Community Outreach and Community Economic Development. Together, these areas enable Barrios Unidos to service the local community.

Our vision of safer and stronger communities can only be realized by leaders who are not afraid to face today's challenges prudently and expediently. To deny that gangs exist only empowers the enemy of our children. We must learn to work together and share in the responsibility of stopping the violence in our communities.

- **White House Drug Testing Case:** In re: Stigile v. Clinton, (D.C. Cir.; D.D.C.). On December 17, the DC Circuit Court will hear oral arguments on DOJ's appeal. This suit was brought by two OMB employees, who work in the NEOB but have passes to the OEOB. They are challenging the drug-testing program of the EOP, which subjects holders of OEOB passes to random drug-testing. The district court granted final judgment to plaintiffs, holding that the random drug-testing of such employees violated the Fourth Amendment. The court concluded that plaintiffs' privacy interest outweighed the rationale for the drug-testing program.
- **Drug Testing of Candidates for State Electoral Office:** Chandler v. Miller presents the question of the constitutionality of a GA statute requiring those who want to run for high political office to certify that they have passed a drug test before they may appear on the ballot. Petitioners are Libertarian Party candidates for Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of Agriculture, and member of the General Assembly. The court of appeals held that the statute, as applied to petitioners, did not violate either the First or Fourth Amendments. On December 10, DOJ filed an *amicus* brief arguing that there were sufficient state interests to outweigh petitioners' privacy interests, and that requiring them to undergo a drug test therefore did not violate the Fourth Amendment. DOJ took no position on the First Amendment issues.
- **Former Military Homosexual Policy:** On November 25, in Walmer v. DOD (D. KS), Judge Earl E. O'Connor upheld the constitutionality of the military's former policy on homosexual conduct in an action brought by a former service member discharged for having committed homosexual acts. Judge O'Connor held that neither the policy nor its rationale had changed since 1984, when the Tenth Circuit first upheld the policy against equal protection challenge. Judge O'Connor also rejected the plaintiff's argument that the policy constituted a bill of attainder.
- **NY Gang Police Murder:** Ricardo Morales and Jesus Mendez were charged in a federal racketeering indictment for their involvement in criminal activities as members or associates of a violent gang known as the Park Avenue Boys. The two are alleged to be responsible for the murder of New York City Police Officer Kevin Gillespie on March 14, 1996, in the Bronx, NY, and for numerous armed robberies and assaults.
- **MO Drug Seizure:** On December 3, the MO State Highway Patrol stopped a vehicle near Springfield, MO, for a traffic violation. A search of the vehicle discovered \$250,060 of U.S. currency concealed in several duct-taped bundles inside the quarter panels of the vehicle.